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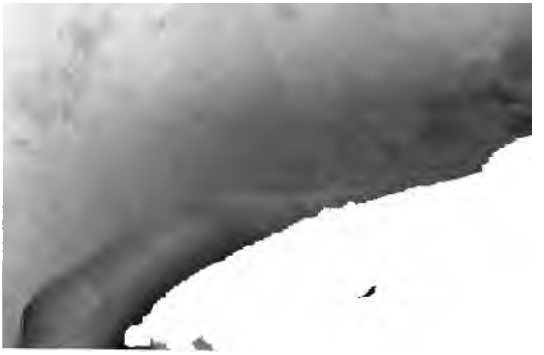

AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

AND

Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

WITH

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὑρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

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BODLEIANA · BIBLIOTHECA

THE

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time.

VOL. II.

BOOK I.

The ASIATIC *History to the Time of* ALEXANDER the Great.

CHAP. III. SECT. III.

Of the Egyptian *chronology to the time of* Alexander the Great.

WE closed the foregoing volume with the best account we could gather from the most credible historians, of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, customs, arts, learning, and trade, of the antient *Egyptians*. Our vouchers, for what we have advanced on these several subjects, were *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Strabo*, who all travelled into *Egypt* with no other view but to inquire into the origin, traditions, and records of that nation; and to acquaint themselves with the customs and manners of the inhabitants. We shall now proceed to the history of the princes who reigned in *Egypt* from the most early times to the final reduction of the country by *Alexander*, when the severe prediction of the prophet was fulfilled, *There*

ſhall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt [a]. But as chronology, or the referring the reign of each prince, and the events that happened in his reign, to their proper dates, is the light of hiſtory, and without it the beſt, and, in other reſpects, moſt exact relations, would be only a chaos of facts heaped together, we ought to ſettle the *Egyptian* chronology before we enter upon the hiſtory of the *Egyptian* kings. But here the guides we have hitherto followed, either quite forſake us, or give us ſuch information as we can by no means depend on, having been themſelves groſly impoſed upon by forged records, and falſe traditions. All we can do therefore is, to acquaint the reader with the ſentiments of the antients on this ſubject, and the various hypotheſes, and chronological ſyſtems, which the moderns have built upon what they found in the antients. But, for the better underſtanding of what ſhall be ſaid, it will be neceſſary to exhibit the ſeries of the kings of *Egypt*, according to the ſeveral authors who have recorded their ſucceſſions.

I. *A* TABLE *of the laſt ſixteen of the thirty dynaſties, according to the old* Egyptian *chronicle* [b], *the fourteen firſt dynaſties being wanting.*

Dynaſty.	Generations.	Years.
XV.	15 Of the cynic circle reigned	443
XVI.	8 *Tanites*	190
XVII.	4 *Memphites*	103
XVIII.	14 *Memphites*	348
XIX.	5 *Dioſpolites*	194
XX.	8 *Dioſpolites*	228
XXI.	6 *Tanites*	121
XXII.	3 *Tanites*	48
XXIII.	2 *Dioſpolites*	19
XXIV.	3 *Saites*	44
XXV.	3 *Ethiopians*	44
XXVI.	7 *Memphites*	177
XXVII.	5 *Perſians*	124
XXVIII.	* * *	
XXIX.	* * *	39
XXX.	1 *Tanite*	18
	The ſum of the thirty dynaſties is,	36525

[a] Ezek. xxx. 13. [b] See vol. i. p. 196. SYNCELL. chron. p. 51, 52. EUSEB. chron. Græc. SYNCELL. p. 45, &c.

II. *A*

II. *A* TABLE *of the* Egyptian *dynasties from* Manetho.

TOME I.

According to *Africanus*.

The I. *dynasty of* Thinites, *or kings of* This; *consisting of eight princes.*

		Years.
1	*Menes* (A), reigned	62
2	*Athothis* (B)	57
3	*Cencenes*	31
4	*Venephes* (C)	23
5	*Usaphædus*	20
6	*Miebidus*	26
7	*Semempsis*	18
8	*Bienaches*	26
		253

The II. *dynasty of* Thinites, *consisting of nine kings.*

		Years.
1	*Boethus* reigned	38
2	*Cæachos* (D)	39
3	*Binothris*	47
4	*Tlas*	17
5	*Sethenes*	41
6	*Chæres*	17
7	*Nephercheres*	25
8	*Sesochris* (E)	48
9	- - -	
		297

According to *Eusebius*.

The I. *dynasty of* Thinites, *or kings of* This; *consisting of eight princes.*

		Years.
1	*Menes* reigned	60
2	*Athosthis*	27
3	*Cencenes*	39
4	*Venephes*	42
5	*Usaphaes*	20
6	*Niebes*	16
7	*Semempsis*	18
8	*Ubienthes*	26
		252

The II. *dynasty of* Thinites, *consisting of nine kings.*

		Years.
1	*Bochus* reigned	-
2	*Chöus* (D)	-
3	*Biophis*	-
4	-	-
5	-	-
6	-	-
7	-	-
8	*Sesochris*	48
9	*Cheneres*	30
		302

The

(A) This prince they say, was the first *man* who reigned in *Egypt*, and succeeded the demigods; he was killed by an *hippopotamus* (1).

(B) *Athothis*, supposed to be the same with *Thoth* or *Hermes*, practised physic, and wrote some books of anatomy. He also built the palace at *Memphis* (2).

(C) He built the pyramids at *Cochome* (3).

(D) In his reign the ox *Apis* began to be worshiped at *Memphis*, *Mnevis* at *Heliopolis*, and the goat at *Mendes* (4).

(E) This prince is said to

(1) *Syncell. p.* 54, 55. (2) *Ibid.* (3) *Ibid.* (4) *Ibid.*

According to *Africanus*.

The III. *dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of nine kings.*

		Years.
1	*Necherophes* reigned	28
2	*Tosorthrus* (F)	29
3	*Tyris* -	7
4	*Mesochris* -	17
5	*Soïphis* -	16
6	*Tosertasis* -	19
7	*Achis* -	42
8	*Siphuris* - -	30
9	*Cerpheres* -	26
		214

The IV. *dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of eight kings.*

		Years
1	*Soris* reigned	29
2	*Suphis* (G)	63
3	*Suphis* -	66
4	*Mencheres* -	63
5	*Rhatoeses* -	25
6	*Bicheres* -	22
7	*Sebercheres* -	7
8	*Thamphthis* -	9
		274

According to *Eusebius*.

The III. *dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of eight kings.*

		Years.
1	*Nacherochis*	-
2	*Sesorthus*	-
		198

The IV. *dynasty of* Memphites, *consisting of seventeen kings.*

		Years.
-	- reigned	-
3	*Suphis* (G)	
		448

have been of very large stature, that is, five cubits high, and three broad (5).

(F) *Tosorthrus* was the *Egyptian Æsculapius*, excelling in the art of physic. He first found out the manner of building with hewn stones, and improved letters (6).

(G) This king is reported to have seen the gods, and, repenting of it, to have wrote a sacred book, greatly esteemed by the *Egyptians*. It is also said he built the largest pyramid near *Memphis*, attributed by *Herodotus* to *Cheops* (7).

(5) *Idem, p.* 56, 57. (6) *Ibid.* (7) *Ibid.*

The

According to *Africanus*.

The V. *dynaſty of* Elephantines.

		Years.
1	*Uſercheris* reigned	28
2	*Sephres* -	13
3	*Nephercheres* -	20
4	*Siſiris* -	7
5	*Cheres* -	20
6	*Rathuris* -	44
7	*Mercheres* -	9
8	*Tarcheres* -	44
9	*Obnus* -	33
		248

The VI. *dynaſty of* Memphites, *conſiſting of ſix princes.*

		Years.
1	*Othoes* reigned	-
2	*Phius* -	53
3	*Methuſuphis* -	7
4	*Phiops* -	94
5	*Menteſuphis* -	1
6	*Nitocris* (H) -	12
		203

The VII. *dynaſty of* Memphites, *conſiſting of ſeventy kings, who reigned* 70 *days.*

* * * *

According to *Euſebius*.

The V. *dynaſty of* Elephantines, *conſiſting of thirty-one kings.*

		Years.
1	*Othoes* reigned	-
*	* * *	*
4	*Phiops* -	100
*	* * *	*

The VI. *dynaſty of* Memphites.

		Years.
*	* * *	*
Nitocris	- -	3
		203

The VII. *dynaſty of* Memphites, *conſiſting of five kings, who reigned* 75 *days.*

* * * *

(H) A moſt illuſtrious and beautiful woman, who built the third pyramid near *Memphis*, which *Herodotus* attributes to *Mycerinus* (8).

(8) *Idem, p.* 58. *et Herodot. l.* ii. *c.* 134.

According to *Africanus*.

The VIII. *dynaſty of* Memphites, *conſiſting of twenty-ſeven kings, who reigned* 146 *years.*

* * * *

The IX. *dynaſty of* Heracleots, *conſiſting of nineteen kings.*

	Years.
1. *Achthoes* (I) reigned -	
* * * *	
	409

The X. *dynaſty of* Heracleots, *conſiſting of nineteen kings, who reigned* 185 *years.*

* * * *

The XI. *dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſixteen kings, who reigned* 43 *years.*

* * * *

After whom *Ammenemes* reigned 16 years.

According to *Euſebius*.

The VIII. *dynaſty of* Memphites, *conſiſting of five kings, who reigned* 100 *years.*

* * * *

The IX. *dynaſty of* Heracleopolites, *conſiſting of four kings.*

	Years.
1. *Achthus* - - -	
* * * *	
	100

The X. *dynaſty of* Heracleopolites, *conſiſting of nineteen kings, who reigned* 185 *years.*

* * * *

The XI. *dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſixteen kings, who reigned* 43 *years.*

* * * *

After whom *Ammenemes* reigned 16 years.

TOME II.

The XII. *dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſeven kings.*

	Years.
1. *Geſongoſes*, or *Seſonchoris*, reigned	46
2. *Ammanemes* - -	38

The XII. *dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſeven kings.*

	Years.
1. *Seſyncboris* reigned	46
2. *Ammenemes* - -	38

(I) *Achthoes* was a moſt inhuman prince: after ſeveral cruelties by him exerciſed on his ſubjects, he fell into madneſs, and was ſlain by a crocodile (9).

(9) *Ibid. p.* 59.

2. *Seſoſtris*

According to *Africanus*.

	Years.
3. *Seſoſtris* - - -	48
4. *Lachares* (K) - -	8
5. *Ammeres* - - -	8
6. *Ammenemes* - -	8
7. *Scemiophris*, his ſiſter	4
	160

The XIII. *dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſixty kings, who reigned* 184 *years.*

* * * *

The XIV. *dynaſty is wanting.*

* * * *

The XV. *dynaſty of* Phœnician *ſhepherds, conſiſting of ſix kings.*

	Years.
1. *Saïtes* reigned -	19
2. *Byon*, or *Beon* -	44
3. *Pachnan*, or *Apachnas*	61
4. *Staan* - - -	50
5. *Archles* - - -	49
6. *Aphobis* - -	61
	284

The XVI. *dynaſty of* Greek *ſhepherds, conſiſting of thirty-two kings, who reigned* 518 *years.*

* * * *

According to *Euſebius*.

	Years.
3. *Seſoſtris* - - -	48
4. *Labaris* (K) - -	8
5. - - - -	} 42
6. - - - -	
7. - - - -	
	245

The XIII. *dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *conſiſting of ſixty kings, who reigned* 453 *years.*

* * * *

The XIV. *dynaſty of* Xoïtes, *conſiſting of ſeventy-ſix kings, who reigned* 184, *or* 484 *years.*

* * * *

The XV. *dynaſty of* Dioſpolites, *who reigned* 250 *years.*

* * * *

The XVI. *dynaſty of* Thebans, *conſiſting of five kings, who reigned* 190 *years.*

* * * *

(K) This prince made choice of the labyrinth at *Arſinoe* for his ſepulchre (10).

(10) *Ibid. & p.* 60.

The

According to *Africanus*.

The XVII. *dynasty, consisting of forty-three other pastor kings, and forty-three* Thebans, *who reigned together* 153 *years.*

* * * *

According to *Eusebius*.

The XVII. *dynasty of* Phœnician *shepherds.*

	Years.
1. *Saites* reigned	19
2. *Beon*	43
3. *Aphophis* (L)	14
4. *Archles*	30
	106

The XVIII. *dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of sixteen kings.*

	Years.
1. *Amos* (M), called also *Amosis* and *Tethmosis*, son of *Asseth*, reigned	25
2. *Chebros*	13
3. *Amenophthis*	21
4. *Amersis*	22
5. *Misaphris*	13
6. *Misphragmuthosis*, or *Amosis* II.	26
7. *Tuthmosis*	9
8. *Amenophis*, or *Memnon*	31
9. *Horus*	37
10. *Acherres* I.	32
11. *Rathos*	6
12. *Chebres*	12
13. *Acherres* II.	12
14. *Armeses*	5
15. *Rammesses*	1
16. *Amenoph*	19
	263

The XVIII. *dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of sixteen kings.*

	Years.
1. *Amosis* reigned	25
2. *Chebron*	13
3. *Ammenophis*	21
4. *Miphris*	12
5. *Misphragmuthosis*	26
6. *Tuthmosis*	9
7. *Amenophis*	31
8. *Horus*	36
9. *Achencherses*	12
10. *Athoris*	39
11. *Chencheres*	16
12. *Acherres*	8
13. *Cherres*	15
14. *Armes*, or *Danaus*	5
15. *Ammeses*, or *Ægyptus*	68
16. *Memophis*	40
	348

(L) This prince is supposed, by some, to be the *Pharaoh* who advanced *Joseph* (11).

(M) Under *Amosis* it is supposed, by *Africanus*, that the *Israelites* departed out of *Egypt*; but *Eusebius* places the *exodus* under *Chencheres*, the eleventh of this dynasty (12).

(11) *Ibid. p.* 69. (12) *Ibid. p.* 62, 72, &c.

The

According to *Africanus*.

The XIX. *dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of six kings.*

	Years.
1. *Sethos* reigned -	51
2. *Rhapsaces* - -	61
3. *Ammenephthes* - -	20
4. *Rameses* - - -	60
5. *Ammenemnes* - -	5
6. *Thuoris*, the *Polybus* of *Homer* - -	7
	209

According to *Eusebius*.

The XIX. *dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of five kings.*

	Years.
1. *Sethos* - - - -	55
2. *Rhapses* - - -	66
3. *Ammenephthes* - -	40
4. *Ammenemmes* - -	26
5. *Thuoris* - - -	7
	194

TOME III.

The XX. *dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of twelve kings, who reigned* 135 *years.*

* * * *

The XXI. *dynasty of* Tanites, *consisting of seven kings.*

	Years.
1. *Smedes* reigned -	26
2. *Psusenes*, or *Psuneses*	46
3. *Nephelcheres* - -	4
4. *Amenenophthis* - -	9
5. *Osochor* - - -	6
6. *Pinaches* - - -	9
7. *Susennes* - - -	30
	130

The XXII. *dynasty of* Bubastites, *consisting of nine kings.*

	Years.
1. *Sesonchis* reigned -	21
2. *Osoroth* - - -	15
3. - - - -	}
4. - - - -	} 25
5. - - - -	}

6. *Tacel-*

According to *Eusebius*.

The XX. *dynasty of* Diospolites, *consisting of twelve kings, who reigned* 178 *years.*

* * * *

The XXI. *dynasty of* Tanites, *consisting of seven kings.*

	Years.
1. *Smendis* - - -	26
2. *Psusennes* I. - -	41
3. *Nephercheres* - -	4
4. *Amenophthis* - -	9
5. *Osochor* - - -	6
6. *Psinaches* - - -	9
7. *Psusennes* II. - -	35
	130

The XXII. *dynasty of* Bubastites, *consisting of three kings.*

	Years.
1. *Sesenchosis* reigned -	21
2. *Osorthon* - - -	15
3. *Tacellothis* - -	13

According to *Africanus*.

	Years.
6. *Tacellothis* - - -	13
7. - - - -	42
8. - - - -	
9. - - - -	
	120

According to *Eusebius*.

The XXIII. *dynasty of* Tanites, *consisting of four kings.*

	Years.
1. *Petubates* reigned -	40
2. *Osorcho*, or *Hercules*	8
3. *Psammus* - - -	10
4. *Zet* - - - -	31
	89

The XXIII. *dynasty of* Tanites, *consisting of three kings.*

	Years.
1. *Petubastes* reigned	25
2. *Osorthon*, or *Hercules*	9
3. *Psammus* - - -	10
	44

The XXIV. *dynasty of one* Saite.

	Years.
Bochchoris reigned -	6

The XXIV. *dynasty of one* Saite.

	Years.
Bochchoris, or *Bonchoris* reigned - - -	44

The XXV. *dynasty of* Ethiopians, *consisting of three kings.*

	Years.
1. *Sabbacon* reigned -	8
2. *Seuechus* - - -	14
3. *Tarcus* - - -	18
	40

The XXV. *dynasty of* Ethiopians, *consisting of three kings.*

	Years.
1. *Sabbacon* reigned -	12
2. *Seuechus* - - -	12
3. *Taracus* - - -	20
	44

The XXVI. *dynasty of* Saites, *consisting of nine kings.*

	Y.	M.
1. *Stephinates* reigned	7	0
2. *Nerepsos* - -	6	0
3. *Nechao* I. - -	8	0
4. *Psammitichus* -	54	0
5. *Nechao* II. -	6	0
6. *Psammuthis* -	6	0

The XXVI. *dynasty of* Saites, *consisting of nine kings.*

	Years.
1. *Ammeris* reigned -	12
2. *Stephanathis* - -	7
3. *Necheptos* - - -	6
4. *Nechao* I. - - -	8
5. *Psammitichus* -	45
6. *Nechao* II. - -	6

According to *Africanus*.

	Years.	
7. *Uaphris* - -	19	0
8. *Amoſis* - -	44	0
9. *Pſammacherites*	0	6
	150	6

According to *Euſebius*.

	Years.
7. *Pſammuthis*, or *Pſammitichus* II.	17
8. *Uaphris* - - -	25
9. *Amoſis* - - - -	42
	168

The XXVII. *dynaſty of* Perſians, *conſiſting of eight kings.*

	Y.	M.
1. *Cambyſes* reigned	6	0
2. *Darius*, the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*	36	0
3. *Xerxes the Great*	21	0
4. *Artabanus* -	0	7
5. *Artaxerxes* -	41	0
6. *Xerxes* II. -	0	2
7. *Sogdianus* - -	0	7
8. *Darius*, the ſon of *Xerxes* -	19	0
	124	4

The XXVII. *dynaſty of* Perſians, *conſiſting of eight kings.*

	Y.	M.
1. *Cambyſes* reigned	3	0
2. The *Magi* -	0	7
3. *Darius* - -	36	0
4. *Xerxes* I. - -	21	0
5. *Artaxerxes Longimanus* -	40	0
6. *Xerxes* II. -	0	2
7. *Sogdianus* - -	0	7
8. *Darius*, the ſon of *Xerxes*,	19	0
	120	4

The XXVIII. *dynaſty of one* Saite.

	Years.
Amyrteos reigned -	6

The XXVIII. *dynaſty of one* Saite.

	Years.
Amyrtanus, or *Amyrtæus*, reigned -	6

The XXIX. *dynaſty of* Mendeſians, *conſiſting of four kings.*

	Y.	M.
1. *Nepherites* reigned	6	0
2. *Acheris* - -	13	0
3. *Pſammuthis* -	1	0
4. *Nephorotes* -	0	4
	20	4

The XXIX. *dynaſty of* Mendeſians, *conſiſting of five kings.*

	Y.	M.
1. *Nepherites* reigned	6	0
2. *Acheris* - -	13	0
3. *Pſammuthis* -	1	0
4. *Anapherites* -	0	4
5. *Muthis* - -	1	0
	21	4

The

According to *Africanus*.

The XXX. *dynasty of princes of* Sebennytus, *consisting of three kings.*

	Years.
1. *Nectanebes* I. reigned	18
2. *Teos* - - - - -	2
3. *Nectanebes* II. -	18
	38

According to *Eusebius*.

The XXX. *dynasty of princes of* Sebennytus, *consisting of three kings.*

	Years.
1. *Nectanebes* reigned	10
2. *Teos* - - - - -	2
3. *Nectanebes* - -	8
	20

III. *A* TABLE *of* Egyptian *kings from* Manetho, *according to* Josephus [b].

	Y.	M.
Timæus reigned -	0	0
The pastor kings.		
1. *Salatis* - -	19	0
2. *Bæon* - - -	44	0
3. *Apbachnas* -	36	7
4. *Aphophis* - -	61	0
5. *Janias* - -	50	1
6. *Assis* - - -	49	2
Egyptians.		
Haliſphragmuthoſis	0	0
Tethmoſis - -	25	4
Chebron - -	13	0
Amenophis - -	20	7
Ameſſes, a woman	21	9
Mephres - - -	12	9

	Y.	M.
Mephramuthoſis, or *Miſphragmuthoſis* - - -	21	10
Thmoſis - - -	9	8
Amenophis - -	30	10
Orus - - - -	36	5
Acenchres - -	12	1
Rathoſis - - -	9	0
Acencheres I. - -	12	5
Acencheres II. -	12	3
Armais - - -	4	0
Rameſſes - - -	1	4
Harmeſſes Miamun	66	2
Amenophis - -	19	6
	393	0

IV. *A* TABLE *of the* Theban *kings from the* Laterculus *of* Eratosthenes [c].

	Years.
1. *Menes*, or *Mines*, reigned - - -	62
2. *Athothes* I. - -	59
3. *Athothes* II. - -	32
4. *Diabies* - - -	19
5. *Pemphos* - - -	18
6. *Tægar Amachus Momchiri*, or *Tægaramus*	79
7. *Stæchus* - - -	6
8. *Goſormies*, or *Eleſipantus* - - - -	30
9. *Mares* - - -	26

[b] Contra Apion. l. i.

[c] Apud Syncell. p. 92, &c.

	Years.
10. *Anoyphes*	20
11. *Sirius*	18
12. *Chnubus Gneurus*	27
13. *Rauoſis*	13
14. *Biyris*	10
15. *Saophis*	29
16. *Senſaophis*	27
17. *Moſcheris*	31
28. *Muſthis*	33
19. *Pammus Archondes*	35
20. *Apappus the Great*	100
21. *Echeſcus Caras*	1
22. *Nitocris*	6
23. *Myrtæus*	22
24. *Thyoſimares*	12
25. *Thyrillus*, or *Thinillus*	8
26. *Semphucrates*	18
27. *Chuther Taurus*	7
28. *Meres*, or *Maures*, the philoſopher	12
29. *Chema Ephtha*	18
30. *Anchunius Ochy*, or *Scunioſoehos*	60
31. *Penteathyris*	16
32. *Stamenemes*	23
33. *Siſtoſiehermes*	55
34. *Maris*	43
35. *Siphoas Hermes*	5
36.	14
37. *Phruron*, or *Nilus*	5
38. *Amurthæus*, or *Amythantæus*	63

V. *A* TABLE *of the* Egyptian *kings according to the ſeries of* Syncellus[d].

	Years.
1. *Meſtraim*, or *Menes*, reigned	35
2. *Cutudes*, or *Cudrus*	63
3. *Ariſtarchus*	34
4. *Spanius*	36
5.	
6.	72
7. *Serapis*	23
8. *Seſonchoſis*	49
9. *Amenemes*	29
10. *Amaſis*, or *Ameſis*	2
11. *Aceſephthres*	13
12. *Achereas*	9
13. *Amiyſes*, or *Armiyſes*	4
14. *Chamois*	12
15. *Ameſiſes*	65
16.	14
17. *Uſe*	50
18. *Rhameſes*	29
19. *Rhameſſomenes*	15
20. *Thyſimares*	31
21. *Rhameſſeſeos*	23
22. *Rhameſſemena*	19
23. *Rhameſſe*, ſon of *Baetes*	99
24. *Rhameſſe*, ſon of *Uaphres*	89
25. *Concharis*	6
26. *Silites*	19
27. *Bæon*	44
28. *Apachnas*	36
29. *Aphophis*	61
30. *Sethos*	50
31. *Certus*	29
32. *Aſeth*	24
33. *Amoſis*, or *Tethmoſis*	22
34. *Chebron*	13

[d] 1 chronog. p. 91, &c.

35. *Amephes*

	Years.
35. *Amephes*	15
36. *Amenſes*	11
37. *Miſphragmuthoſis*	16
38. *Miſphres*	23
39. *Tuthmoſis*	39
40. *Amenophthis*	34
41. *Horus*	48
42. *Achencheres*	25
43. *Athoris*	29
44. *Chencheres*	26
45. *Acheres*	8 or 30
46. *Armæus*, or *Danaus*	9
47. *Rhameſſes*, or *Ægyptus*	68
48. *Amenophis*	8
49. *Thuoris*	17
50. *Nechepſos*	19
51. *Pſammuthis*	13
52.	4
53. *Certus*	20
54. *Rhampſis*	45
55. *Amenſes*, or *Amenemes*	26
56. *Ochyras*	14
57. *Amedes*	27
58. *Thuoris*, or *Polybus*	50
59. *Athothis*, or *Phuſanus*	28
60. *Cencenes*	39
61. *Uennephes*	42
62. *Suſſacim*	34
63. *Pſuenus*, or *Senipſuerus*	25
64. *Ammenophes*	9
65. *Nephecheres*	6
66. *Saites*	15
67. *Pſinaches*	9
68. *Petubaſtes*	44
69. *Oſorthon*	9
70. *Pſammus*	10
71. *Concharis*	21
72. *Oſorthon*	15
73. *Tacelophes*	13
74. *Bocchoris*	44
75. *Sabacon*	12
76. *Sebechon*	12
77. *Taraces*	20
78. *Amaes*	38
79. *Stephinathes*	27
80. *Nacepſus*	13
81. *Nechaab* I.	1
82. *Pſammitichus*	14
83. *Nechaab* II.	9
84. *Pſammuthis*, or *Pſammitichus* II.	17
85. *Uaphres*	34
86. *Amaſis*	50
87. *Amyrtæus*	6
88. *Nepherites*	6
89. *Achoris*	13
90. *Pſammuthis*	2
91. *Menas*	4
92. *Nectanebes*	8
93. *Teos*	2

VI. *A* TABLE *of the kings of* Egypt.

According to *Herodotus*.

Menes -
* * * *
* * * *
* * * *
Nitocris -
* * * *

According to *Diodorus Siculus*.

Menas, or *Mneves* -
- - 52 of his deſcendants 1400 years
Buſiris -
- - 7 of his deſcendants
Buſiris the 8th of them
* * *

Ac-

According to *Herodotus.*	According to *Diodorus Siculus.*
* * * *	*Oſymandyas* - -
* * * *	- - 8 of his deſcendants
* * * *	*Uchoreus* the 8th of them
* * * *	- - 12 generations
Mœris - - -	*Myris* - - -
* * * *	- - 7 generations, one of theſe *Saſyches*, the lawgiver
Seſoſtris - - -	*Seſooſis* I. - -
Pheron - - -	*Seſooſis* II. - -
* * * *	- - ſeveral generations
* * * *	*Amaſis* (*Ammoſis*) - -
* * * *	*Actiſanes* the *Ethiopian* -
* * * *	*Mendes*, or *Marus* - -
	- - 5 generations, an interregnum
Proteus - - -	*Proteus* - - -
Rhampſinitus - -	*Remphis* - - -
* * * *	- - - }
	Nilus } 6 generations
* * * *	- - - }
Cheops - - -	*Chemmis*, or *Chembes* -
Cephrenes - - -	*Cephren*, or *Chabryis* -
Mycerinus - - -	*Mycerinus*, or *Cherinus* -
Aſychis - - -	*Gnephachthus* - -
Anyſis - - -	*Bocchoris* - - -
Sabaco - - -	*Sabaco* - - -
Anyſis again - -	- - interregnum 2 years
Sethon - - -	* * *
- - - 12 kings - -	- - 12 kings
Pſammitichus - -	*Pſammitichus* - -
Necus - - -	- - 4 generations
Pſammis - - -	* * *
Apries - - -	*Apries* - - -
Amaſis - - -	*Amaſis* - - -
Pſammenitus - -	* * *

THE diſagreement between theſe ſeveral ſucceſſions of *Egyptian* kings, both in their names, and the years of their reſpective reigns, is ſo great, and there are ſuch chaſms, and apparent corruptions and miſtakes, in them all, that it would ſeem loſt labour to go about to reduce them into a chronological ſeries, ſo as to agree with one another, much leſs with Scripture, and the chronological obſervations of

other historians. However, we shall say something of each of the preceding tables.

As to, to begin with the first, the sum total of the thirty dynasties, according to the old chronicle, is not only an immense number, vastly exceeding the age of the world, but appears to be an astronomical calculation; by which the Egyptians would have their dynasties to have run through a whole periodic revolution of the zodiac[e]; and therefore we shall not offer to make any use of it. It may only be observed, that though this sum be said to be the amount of the thirty dynasties, yet therein must be included the 30,000 years which the *Sun* reigned, the 3984 years reign of *Saturn*, and the other twelve gods, and the 217 years reign of the eight demigods; making, together, 34,201 years. As to the fourteen first dynasties, which we conceive to be omitted in the fragment we have remaining of this chronicle, the meaning of the original may perhaps be, that the fifteen generations of the cynic circle, which are placed in the table in the fifteenth dynasty, and reigned 443 years, do make up the first fifteen dynasties: and this seems to be confirmed by the sum total of the years of the sixteen last dynasties, as in the table, which is 2140 years, and, with the said 34,201 years, makes 36,341; to which if we add 184 years, for the duration of the twenty-eighth dynasty, the number of which is omitted, we shall have the complete sum of 36,525. And consequently, deducting thence the sum of the reigns of the gods and demigods, the remainder will be 2324 years, for the duration of the succeeding dynasties, according to this chronicle; which is a number reasonable enough, though it cannot be reconciled to the account of *Manetho*.

The successions of *Manetho*, which are given in the second table, have this additional corruption, that their order has been disturbed by transcribers: and as in their present disposition they cannot possibly be reduced to any one system of chronology, some have altered that disposition according to their various hypotheses; while others make those works with them, and absolutely reject these dynasties, or great part of them, as fabulous.

The credit of *Manetho* has been called in question by several writers, not only because of the incredible antiquity to which his history is supposed to have ascended,

[e] See vol. I. p. 190, Y. [f] Vid. Jac. Capell. [illegible] & Chronol. ante M. 2269. Strauchium orig. Ital. [illegible]

but

but from the account which, it is ſaid, he himſelf gave of the records from whence he took it, pretending to have extracted it from certain pillars in the *Seriadic* land, on which inſcriptions had been made in the ſacred dialect and letters, by *Thoth*, the firſt *Hermes*; and were tranſlated, after the flood, out of the ſacred dialect into the *Greek* (N) tongue in ſacred letters (O), and laid up in books by *Agathodæmon*, the ſon of the ſecond *Hermes*, the father of *Tat*, in the inner receſſes of the *Egyptian* temples[g]. Now it is abſolutely impoſſible, that the firſt *Hermes*, who lived in the earlieſt ages of the *Egyptian* monarchy, could write an hiſtory of ſo many generations which came into the world after his death, unleſs he did it by inſpiration: and if *Manetho* could be ſo ſtupid as to aſſert this, it muſt neceſſarily have overthrown the credit of his whole work. But we do not think that writer could mean any ſuch thing: the words cited from him do not ſay he took his *whole* hiſtory from thoſe pillars; though he might, probably, quote thoſe records to ſupport the antient hiſtory which preceded the

[g] Syncell. p. 40. See vol. i. p. 169, 170, (E).

(N) Dr. *Stillingfleet* (13), with great reaſon, thinks this abſolutely incredible, the *Greek* language being not known in *Egypt*, at leaſt not in requeſt there, ſo early as this: for the *Greeks* had little or no commerce with the *Egyptians* till the time of *Pſammitichus*, as we have obſerved more than once. It ſeems alſo very unlikely, that *Manetho* ſhould aſſert this; for, beſides the improbability above-mentioned, the *Egyptian* ſtory was ſo far from being tranſlated to his hand, that he himſelf was obliged to tranſlate it into *Greek* from the ſacred regiſters (14); for which reaſon we ſuſpect ſome corruption in this paſſage; and, if it be not too bold a conjecture, we ſhould gueſs, that, inſtead of ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν, the *Greek tongue*, it ought to be read, ἑλλείχην φωνὴν, the *vulgar tongue*: but we dare not dictate, in ſo dubious a point.

(O) The original words are, γράμμασιν ἱερογλυφικοῖς, which the learned writer, named in the preceding note, tranſlates *hieroglyphic characters*, and very juſtly wonders how any tranſlation can be made into ſuch characters, which repreſent things, and not words (15). But as theſe characters are plainly called *letters*, we conceive they could not be *hieroglyphical* in the common acceptation of the word, but rather ſuppoſe them to be the ſame with the *hieroglyphic*, or ſacred letters above-mentioned.

(13) *Orig. ſacr. book* i. *c.* 2.
(14) *Joſeph. cont. Apion. l.* i. *p.* 1336.
(15) *Stillingfl. ubi ſup.*

time of *Thoth*; and such pillars, or, at least, some pillars which were of great antiquity, and by the priests attributed to *Thoth*, must have been extant in the days of *Manetho*, or he could never have appealed to them in so public a manner, especially in writing to his prince. It may also be answered, that though *Thoth* made the first inscriptions on those pillars, yet it is not impossible but, in succeeding times, other inscriptions might be added to those of *Thoth*; for the pillars might be in common phrase ascribed to him, though the historical inscriptions were continued after his death, by others. But, after all, it may be questioned, whether *Manetho* really intended to support his history by the authority of those pillars: for the passage wherein he mentions them seems to have been taken out of another book of his, called *Sothis*, or *Seth*, which was not historical, but prophetical. For, in his dedication of that work to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, he says, that his interpreting the sacred books of *Hermes* was in obedience to that prince's command, who inquired of him concerning the future events that were to happen in the world [h]. And as to the records from whence he took his history, we are elsewhere assured, it was from the sacred registers [i], which were kept by the priests, and written in the *Egyptian* language, since he translated them into *Greek*.

THE stronger prejudice, therefore, against the credit of this writer, arises from his chronology. The *Egyptians*, it is true, pretended to an excessive antiquity, and to have certain records for a prodigious length of time past. This appears not only from the old chronicle above-mentioned, but from the extravagant numbers of years their priests imposed on *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and *Diodorus* (P); but *Manetho*

[h] Vid. SYNCELL. p. 40. [i] JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. i. p. 1336. EUSEB. præp. ev. l. ii. in procem.

(P) Some of these incredible accounts are as follow:

	Years.
From *Vulcan* to *Alexander* (16) - - -	48,863
From the reign of the *Sun* to *Alexander* (17) -	23,000
From *Osiris* to *Alexander* (18) above - -	10,000
Or almost - - - - - -	23,000
From *Hercules* to *Amasis* (19) - - -	17,000
From *Bacchus* to *Amasis* (20) - - -	15,000
The gods and heroes reigned (21) - -	18,000

(16) *Diog. Laert. in procem.* (17) *Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 22.* (18) *Idem ibid. p. 20.* (19) *Herod. l. ii. c. 43.* (20) *Idem ibid.* (21) *Diod. ubi sup. p. 41.*

From

netho ſeems to have been much more modeſt. The ſum of his thirty-one dynaſties from *Menes* to fifteen years before *Alexander* (without taking the reigns of the gods and demigods into the account), if caſt up, will amount to above 5300 years, which will reach higher than the creation of the world. And *Joſeph Scaliger* [k] has accordingly ſettled their chronology in ſuch a manner, that, by his own way of reckoning, it exceeds the epoch of the creation 1336 years. But there is a leſſer number mentioned by *Syncellus*, who ſays, the account of the years of all the dynaſties was 3555; which is much more reaſonable than the other, and yet will agree with no ſyſtem of chronology, unleſs we take part of this number for the reigns of the antediluvian princes of *Egypt*. *Manetho*, as we have already obſerved, began his hiſtory with ſeven gods, and nine demigods [l], who reigned 1985 years; and then ſucceeded mortal kings, the firſt of whom was *Menes*: theſe three races ſeem to be the ſame with thoſe called, in the old chronicle, *Auritæ*, *Meſtræi*, and *Egyptians* [m]. Now if we allow (as is moſt reaſonable, in caſe there be any ſhadow of truth in this part of the hiſtory), that the gods, or *Auritæ*, were antediluvians; the demigods, or *Meſtræi*, the poſtdiluvians of the race of *Mizraim*; and the *mortal men*, or *Egyptians*, *Menes* and his ſucceſſors; and if we allow 1200 years, part of the 1985, for the reigns of the firſt [n]; the remainder, 785, will be the years of the reign of *Mizraim*, and his deſcendants: and, deducting the whole 1985 out of the ſaid 3555; there will remain 1570 years, the diſtance from *Menes* to the fifteenth year before *Alexander*. This way of computing would be plauſible, were it not that the epoch of the *Egyptian* kingdom will, by this means, precede the diſperſion of mankind; which can hardly be ſuppoſed, unleſs it be allowed, that the *Egyptians* reckoned the years of the government of their firſt anceſtors over their deſcendants before they left *Shinaar*,

[k] Canon iſagog. l. ii. p. 228. [l] See vol. i. p. 197.
[m] Ibid. p. 196. [n] Ibid. p. 197, 199.

	Years.
From *Orus*, the laſt of them, to the 180th *Olympiad* (22)	15,000
Kings of *Egypt* before *Amaſis* reigned (23) -	13,000
From their firſt mortal king to *Sethon* (24) - -	11,340
There were chronicles at *Laïs* (25) of - -	8000

(22) *Idem ibid.* (23) *Pomp. Mela, l.* i. *c.* 9. (24) *Herod. ubi ſup.* (25) *Plato in Tim.*

and arrived in *Egypt*. But the great objection of all is, that *Manetho*'s number of 3555 appears to belong wholly to the ſucceſſors of *Menes*, and we have no manner of warrant to make any deduction from it.

Some chronologers therefore, particularly father *Petau* [o] (who took delight in contradicting *Scaliger*), reject the whole ſcheme of *Manetho*'s dynaſties as fabulous, and of no manner of value, or credit. And others [p], to whom *Euſebius* led the way in his canon [q], omit the firſt ſixteen dynaſties only, and begin their chronology with the ſeventeenth; though they differ among themſelves in their computations. The firſt who, without rejecting any, earneſtly ſet about reducing the intire ſeries to the Scripture chronology, was the learned Sir *John Marſham* [r], who firſt gueſſed, that theſe dynaſties were not ſucceſſive, but collateral. He ſuppoſes that *Egypt*, immediately after the death of *Menes*, was divided into four diſtinct kingdoms, of *Thebes*, *This*, *Memphis*, and the *Lower Egypt*, beſides ſome of leſſer note, which aroſe afterwards, and whoſe epochs are more difficult to be ſettled; and that it continued ſo divided for almoſt ſeven centuries, till the paſtors made themſelves maſters of all, except that of *Thebes*; after whoſe expulſion, about 500 years after, *Egypt* became ſubject to one prince. By this means, the duration of the whole empire, from *Menes* to the end of the reign of *Amaſis*, is reduced to 1819 years. It muſt be obſerved, that Sir *John Marſham* makes great uſe of the table of the *Theban* kings given us by *Eratoſthenes*, of which we ſhall ſpeak by-and-by.

The next who undertook to model this *Egyptian* chronology is father *Pezron*, who, by following the larger chronology of the *Septuagint*, has more latitude, and allows the duration of the *Egyptian* empire 2619 years from *Menes* to *Nectanebus*. This author, likewiſe, goes on the ſame foundation with Sir *John Marſham*, in making the firſt ſeventeen dynaſties not ſucceſſive, but collateral. He is of opinion, that the *Meſtræans*, or offspring of *Mizraim*, the firſt inhabitants of *Egypt*, were thoſe whom their poſterity honoured with the titles of gods and demigods; and that, though they began to people the country, yet they formed no kingdom there till *Menes*, who began his

[o] De doctr. tempor. l. ix. c. 15. [p] Calvisius, Usserius, & Jac. Capellus. Perizonius eſteems the firſt fourteen or fifteen to be fabulous. [q] Chron. Græc. p. 89. [r] In his canon chronicus Ægyptiacus, &c.

reign

reign 648 years after the deluge. *Seſoſtris* he places in the time of the judges of *Iſrael*, *Deborah* then preſiding over that people [x].

FROM the plans of theſe two great men, ſeveral other chronological writers have formed ſyſtems of their own, differing, in ſome reſpects, from them, as well as from each other. The chief care of them all is, to fix the times of *Menes* and *Seſoſtris*; which when they have done, they imagine the reſt follows almoſt of courſe. The opinions, as to theſe two princes, are ſo various, that it would lead us into too great a detail, to mention them all in this place; and what we judge moſt curious, and worthy notice, in ſuch diſquiſitions, will be more properly introduced, when we give their hiſtories. One thing may generally be obſerved, with reſpect to all theſe writers, eſpecially with reſpect to *Perizonius*, that they are much oftener in the right in refuting and detecting the errors and miſtakes of one another, than in ſettling or adjuſting any thing of their own that may be ſafely relied on.

THE fundamental hypotheſis which all theſe writers go upon, that there were, in the moſt early times, ſeveral kingdoms in *Egypt* at once, ſeems to be very probable, the Scripture mentioning the kings of the *Egyptians* in the plural, even ſo late as the time of *Jehoram* [y]. The kingdoms of *Thebes* and *Memphis* divided *Egypt* between them for ſeveral centuries; and it is certain, from *Herodotus* and *Diodarus*, that there were, at leaſt, two kings in that country at the time of the invaſion of the *Ethiopians* under *Sabbaco*. But it does not appear, that *Manetho* himſelf, though he wrote the hiſtory of five *Egyptian* nations [z], did make any of the dynaſties he has given us collateral or contemporary; on the contrary, unleſs his tranſcribers have done him more wrong than we have reaſon to ſuſpect, he placed them all in a continual ſucceſſion [a]; and it is taking the utmoſt liberty with *Manetho* to alter it, unleſs we charge the fault on the records which he tranſcribed.

AFTER *Cambyſes* had carried away their records, the *Egyptian* prieſts, in all probability, to ſupply their loſs, and keep up their pretences to antiquity, began to write new records, wherein they not only neceſſarily made great miſtakes, but added a good deal of their own invention, eſpecially as to diſtant times. From theſe materials, for want

[x] PEZRON, antiq. des temps retablie, c. 13. [y] 2 Kings vii. 6. [z] SYNCELL. p. 40. [a] See PERIZON. orig. Ægypt. p. 62, &c.

of better, *Manetho* collecting his hiſtory, muſt have intermixed a good deal of fable, as there is indeed in the antiquities of all nations (the *Jews* excepted); for it cannot be expected, that people in the circumſtances of theſe early nations could have began to keep records till ſome ages after their ſettlement. It is unjuſt therefore to lay the whole blame of the confuſion and uncertainty we find in the *Egyptian* hiſtory at the door of *Manetho*: he collected, for ought we know, faithfully from the records he had; and we have ſo little genuine remains of him, and what we have, have been ſo mangled by tranſcribers and pretenders to correct him, that *Iſis* found leſs difficulty in gathering the diſperſed remains of her dead huſband, than it muſt be to patch up a figure which might bear ſome reſemblance of that hiſtorian. Several antient writers, of good judgment, as *Joſephus*, *Plutarch*, *Porphyry*, and *Euſebius*, looked on him as a writer whoſe authority was to be depended on; and the curious fragment tranſcribed from him by *Joſephus*, before his copies had been corrupted, ſeems to confirm this good opinion, being the moſt valuable and authentic piece of *Egyptian* hiſtory of ſo great antiquity, that is extant; and the ſeries of kings we have exhibited thence, in the third table, is a pretty exact record, connecting, if there be any credit in *Manetho*, the *Egyptian* and *Grecian* hiſtories, by acquainting us that *Sethoſis* was *Ægyptus*, and his brother *Armais*, *Danaus*.

Of the catalogue of Eratoſthenes.

THE liſt of *Theban* kings given by *Eratoſthenes* has had a very favourable reception among the learned, not only as a ſupplement to *Manetho*, who has intirely omitted that ſucceſſion, but as a certain foundation for fixing the *Egyptian* chronology (Q). His authority has been preferred to that of *Manetho* [b], in regard he was no *Egyptian* prieſt,

[b] Vid. MARSH. can. chron. p. 8, 26, 297. CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 416, &c.

(Q) Beſides the obſervation of *Dicæarchus*, mentioned hereafter, there is another affixed to *Mares*, the ninth king of this catalogue in *Scaliger*'s edition of *Euſebius*'s *Greek* chronicle (26), purporting, that he was contemporary with the ſixteenth dynaſty of *Thebans* in the lower *Egypt*; which obſervation may be of uſe to thoſe who have a mind to frame a table of the dynaſties, though *Goar*, in his edition of *Syncellus*, has omitted it, and taxes *Scaliger* with adding it of his own invention (27).

(26) *Pag.* 18. *l.* 34. (27) *Goar. in not. ad Syncell. p.* 121.

but

but a *Cyrenean*, a man of eminent learning, and keeper of the *Alexandrian* library, and took his catalogue from the ſacred records of *Thebes*, or had it from the ſacred ſcribes there [c]. Together with the *Egyptian* names of the kings, he has given their interpretation in *Greek*, which thoſe ſkilled in the *Coptic* tongue allow to be juſt in ſome inſtances; but ſeveral of them being corrupted and unintelligible, we have choſen to omit them.

This ſeries is ſuppoſed to be connected with a known epoch in the *Grecian* hiſtory, by a remark of *Dicæarchus*, *Ariſtotle*'s ſcholar, who ſays, that from the reign of *Seſonchoſis*, who ſucceeded *Orus*, the ſon of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, to the reign of *Nilus*, are 2500 years; and from *Nilus* to the firſt *Olympiad* 436 years [d]. Who *Seſonchoſis* was, is very uncertain: the firſt king of the twelfth dynaſty of *Manetho* ſeems to have borne this name, or one very near it; but he muſt have lived too late to be the perſon here meant; and if he be taken to be the immediate ſucceſſor of *Orus*, he muſt have been one of the demigods, and the ſame with *Ares*, or *Mars*; which carries us back into fable. The firſt of theſe obſervations therefore can be of no great uſe; for the time of *Seſonchoſis*, after this way of reckoning, will precede the deluge, even according to the *Samaritan* chronology, near 700 years. But the other king, named by *Dicæarchus*, is found in the catalogue of *Eratoſthenes*, the laſt king but one there being *Phruron*, or *Nilus*; and therefore his time being known, the years of all the preceding kings are eaſily adjuſted to any ſyſtem of chronology. This ſeems plauſible enough: yet we are afraid it will not altogether agree with the account of *Diodorus*. It is plain *Dicæarchus* ſuppoſed *Nilus* reigned at the time of the *Trojan* war; for his calculation will carry us up thither; but, according to *Diodorus*, *Nilus* muſt have been ſeveral generations later than *Proteus*, who reigned in *Egypt* at the time of the *Trojan* war, by the joint teſtimony of him and *Herodotus* [e]; ſo that *Dicæarchus* ſeems only to have given a tolerable gueſs at his age, and not fixed it with ſuch certainty as to enable us to determine it within a century at leaſt. Beſides, it is more than probable, that this table of *Eratoſthenes* has ſuffered by time and tranſcribers, as well as the dynaſties of *Manetho*; and there are doubtleſs ſeveral miſtakes in the numbers as well as

[c] Vid. Syncell. p. 147. Apollon. Argon. l. iv. ver. 272. Herod. l. ii. c. 112.

[d] Dicæarch. apud ſcholiaſt.

[e] Diodor. Sic. l. i. p. 56.

names:

names; the sum total, for example, which *Syncellus* reckons to be 1075, will not agree with the particulars; for, if carefully cast up, they amount to no more than 1055.

Of the series of Syncellus. As to the series of *Syncellus*, given in the fifth table, on which Sir *John Marsham* built much [f], we have a worse opinion of it than of any of the other, especially in the more early ages, where it is supported by no concurring evidence at all. He seems to have composed it by picking here and there such names and numbers, and sometimes adding both out of his own head, as he fansied, in order to accommodate it to the sacred chronology [g]; and therefore we shall take no further notice of it.

Of the successions according to Herodotus *and* Diodorus. We need not spend many words to shew, that it is next to impossible to frame a consistent chronology, as some have attempted [h], from the successions of kings in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*. For, besides their irreconcileable disagreement in several instances, they confessedly omit a great number of princes, and mention no years of the reigns of others; whereby such chasms are left, that nobody can tell how to fill up; and their manner of reckoning by descents, or generations, is too visibly uncertain. Before *Psammitichus* the *Egyptian* chronology is very dark; and though after that prince's time it begins to clear up, yet the variations between all the historians since his reign are considerable, as appears by the tables.

We shall not therefore waste our time in composing an hypothetical scheme of these kings of *Egypt*: of such performances there are choice already; and they are much more easy to frame, than to support: calculations by numbers of years, which are so liable to mistake and corruption, must needs be very precarious; and it seems much more reasonable to rely on the coincidence of facts, and historical synchronisms, from which chiefly we shall, in the course of our history of *Egypt*, endeavour to fix the times of such events as we judge capable of it. And this we think is the most that can be done with any degree of certainty; for it is amazing to us, that men should pretend to adjust the *Egyptian* chronology, from the most early times, to so great a nicety as a few years, and dictate dogmatically in a matter of such absolute uncertainty and confusion.

[f] Vid. can. chron. p. 7. [g] Vid. PERIZON. orig. Æg. p. 53, &c. [h] Vid. CONRING. adv. chronol. c. 17, 18. STILLINGFL. orig. sacr. l. i. c. 5.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of Oſiris, Iſis, Typhon, *and* Orus.

BEFORE we enter upon the hiſtory of the mortal kings of *Egypt*, we are in ſome manner obliged to inſert the following dark and antient fiction. *Oſiris* and *Iſis* were ſaid by ſome to be the ſon and daughter of *Saturn* and *Rhea*, but, according to others, their grand-ſon and grand-daughter, being deſcended from *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had a deity born to them on each of the five intercalary days of the *Egyptians*. Theſe five deities were called *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Typhon*, *Apollo*, and *Venus* [a]. We have their origin and generation again differently, and with the ſeveral particulars, related as follows: *Sol*, ſurpriſing *Rhea* in a private congreſs with *Saturn*, prayed that ſhe might not be delivered in the ſpace of any one month, or day of the year. Soon after *Mercury*, falling in love with the goddeſs, embraced her alſo; and, beating *Luna* at dice, took from the *lunar* year the ſeventy-ſecond part of every day, and thereof compoſed five days, and added them to the year of 360 days, that ſhe might bring forth in them: and theſe they celebrated as the birth-days of *Oſiris*, *Iſis*, *Typhon*, *Orus*, and *Nephthe*. On the firſt day *Oſiris* was born; and at his birth a voice was heard crying out, *The lord of all things is come into the world*: or, according to others, a damſel called *Pamyles*, going to fetch water from the temple of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, heard a loud voice commanding to proclaim, *The great and beneficent king Oſiris is born*. He was delivered to this damſel, who was directed to nurſe him; which ſhe did with all the veneration due to him, performing the myſteries called *Pamylia*, like thoſe called *Palephoria*, in honour of him. On the ſecond day *Arueris* was brought forth, whom ſome called *Apollo*, and others the elder *Orus*. The third was the birth-day of *Typhon*, who came not into the world in proper time and place, but by a violent eruption leaped out of his mother's ſide. On the fourth day *Iſis*, and on the fifth *Nephthe*, or *Nephthys*, took birth; which laſt was alſo called *Finis*, and *Venus*, and *Victoria*. *Sol* was the father of *Oſiris* and *Arueris*; *Mercury* of *Iſis*; and *Saturn* of *Typhon* and *Nephthe*. The third, being the birth-day of *Typhon*, was counted inauſpicious, or unlucky; ſo that the kings thereon

[a] Diod. Sic. lib. i. p. 13.

ſuf-

ſuſpended all buſineſs, and abſtained from eating and drinking. *Nephthe* married *Typhon*, and *Iſis* married *Oſiris*. As for theſe laſt, it is ſaid, that, inticed by a mutual love, they embraced whilſt yet in their mother's womb; and it was thought, that *Arueris*, the elder *Orus* of the *Egyptians*, and the *Apollo* of the *Greeks*, ſprang from that early conjunction (A). *Oſiris* had no ſooner obtained the kingdom of *Egypt*, than he reclaimed the inhabitants from their ſavage and brutal way of living, ſhewed them the fruits of the earth, and inſtituted divine worſhip [b]; building the city of *Thebes*, as is (with great uncertainty) ſaid, and erecting ſeveral temples, and, amongſt the reſt, one to *Jupiter Uranius*, and another to *Jupiter Ammon*, his father, who reigned before him [c]. But, that his beneficence might not be confined to the bounds of his own country, he undertook to viſit the ſeveral nations on the earth, all which he civilized, not by the forcible conſtraint of arms, but by dint of perſuaſion, and by the allurements of muſic and poetry [d]. His ſetting-out, and the more remarkable particulars of his travels, are thus told.

[b] PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 355. [c] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. [d] PLUT. ubi ſupr.

(A) *Herodotus* gives them a daughter, *Bubaſtis*, or *Diana*; and ſeems to have heard the ſtory of theſe fabulous princes, with ſome variation from what is related by *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, the only authors we have who have written this fiction at length. And particularly, ſpeaking of the floating iſland *Chemmis*, near the city of *Butus*, he writes that, by an *Egyptian* tradition, *Latona*, one of the primary deities, reſiding at *Butus*, had *Orus* committed to her care, at a time when *Typhon* was in ſearch after him to deſtroy him; and ſhe accordingly concealed him in the aboveſaid iſle. Now, according to *Plutarch*, *Typhon* was kept within bounds by the prudence of *Iſis* during all the expedition of *Oſiris*; with which account this violent proceeding cannot conſiſt; and *Herodotus* does not in the leaſt hint at this ſearch afterwards. *Diodorus* ſays *Orus* accompanied his father in his travels; he was therefore out of the reach of his enemy; and after his father's murder, this author ſays, he was ſo far from flying from *Typhon*, that he made head againſt him, overcame him in battle, and ſlew him. It appears then, that *Herodotus* heard this fiction related in a third and different manner (1).

(1) *Herodot. lib.* ii. *c.* 156.

HAVING

HAVING in view the vaſt and beneficial deſign abovementioned, he raiſed a great number of followers, amongſt whom was his brother *Apollo*, who claimed the *laurel* as ſacred to him, as the *ivy* was to *Oſiris*. He took alſo his two ſons with him, *Anubis* (which will be ſeemingly contradicted by-and-by) and *Macedo*. Theſe two wore coats of mail, and over them the ſkin of ſuch a beaſt as correſponded with the nature of their courage; ſo *Anubis* had a dog's ſkin, and *Macedo* the ſkin of a wolf; and hence, ſaid they, the dog and the wolf were worſhiped in *Egypt*. *Pan* alſo was of the company; he was afterwards highly revered over all the country, inſomuch that he had not only ſtatues and temples erected to him, but alſo the city of *Chemmis*, which ſignified *Pan*'s city. Add to theſe *Maro*, famous for planting and dreſſing of vines; and *Triptolemus* for ſowing of corn, and gathering in the harveſt. Finally, *Oſiris* took with him nine virgins, proficients in muſic, who being committed to the care of *Apollo*, he thence obtained the title of maſter of the *nine ſiſters*, or *muſes*; ſome *ſatyrs* he met as he went towards *Ethiopia*, who were acceptable for their jocund diſpoſition, and diverting by their antic behaviour, ſkipping, and dancing.

BUT, before he left *Egypt*, he provided againſt any diſturbances that might ariſe in his abſence, by committing the adminiſtration to truſty and ſagacious perſons. For he inveſted *Iſis* with the regency, in which he left his friend *Hermes* to aſſiſt her. *Hermes* was alſo called *Mercury*, *Thoth*, *Thoyth*, *Tauautes*, *Triſmegiſtus*, and by other names. It is a common opinion, that there were two perſons or more who bore theſe ſeveral appellations; but, leaving the diſcuſſion of ſo dark a point, we will here ſpeak of them as one perſon, and enumerate the inventions and books aſcribed to him. He, ſaid they, invented articulate ſounds, appellatives, letters, religion, aſtronomy, muſic, wreſtling, arithmetic, ſtatuary, the three-ſtringed lyre, and the uſe of the olive, and not *Minerva*, as the *Greeks* miſtakenly aſſerted. He was ſtiled the father of eloquence, and thence he derived his name of *Hermes*, the interpreter, or ſpeaker [e]. As to the books he wrote, *Seleucus* reckoned them at no leſs than 20,000 [f]; and *Manetho* exceeds him, computing them at 36,525 [g]. Theſe numbers are ſo enormous, that it has been a ſtumbling-block to the learned to conceive how one perſon could be the author of ſuch myriads

[e] DIODOR. SIC. l. i. p. 14, &c. [f] SELEUC. apud Iamblich. de myſt. Ægypt. §. 8. cap. 1. [g] MANETHO, apud eund. ibid.

of

of tracts. Therefore ſome have ſuppoſed theſe computations to refer to verſes, others to leaves of the *papyrus*; and others again to ſuccinct diſcourſes and proverbs. But *Clement* of *Alexandria* will lead us out of this labyrinth, by the following account of an antient *Egyptian* proceſſion: The *firſt* that advanced, ſays he, was a *chanter*, or ſinger, who bore ſome ſymbol of muſic: his buſineſs was to receive two of the books of *Mercury*, or *Thoth*; of which the one contained hymns to the gods, and the other rules for the king to obſerve. *Secondly*, an *aſtrologer*, bearing a dial and a palm, which were ſymbols of aſtrology: he was obliged to have the four aſtrological books of *Mercury* by heart; the firſt of which contained the places of the fixed ſtars, and the three others treated of the ſun and moon, their eclipſes, illuminations, riſing, and the like. *Thirdly*, an *hierogrammateus*, or ſacred ſcribe, with a feather on his head, bearing a book and a rule, in which were ink and a reed to write with: he was verſed in the ſubjects of ten books, the 1. treated of hieroglyphics; 2. of coſmography; 3. of geography; 4. of the order of the ſun and moon; 5. of the five planets; 6. of the chorography of *Egypt*; 7. contained a deſcription of the *Nile*; 8. a deſcription of the ſacred utenſils, and of the places conſecrated to them; 9. treated of meaſures, and the 10th of whatever was neceſſary in the *Egyptian* worſhip. *Fourthly*, a *ſtoliſtes*, a kind of ſolemn marſhal, holding the cubit of juſtice, and a cup for libations: he knew whatever concerned the inſtitution of youth, and the ſealing of victims. The whole *Egyptian* religion was comprehended in ten books; the 1. related to the ſacrifices; the 2. to firſt-fruits; 3. to hymns; 4. to prayers; 5. to proceſſions; 6. to feſtivals, and the other four to the like ſubjects. *Fifthly*, and laſt of all, came the *prophet*, bearing a water-pot openly in his boſom, and followed by thoſe who carried the proceſſional bread: he, as preſiding over the temple, ſtudied the ten books called ſacerdotal, which ſpoke of the laws, the gods, and the whole diſcipline of the prieſthood. Here we have an account of thirty-ſix books of *Hermes*; beſides which he wrote ſix more, which treated of anatomy, diſeaſes, medicaments, and the like; ſo that he was author of forty-two in all [h]. This is a more rational account. But, to return from whence we digreſſed, this ſagacious perſon, or one of the ſame character, was left behind to aſſiſt *Iſis* in the government of the kingdom.

[h] Clem. Alex. from. l. vi. p. 633.

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MOREOVER, *Hercules* was appointed over the forces at home; and *Antæus*, *Buſiris*, and *Prometheus*, were conſtituted governors over ſeveral provinces. *Oſiris*, having thus ſettled affairs in *Egypt*, began his progreſs, moving firſt towards *Ethiopia*. In this country he raiſed the banks of the *Nile*, and dug ſeveral canals, thereby to prevent the too frequent inundations, and to abate and diſtribute the waters of the *Nile*. Whilſt he was thus employed in *Ethiopia*, the *Nile* broke down its banks in *Egypt*, and overflowed great part of the country with ſo furious and ſo ſudden a tide, that it ſwept away all before it, and drowned great multitudes of people, doing particular damage in *Prometheus*'s juriſdiction, whereat he was grieved almoſt to deſpair. But *Hercules* ſoon drained off the waters, and thence is ſaid to have ſhot through the eagle which preyed on *Prometheus*'s heart; for the ſuddenneſs of this flood was compared to the flight of an eagle, and the river from thence was ſometimes called after that bird. But to return to *Oſiris*; he inſtructed the *Ethiopians* in all rural matters, and, having built them ſeveral cities, he departed, leaving ſome behind him to act as his governors, and others to gather in his tribute. From *Ethiopia* he went into *Arabia*, and thus continued his travels till he had got beyond *India*. In *India* he built ſeveral cities, and particularly *Nyſa*, which he ſo called from the place where (according to ſome) he was bred up. Here he planted the ivy, which was no-where elſe to be found in *India*; and left ſo many monuments of himſelf behind him, as afterwards gave room to diſpute, whether he was not originally of this part of the world. Having ſurveyed all *Aſia*, he croſſed the *Helleſpont*, and, landing in *Thrace*, killed *Lycurgus*, the king of the country, who oppoſed his progreſs. Here he left *Maro* to cultivate the land, and commanded him to build a city, and call it, in derivation from his own name, *Maronea*. Afterwards he beſtowed on his ſon *Macedo* the country of *Macedon*, which borrowed its name from him; and *Triptolemus* had charge of *Attica*. At length *Oſiris* returned back into *Egypt*, laden with the choiceſt productions of the earth, and with the bleſſings of the whole race of mankind, who conſented to his deification.

BUT his brother *Typhon* ſlew him ſoon after his arrival, and cut his body into twenty-ſix pieces, giving one to each of his accomplices [1]. It was thus that ſome ſpoke con-

[1] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. p. 15, &c.

cerning

cerning the death of Osiris; but the story was also told after the following manner. Typhon, fearing that his brother was to return, entered into a conspiracy with seventy-two persons, exclusive of the queen of Ethiopia, named Aso, to kill him; and, privately taking measure of Osiris's body, he ordered a very magnificent coffin to be made. And, having come to him as he was entertaining his friends, this was done, and he made a shift not to take notice of the coffin, and admire it. Whereupon Typhon, in a jesting way, told them, that the person amongst them whom a coffin should have fit. Several of the company tried, but to no purpose, till Osiris went into it, which he did so soon done, than they shut the lid, and nailed the coffin. Then pouring melted lead over it, they conveyed him to the Tanitic mouth of the Nile, and there threw him into the sea; and, on this account, that entrance of the river was abhorred by the Egyptians. This murder was committed in the seventeenth day of the month Athyr, in which the sun went through the scorpion, and in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Osiris, or, as some will have it, of his life. When the Pans and Satyrs told it to the men, they were struck by some future intimations which gave a true guess at the time of Osiris's fate. Isis, hearing it, cut off a lock of her hair, and, putting on a mourning vest, she left Egypt, where she received the sad news. Went in quest of the body of Osiris. As he went along, he came to the sea, if they met on the shore, it must be inquired of him. He knew children, who had been Typhon's friends, refused to give him information. Hence the Egyptians will salute no man with a primitive action, and have antipathies with what they are wont playing at tennis.

Isis, now by this time, in private, mourned his sister Nephthys, who, for he had married by him, then was in Typhon, would have kept the matter and having found the coffin, discovered much anger, she was guided to the place where he was. He intervened and he had given information, and was called Anubis. He was thought to have gained the gods in the same manner as high had not. As regards he came to understand, that the child was brought up by the name of Horus, at Buto, at [illegible] where [illegible] brought up with [illegible] which [illegible] from light.

ſight. Therefore ſhe repaired thither, and, to paſs over the methods ſhe practiſed to poſſeſs herſelf of the coffin, ſhe there obtained it. When ſhe firſt caſt her eyes on it, ſhe cried with ſo loud a voice as ſtruck the king of *Byblus*'s youngeſt ſon dead; for ſhe had inſinuated herſelf into his family, as the moſt ready means to obtain what ſhe wanted; he having raiſed a building over the broom which hid the coffin. With his eldeſt ſon and the coffin ſhe ſtraitways embarked; and, in her paſſage, dried up the *Phædrus*, provoked by a blaſt of wind which blew from the mouth of that river as ſhe ſailed by, about break of day. Being now private, and at leiſure, ſhe opened the coffin, and, laying her face to the face of the deceaſed, bathed it with her tears. As ſhe was thus giving vent to her grief, the king's ſon ſhe had brought away with her from *Byblus*, came behind her, and ſaw what ſhe was doing; whereat enraged, ſhe turned on him with ſo dreadful a countenance, as frighted him ſo, that he died. Some ſaid he leapt into the ſea. This is ſuppoſed to be *Maneros* [k]. She brought the body to *Butus*, and hid it; but *Typhon*, hunting by moon-light, fell on it, and tore it into fourteen pieces, which he ſcattered abroad. *Iſis* then traverſed the lakes and watry places in a boat made of the *papyrus*, ſeeking after the limbs of *Oſiris*. Whence it was held, that thoſe who went on the water in boats made of that wood were in no danger from crocodiles, who either revered or dreaded the goddeſs. In whatever place ſhe found a limb, ſhe there buried it; for which reaſon there were many tombs aſcribed to *Oſiris*: but others ſaid, ſhe made ſeveral figures of his body, and preſented them to as many cities, pretending to each, that they had the original, and ſo eſtabliſhed his worſhip in many places; and made it difficult for *Typhon* to find out the right monument, in caſe he ſhould ever get the ſuperiority, and continued in his implacable malice againſt *Oſiris* [l]. This burial was alſo related after a third, and almoſt quite different manner. For the author from whom we took the firſt account of his death, reports that *Iſis* got together the twenty-ſix pieces of his mangled body, joined them, and embalmed them; and afterwards prevailed on the *Egyptian* prieſts to conſent to, and promote his deification, in conſideration of a third part of *Egypt* which ſhe gave them; and they buried him at *Memphis*. But the place of his burial was a matter of great diſpute

[k] See vol. i. p. 487. [l] Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 357, 358.

and controverſy; though ſome produced the following inſcription in ſacred characters, which they ſaid was on a pillar in *Arabia*.

> SATURN, *the youngeſt of all the gods, was my father. I am* Oſiris, *that king who led an army as far as the deſerts of* India, *and from thence northward as far as the ſprings of the river* Iſter, *and thence quite to the ocean. I am the eldeſt ſon of* Saturn, *ſprung from a noble ſtock, and of generous blood; couſin to the day. Nor is there a place where I have not been, I, who freely diſpenſed my benefits to all mankind.*

ISIS, after the moſt diligent ſearch, could never recover the privities of *Oſiris*, which, being thrown into the river, were devoured by the *lepidotus*, the *ſquameus*, the *phagrus*, and the *oxyrynchus*, which four ſorts of fiſh the *Egyptians* hated upon that account: but ſhe made ample amends for this irreparable loſs, by inſtituting a kind of ſeparate worſhip, which was devoutly and univerſally paid to the image of that part afterwards.

THERE were various reports concerning the actions of *Iſis* and *Orus* after the death of *Oſiris*, as alſo relating to *Typhon*. And firſt it was affirmed, that they overcame him in battle, and ſlew him [m]. *Secondly*, he was ſaid to have been thunderſtruck by *Jupiter*, and plunged under the lake *Sirbon* [n] (B), where being ſuppoſed to lie ſub-

[m] DIOD. Sic. ubi ſupr. p. 79. [n] APOLLON. RHOD. Argo. lib. xi. & HERODOT. l. iii. c. 5.

(B) According to *Diodorus Siculus*, the lake or bog *Sirbon*, *Serbonis*, or *Selbonis*, under mount *Caſius*, was 200 furlongs in length, very narrow, but very deep. Many, miſtaken in their road, nay, whole armies, miſguided in their march, have been ſwallowed up in it. The ſhore all round it was heaps of ſand, which the winds blowing over the ſurface of the bog, the lower particles lighted thereon, and, by degrees, formed a looſe skin, or cruſt, over it; which, though weak, was ſufficient to deceive the eye of the wandering traveller, who no ſooner ſet foot upon it, than he felt it give way under him, and was irrecoverably loſt, and this even at the very brink of it. It was alſo called *Barathra*, or the profound gulphs (2). But it has from time to time decreaſed in extent; for *Pliny* ſpeaks of it as a ſmall place to what it had formerly been (3); and it is now quite choaked up, its place being no more to be found (4).

(2) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. *p.* 26. (3) *Plin. hiſt. nat. l.* v. *c.* 13. (4) *Voyage de P. Lucas, tom.* iii. *p.* 306.

merſed,

merſed, it was thence called *Typhon's exhalations* [o]. And thirdly, it was aſſerted, that *Oſiris*, aſcending from the infernal regions, inſtructed *Orus*, and prepared him to war with *Typhon*; and that after a battle, which continued ſeveral days, this laſt was made priſoner. But *Iſis*, reſtoring him to his liberty, ſo enraged *Orus*, that he tore off the royal attire from her head, when *Mercury*, being preſent, clapped her on an helmet made of an ox's head, inſtead thereof. *Typhon*, after this, renewed the war twice, and was both times vanquiſhed [p]; and, being no longer able to withſtand, or make head againſt his enemies, concealed himſelf, it ſeems, under the above-mentioned lake *Sirbon* [q]. *Oſiris* moreover appeared to *Iſis*, and had a ſon by her, called *Harpocrates*; but he proved a weak and infirm perſon. Here *Plutarch* breaks off, and, aſſuring us that his is the genuine ſtory, proceeds to explain away the whole into an allegory [r]. But, ſeeing *Diodorus* continues his account to the death of *Iſis* and *Orus*, we now turn to him: *Iſis*, having thus quelled her enemies, reigned with great prudence, juſtice, moderation, and beneficence: and, becauſe of her great and conſtant affection towards *Oſiris*, which appeared in nothing more than in the vow ſhe made of widowhood, a law was enacted, which allowed of the marriage-contract between brother and ſiſter: and from the ſame ſource ſprang the cuſtom of preferring the queen before the king, and the wife before the huſband [s]. At laſt ſhe died, and was buried at *Memphis*, as the common opinion was; but this alſo was diſputed. And particularly thoſe, who laid a ſtreſs upon the above-inſerted inſcription, affirmed, there was another pillar near to the former in *Arabia*, and that the following words in ſacred characters were legible upon it:

I, Isis, *am the queen of this country, and was tutored by* Mercury. *What I have ordained, no one may make void. I am the eldeſt daughter of* Saturn, *the youngeſt of the gods. I am the ſiſter and wife of king* Oſiris. *I am ſhe who firſt found corn for the uſe of man. I am the mother of king* Orus. *I am ſhe who ariſeth in the dog-ſtar. The city of* Bubaſtus *was built in honour of me. Farewel! Rejoice, O* Egypt, *my nurſing mother!*

—This was all, ſaid they, that was to be diſtinguiſhed, of this inſcription [t].

[o] Plutarch. in vita Antonii, p. 916. [p] Idem. de Iſid. & Oſirid. ubi ſupra. [q] Herodot. ubi ſupra. [r] Plut. ubi ſupra. [s] See vol. i. p. 466. [t] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra.

She had a moſt ſtately temple erected to her at the city of *Buſiris*, ſituate near the middle of the *Delta*[u], ſome remains of which are thought to be ſtill ſtanding (C).

[u] Herodot. lib. ii. c. 59.

(C) Take the deſcription and account of theſe ruins in the author's own words: "I here "ſaw the remains of one of "the fineſt, vaſteſt, and moſt "antient temples of *Egypt*. "All the ſtones are of "enormous length and thick-"neſs, and all of granite. "They are, for the moſt part, "adorned with ſculptures in "*relievo*, which repreſent "men and women, and all "ſorts of hieroglyphics. Many "of theſe ſtones bear the image "of a man ſtanding upright, "with a long peeked cap on "his head, and holding a go-"blet or bowl, in each hand, "which he preſents to three "or four young women, "which ſtand alſo upright, "one behind another. Theſe "young women have each "of them a javelin in one "hand, and a ſtaff, ſhort-"er than the javelin, in the "other; and on each of their "heads is a ball between two "long taper horns. Others "of theſe ſtones are embel-"liſhed with hieroglyphical "repreſentatations of birds, "fiſhes, and terreſtrial ani-"mals. A lofty and very ſub-"ſtantial pillar of fine gra-"nite, having each of the "four faces of its upper part "wrought with four angular "flutings or notches, ſeems to "have been erected to ſupport "the arcades and vaults of this "ſumptuous edifice. On each "face of this pillar there is "alſo carved the head of a "woman bigger than the life. "Theſe ſculptures have not "been in the leaſt injured by "time, nor by the ſun, nor "by the *Arabs*. . . . It ſeems "to be more than probable, "that this temple, whoſe re-"mains I have here deſcribed, "was the very temple of the "goddeſs *Iſis*, and that the "city of *Buſiris*, mentioned "by *Herodotus*, is now the "very town of *Bahâbeit*, ſi-"tuated in the middle of the "*Delta*, near *Sebennytus*, or "*Sammanûd*. My opinion is "the more rational, in that "throughout all the iſland it "was never heard, nor known, "that any monument of marble "or ſtone, either little or big, "was ever found there, that "could ſuit with any other "deity than the goddeſs *Iſis*. "... Theſe ruins, which are "near to *Bahâbeit*, are about "1000 paces in circumference. "They are about a league "from the *Nile*, about two "or three leagues from *Sam-"manûd*, and about twenty-"five or thirty leagues north "of *Káhira*. There is nei-"ther brick, nor plaſter, nor "morter, nor common ſtone, "amongſt theſe reliques; there "is nothing to be ſeen but "great blocks of granite(5).

(5) *Nouv. mem. des miſſions de la comp. de Jeſ. dans le Levant, tom. ii. p. 117, & ſeq.*

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THERE is nothing ſaid of *Orus* any farther, than that he was the laſt of the gods and demigods[x]; and therefore we here conclude this fabulous or myſterious ſection.

SECT. V.

The reigns of the kings of Egypt.

MENES, or *Menas*, is univerſally agreed to have been the firſt mortal, who reigned over *Egypt* (A). In his time the whole country, except *Thebais*, was a moraſs; and Menes, *or* Menas.

[x] Idem ibid. c. 144.

(A) It is on all hands agreed, that *Menes* was the firſt mortal who ruled over *Egypt*; but all are not of one mind concerning him, in any other reſpect. And though we have reſolved to follow no particular hypotheſis in the *Egyptian* affairs, as thinking them all not a little dubious; yet we ſhall, in the moſt ſummary way (ſo as to be conſiſtent with perſpicuity), entertain the reader, from time to time, with the conjectures of ſome of the moſt noted chronologers, who have laboured in the ungrateful work of ſettling the *Egyptian* antiquities. In conformity to what we now propoſe, we ſhall take notice, that, according to Sir *John Marſham*, this *Menes* was the *Cham* or *Ham*, the ſon of *Noah* in Scripture, the *Jupiter Hammon* or *Ammon* of the *Egyptians*, the *Thamus* or *Adonis* of the *Phœnicians*, the *Saturn* of *Sanchoniatho*, and the firſt that taught the *Egyptians* to fare ſumptuouſly; which alone, as it is reported of him, were a ſufficient inducement to think, that he could not have lived in the early and ſimple times immediately after the deluge. He lays it down, that *Menes* was king of all *Egypt*, and the father of the *Egyptian* god *Mercury* or *Athothes* (1).

On the other hand, *Perizonius* maintains the *Meſtræi* or *ſemigods* to have reigned the firſt in *Egypt*; and will not allow *Menes* to have been either *Ham* or *Mizraim*, *Hammon* to have been the *Egyptian Jupiter*, or *Menes* the father of the *Egyptian Mercury*. If it be true, ſays that writer, that *Menes* taught the *Egyptians* to feed deliciouſly, and to adorn their beds, it is manifeſt, there were *Egyptians* before his time, accuſtomed to a more coarſe and ſimple way of living; and conſequently, that he was not the founder of their race, *Ham*, or his ſon *Mizraim*. He farther obſerves, that *Hammon* was not properly the *Egyptian Jupiter*; the name of *Jupiter* being given him in after-ages

(1) *Vid. Marſh. can. chron.*

and no land appeared between the lake *Mœris* and the *Mediterranean* sea, which was seven days passage on the river. He diverted the course of the *Nile*, which

by the *Greeks*, fond of foreign gods, to whose proper name they used to prefix that of *Jupiter*, as *Jupiter Belus*, *Jupiter Cassius*, &c. As for the surname of *Dionius*, or *sprung from Jupiter*, given him by *Eratosthenes*, *Perizonius* thinks he was so called, because he reigned immediately after the *Mestræi*, or *semigods*. It is his opinion, that *Menes* lived about the days of *Abraham*; but he does not lay it down for certain; and will not allow him to have been the father of *Athothes*, or *Mercury*, though he is so stiled by *Eratosthenes* (2).

Father *Pezron*, who wrote before *Perizonius*, brings the reign of *Menes* much later down than the days of *Ham*, or *Mizraim*. According to his hypothesis *Menes* began to reign 2904 year after the creation, and 648 after the flood. This he endeavours by all means to prove, and seems to be pretty confident that he is in the right; but it would be endless to enter into the arguments of the chronologers we shall, from time to time, resort to; and we shall avoid it as much as possible, except when their reasoning is very clear and important, or their notions very singular (3).

Sir *Isaac Newton*, in opposition to all the chronologers who have written before him, is of opinion, that *Sesostris* was *Osiris*, places *Menes* after him, and, in consequence thereof, transposes the series of the kings of *Egypt*, mentioned by *Herodotus*, after this manner; *Sesostris*, *Pheron*, *Proteus*, *Menes*, *Rhampsinitus*, *Mœris*, *Cheops*, *Cephren*, *Mycerinus*, *Nitocris*, and the rest in the same order as they stand in *Herodotus*. He supposes *Menes* to be the same with *Amenophis* and *Memnon*, and that by corruption he was called *Menes*, *Mines*, *Minæus*, *Minies*, *Mineus*, *Enephes*, *Venephes*, *Phamenophis*, *Osymanthyas* [*Osymandyas*], *Osimandes*, *Ismandes*, *Imandes*, *Memnon*, *Arminon*. According to his hypothesis, *Menes* is about 300 years older than *Psammitichus*. He holds it irrational to suppose, that there was any king of all *Egypt*, till after the expulsion of the *shepherds*; and observes, that the miracles of *Memphis* were not spoken of, or known in *Greece*, till some ages after the *Trojan* war; for *Homer* celebrates *Thebes* as the glory of its days, and makes no mention of *Memphis*; which, and the temple of *Vulcan*, that stood in the midst of it, he grants to have been built by *Menes*. In a word, this hypothesis reduces the antiquity of the *Egyptian* empire, of which *Menes* was the first king, much lower than any other (4).

(2) *Perizon. Ægypt. orig. & temp. antiquissimorum, invest.* (3) *Perizon. antiq. des temps retab. & defen.* (4) *Sir Isaac Newton's chron. of the antient kingdoms amended, p.* 354.

before

before washed the foot of the sandy mountain towards *Libya*, and built the city of *Memphis* within the antient bed of the river. On the north side of it he made a lake, and on the west another, both without the walls, and both fed by the *Nile*, which flowed along the east side of the town: and in the city itself he built the famous temple of *Vulcan* [a]. He was the first that instructed the *Egyptians* in religious matters, that introduced domestic magnificence and luxury, and that instituted the pomp of feasts; on which account, his memory was loaded with the execrations of one of his successors, as will be observed hereafter.

After this, *Herodotus* declares, that the *Egyptians* produced a catalogue of 330 kings, extending from *Menes* to *Mœris*, who was the last of the number; and that there was nothing worth notice recorded of any of them, except one *Ethiopian* woman, called *Nitocris* [b]. On the other hand, *Diodorus* writes, that *Menes*'s family enjoyed the throne to the fifty-second descent, and that their several reigns took up the space of 1400 years [c]. Since therefore there is so vast a chasm in both, we think we may safely venture to fill it up in part, with what we find concerning the shepherds who ruled over *Egypt*; and the rather, because this whole transaction seems to belong to some very remote period of the *Egyptian* history.

The irruption of the pastors or shepherds.

It happened, in the reign of *Timaus* king of *Egypt*, that God being displeased with the *Egyptians*, they suffered a great revolution; for a multitude of men, ignoble in their race, took courage, and, pouring from the east into *Egypt*, made war with the inhabitants; who submitted to them without trying the event of a battle. Having reduced the princes, they inhumanly burnt the cities, threw down the temples of the gods, and behaved in the most cruel and insulting manner over the antient inhabitants, putting them to death, and carrying away their wives and children into captivity. They made one of their own number king, whose name was *Salatis*. He usually resided at *Memphis*, and, leaving garisons in the most proper places, kept both the upper and lower region under tribute: but particularly he fortified the eastern parts, fearing an invasion of the *Assyrians*, who were at that time very powerful. Finding therefore a convenient city in the *Saitic nome*, which was seated on the eastern banks of the river *Bubastis*, and which was called *Abaris*, in the antient theology, he rebuilt it,

They set up Salatis for their king.

[a] Herodot. l. ii. c. 99. [b] Id. ibid. c. 100. [c] Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 42.

and ſurrounded it with a very ſtrong wall, and kept a gariſon of 24,000 ſoldiers therein. It was his cuſtom, about the time of harveſt, to come hither to gather in his corn, and to pay and exerciſe his ſoldiers, that they might always be ready and fit for action, and be a conſtant terror to any who ſhould attempt an invaſion. *Salatis* died, and was ſucceeded by five others; *viz. Beon*, *Aphacnas*, *Apophis*, *Janias*, and *Aſſis*; who, treading in his footſteps, did their utmoſt to root out the whole nation of the *Egyptians*. This people were called *Hycſos*, or *King-ſhepherds* (C); *hyc*, in the ſacred dialect, ſignifying a *king*, and *ſos*, in the common dialect, ſignifying a *paſtor*, or *ſhepherd*; and of theſe two came the compound *Hycſos*. They came from *Arabia*, according to *Manetho*, as quoted by *Joſephus*; and held all lower *Egypt* in ſubjection for the ſpace of 259 years[d]; at the end of which they were obliged, by a king of upper *Egypt*, named *Amoſis* and *Thethmoſis*, to quit the country, and retire elſewhere. That prince's father had, it ſeems, gained conſiderable advantages over them, and ſhut them up in a place called *Avaris*, or *Abaris*, meaſuring 10,000 acres of land. There they were cloſely beſieged by his ſon *Amoſis*, with an army of 480,000 men: but the king, find-

[d] MANETH. Ægypt. l. ii. apud Joſeph. l. i. contra Apion.

(C) We will barely tranſcribe the opinions of the above-cited chronologers, as to the time of this irruption, as it is repreſented, of the ſhepherds into *Egypt*. Sir *John Marſham* places it 157 years before the *exodus* of the children of *Iſrael* (1). *Perizonius*, drawing a very circumſtantial parallel between what is recorded of the ſhepherds by *Manetho*, and what is ſaid of the obſcurity of the *Iſraelites*, the power and dignity of *Joſeph*, and the miraculous works of *Moſes*, which almoſt utterly deſtroyed the country; upon the cloſe, pronounces the ſhepherds, ſo heinouſly ſpoken of, to have been the *Iſraelites* themſelves (2). Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes the paſtors to have been the *Canaanites*, who fled from *Joſhua*, and went into *Africk*; but, in their flight, ſeized on the kingdom of the lower *Egypt*, in the reign of *Timaus*, whom the ſame author calls *Thamus*, or *Thammuz* (3). *Greaves*, after a parallel drawn by him between the hiſtory of the ſhepherds and of the *Iſraelites*, which ſeems as natural and as plauſible as that of *Perizonius*, will by no means allow them to have been the ſame people (4).

(1) *Vid. Marſh. ubi ſup.* (2) *Periſon. ubi ſup.* (3) *Sir Iſaac Newton, ubi ſup.* (4) *Greaves's pyramid. p.* 21, 22.

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ing he could not reduce them by force, propoſed an agreement; which they readily accepted; and, in virtue of which, they were to abandon *Egypt*, and the king was to allow them to retire whither they pleaſed, without moleſtation. The agreement was faithfully executed on both ſides; the ſhepherds withdrew from *Egypt*, with their families, to the number of 240,000; and, taking the way of the deſert, entered *Syria*: but, fearing the *Aſſyrians*, who were then very powerful, and maſters of *Aſia*, they built themſelves, in the land which is now known by the name of *Judea*, a city, capable of holding ſo great a multitude, and called it *Jeruſalem*: thus *Manetho* [e]. *Apion*, upon the authority of *Ptolemy* the *Mendeſian*, an *Egyptian* prieſt, who wrote the annals of that kingdom, ſuppoſes *Amoſis*, or *Thethmoſis*, to have been contemporary with *Inachus* king of the *Argives*. Hence *Tatian* [f], *Juſtin* the *martyr* [g], *Clemens* of *Alexandria* [h], and others, taking the expulſion of the ſhepherds, and the *exodus* of the children of *Iſrael*, to be one and the ſame event, will have their leader, *Moſes*, to have been contemporary with *Inachus*: but, as *Inachus* is now, by the generality of chronologers, thought to have lived long before *Moſes*, and the circumſtances of the *exodus*, as related in holy writ, differ ſo widely from thoſe attending the expulſion of the ſhepherds, we cannot agree with the above-mentioned writers, and ſome modern chronologers, in ſuppoſing them one and the ſame event. As we know not where to give place, according to the ſeries of time, either to the irruption or expulſion of the ſhepherds, we have choſen to join them together, and acquaint the reader, at the ſame time, with what we find in the antients concerning both, though the one was 259 years poſterior to the other (D). This is all the genuine account we have of the irruption of the ſhepherds.

[e] MANETH. apud Joſeph. ibid. Græc. [f] TATIAN. orat. contra [g] JUST. in parænes. [h] CLEM. ALEX. ſtrom. l. i.

(D) Sir *Iſaac Newton* places this expulſion in the year 1070 before CHRIST, or 62 years before the firſt expedition of *Seſoſtris*, or *Seſac*, as he calls him, into *Africa* (5). Their irruption happened, according to archbiſhop *Uſher*, in the year of the world 1920, 2048 before Chriſt; and their expulſion in 2179 of the world, and 1823 before the chriſtian æra (6). In the reigns of *Salatis*, their firſt king, and his five ſucceſſors, as marked by *Manetho*, amounting to 259 years (7).

(5) *Sir Iſaac Newton's ſhort chronology.* (6) *Vid. Uſh. adnot. annal.* (7) *Vide eund.*

WE now return to *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*; of whom the latter makes mention of ſeveral princes between *Menes* and *Miris*.

Buſiris I. and II. ACCORDING to his account, *Buſiris* (E), in proceſs of time, became king, and was ſucceeded by eight princes of his line; the laſt of which was called alſo *Buſiris*, and was the founder of the city of *Thebes*, which he made the capital of the kingdom[i].

Oſymandyas. OSYMANDYAS (F) appears next. It is uncertain whom, or when, he ſucceeded. The *Bactrians* revolting from him, he reduced them, as is ſaid, with an army conſiſting of 400,000 foot, and 20,000 horſe. Of all the antient monuments of the kings, for which the city of *Thebes* was ſo renowned, his was of the greateſt note. It conſiſted of vaſt courts, porticos, ſhrines, temples, a library, his own *His tomb.* tomb, and other buildings. The firſt court, which was

[i] DIOD. ubi ſupr.

(E) Sir *John Marſham* and Sir *Iſaac Newton* think, that no ſuch king ever reigned, and that what is ſaid concerning his cruelty is merely fabulous (8). *Perizonius*, on the contrary, is of opinion, that there was ſuch a king of *Egypt*, but who was not ſo antient as *Diodorus* makes him; taxing that hiſtorian with too great indulgence towards the *Egyptian* vanity (9).

(F) If we rely on Sir *John Marſham*, we ſhould call *Oſymandyas Amenophis* and *Memnon*; as alſo, *Inandes*, *Iſmandes*, and *Oſimandes*; this perhaps, ſays he, derived from *Oſiris*, and that from *Iſis*. What ſeems to be his chief argument in ſupport of this opinion, is, that the city they pretend he beſieged, is ſaid to have been ſurrounded by a river, which he thinks was the river *Eulæus*, and the city itſelf *Suſa*; for *Pliny* ſays, that river ſurrounded the fortreſs of the *Suſiaks*; and obſerves, that *Suſa* was commonly called, by the *Greeks*, *Memnonia*. He obſerves moreover, that *Memnon*'s expedition into *Aſia* was more celebrated by the *Greeks* than that of *Seſoſtris*; which he attributes to the poets, who ſprang firſt up in or near his time; and concludes, that he dwelt ſome time in *Suſa*. All this, according to his cuſtom, he endeavours to prove from antient teſtimony (10).

Perizonius offers many conjectures concerning this king, and the time of his reign; but comes to no poſitive deciſion, and ſcarce offers a conjecture, ſo dark this period appears to him (11). Sir *Iſaac Newton* takes *Oſymandyas* and *Menes* to be the ſame perſon, as we have hinted above.

(8) *Marſh. ubi ſup.* (9) *Perizon. ubi ſup.* (10) *Vid. Marſh. ubi ſup.* (11) *Periz. ubi ſup.*

of various kinds of ſtone, was 200 feet in extent, and 45 feet high. Next to this was a ſquare portico, each of whoſe ſides was 400 feet long; and, inſtead of pillars, ſupported by repreſentations of animals of 15 cubits high, all of one ſtone, and adorned with figures after the antient manner. The cieling was blue, and ſeeded with ſtars. From this portico they went into a ſecond court, in all reſpects like the firſt, except that it was more enriched with various ſculptures: in the entrance thereof were three ſtatues, all of one ſtone, the workmanſhip of *Memnon* the *Syenite*: one of them was in a ſitting poſture, and the largeſt in all *Egypt*, the length of its foot exceeding ſeven cubits. This was his own ſtatue; the other two, which ſtood one at each knee, repreſented his mother and daughter. This wonderful piece was not ſo admirable for the exquiſite art of the carver, as for the beauty of the ſtone, which was free from the leaſt flaw or blemiſh. It had this inſcription; *I am* Oſymandyas, *king of kings: he that would know my grandeur, or where I lie, let him ſurpaſs me in any of my works.* Here was alſo another ſtatue of his mother, ſtanding by herſelf, twenty cubits high, and cut out of one ſtone: ſhe had three queens on her head, ſignifying, that ſhe had been the daughter, wife, and mother of a king. This court led to a ſecond portico, or piazza, far exceeding the firſt. On the wall of this the king was repreſented, with his army, beſieging a town incompaſſed by a river, and fighting in the front of the battle, accompanied by a lion: concerning which, ſome ſaid, he always fought with a tame lion at his ſide; and others, that the figure of that animal was only an emblem of his extraordinary courage. On the ſecond wall were the captives, with their hands and privities lopped off, to expreſs their cowardice. On the third were all ſorts of ſculptures and paintings, which repreſented his ſacrifices and triumph. In the middle of this piazza was an altar in the open air, built of the moſt ſhining marble, of excellent workmanſhip, and wonderful proportion. On the fourth ſide, or wall, were two gigantic ſtatues, all of one ſtone, in a ſitting poſture, and 27 cubits high. Near unto theſe were three paſſages, which gave admiſſion into a great hall, ſupported by columns, after the manner of a muſic-theatre, and 200 feet ſquare. In this place were many wooden ſtatues, repreſenting parties engaged in law, and the judges hearing the cauſes. Theſe laſt, to the number of thirty, were carved on one ſide, with their preſident in the midſt of them, at whoſe neck hung an image, with its eyes ſhut, to repreſent truth, and with many books about him.

him. By this they choſe to ſignify, that judges ought to be proof againſt bribery, and reſpect nothing but truth and equity. Next was a gallery or walk, in which were apartments ſtored with the moſt delicious eatables. Here the king was moſt curiouſly wrought, and painted with the moſt lively colours, as preſenting to GOD the gold and ſilver annually dug out of the mines in *Egypt*; the amount whereof was 3,200,000,000 minas, or 96,000,000 of pounds ſterling. Next was the ſacred library, with this inſcription; *The diſpenſary of the mind.* Contiguous thereunto were the images of all the *Egyptian* gods, with the king paying the offerings due and peculiar to each of them; that *Oſiris*, and the reſt of the deities placed beneath him, might know, that he had paſſed his life with piety towards the gods, and with juſtice towards men. Next to the library was an edifice of curious architecture, wherein were twenty couches to feaſt on, and the ſtatues of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and the king; who was thought to be here intombed. Around this were ſeveral pavilions, in which moſt curious pictures of the conſecrated animals were ſeen. From hence was the aſcent to the ſepulchre, where was ſeen a ring or circle of gold, 365 cubits in circumference, and one in thickneſs, ſurrounding the monument. This ring was divided by the days of the year, and ſhewed the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars, and their aſpects, according to the *Egyptian* aſtrology. This circular border was carried away by *Cambyſes* the *Perſian*. Such was the tomb of *Oſymandyas*, whoſe deſcendants reigned after him to the eighth generation. The laſt of
Uchoreus. them was called *Uchoreus* [f].

THE building and fortifying of *Memphis*, which have already been aſcribed to *Menes*, are attributed to this *Uchoreus* (F) alſo. He is ſaid to have given that city a circuit of 150 ſtadia, or near 20 miles, and by mounds and trenches to have ſecured it from the inſults either of the *Nile*, or of an invader. He adorned it with palaces, which, though they ſurpaſſed thoſe in any other country, yet fell ſhort of what had been done in that way by his predeceſſors. For the inhabitants held this tranſitory life in no eſtimation, if

[f] DIODOR. l. i. p. 44.

(F) The laſt-mentioned chronologer thinks the works of *Uchoreus* and *Mœris* ſavour of the ſame genius, and therefore would willingly think them one and the ſame perſon (1).

(1) *Vid. Sir Iſaac Newton ubi ſupr.*

compared

compared with the joys the virtuous were to poſſeſs hereafter; and were proportionably leſs ſplendid in the lodgings they prepared for the former, than in the repoſitories they founded for the latter. This king tranſlated the imperial ſeat from *Thebes* to *Memphis* g.

AFTER him, uncertain when, reigned *Saſychis*, the ſecond *Egyptian* legiſlator. Saſychis.

WE have now brought *Diodorus* down to *Myris*; and, that we may do the ſame with *Herodotus*, we muſt relate what he has ſaid concerning *Nitocris* (G). She ſucceeded her brother, an *Ethiopian*, whom the *Egyptians* murdered, but afterwards conferred the ſucceſſion on her. She, meditating revenge for her brother's untimely end, put many of the *Egyptians* to death privately, and by ſtratagem; and is particularly ſaid to have contrived a ſubterraneous building, whither ſhe invited the principal actors againſt her brother to partake of a feaſt, and, in the midſt of their mirth, to have turned the river upon them by a private paſſage, and drowned them all. Then, to ſcreen herſelf from the rage of the people, ſhe took refuge in a place well fortified with aſhes h. She was of a fair complexion, her hair was yellow, her perſon beautiful; but it appears, that, though her mind was great, as is ſaid, ſhe was not a little inclined to cruelty. She is reported to have built the third great pyramid i. Nitocris.

AFTER twelve generations, *Mœris*, or *Myris* (H), came to the throne. This was he who dug the famous lake which

g Idem ubi ſupr. p. 46. h HEROD. l. ii. c. 100. i SYNCELL. p. 58. See before, p. 7, (H).

(G) Her name ſignifies *Minerva victrix*. Sir *John Marſham* places her ſoon after the *Iſraelites* came into *Egypt*. He thinks *Joſephus* means her by the name of *Nic-aule*, queen of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*; but that he is miſtaken, in ſuppoſing the *Nitocris* of *Herodotus* to be the queen who viſited *Solomon*. According to this chronologer, ſhe was queen of *This*, *Thebes*, and *Memphis*, and much older than the *Babylonian Nitocris* (2). Father *Pezron* writes much to the ſame purpoſe (3). Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes her the ſiſter and ſucceſſor of *Mycerinus* (4).

(H) He recovered *Memphis* from the paſtors, ſays Sir *John Marſham* (5). *Perizonius* fixes upon nothing concerning him. *Mœris* was alſo called *Maris*, *Myris*, *Meres*, *Marres*, *Smarres*, and more corruptly, by changing *M* into *A*, *T*, *B*, Σ, ϒΧ, Λ, &c. *Ayres*, *Tyris*, *Byires*, *Soris*, *Uchoreus*, *Labaris*; ſo ſays Sir *Iſaac Newton* (6).

(2) *Marſh. ubi ſupr.* (3) *Pezron, ubi ſupr.* (4) *Sir Iſaac Newton ubi ſup.* (5) *Marſh. ubi ſup.* (6) *Sir Iſaac Newt. ubi ſup.*

more

bore his name, and erected the two pyramids which ſtood in the midſt of it[k]. He alſo built a ſumptuous portico on the north ſide of *Vulcan*'s temple at *Memphis*[l]. According to *Herodotus*, he was the 330th king from *Menes*, and the immediate predeceſſor to *Seſoſtris*.

Seſoſtris. SESOSTRIS, *Seſooſtris*, *Seſooſis*, *Seſonchis*, *Seſonchoſis*, *Sethoſis*, and ſeveral other appellations, are, by (I) ſome, held to

[k] See vol. i. p. 450, 451. [l] HERODOT. ibid. c. 101. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 47.

(I) Sir *John Marſham* allows him to have been called by theſe ſeveral appellations, and others beſides, which we may perhaps have occaſion to mention by-and-by. He is clearly of opinion, that the *Seſoſtris* of the profane hiſtorians is the *Seſac* or *Shiſhak* of the ſacred: he takes notice, that the more antient kings of *Egypt*, with whom the patriarchs were formerly concerned, are always ſtiled *Pharaoh*; whereas *Shiſhak* is the firſt *Egyptian* king in Scripture called by his proper name; except *Rameſes* be rather the name of a king than a country. This famous chronologer thinks, that, when *Seſoſtris*, or *Shiſhak*, as he calls him, ſet out to invade *Aſia*, he could not well avoid falling upon *Judæa*, and accordingly took the capital thereof, *Jeruſalem*, which he ſtripped of its riches, and reduced *Rehoboam* the king to ſerve him; for there is expreſs mention made in the LXX and vulgate verſions, that he was followed by multitudes of *Libyans*, *Troglodytes*, and *Ethiopians*, nations whom, according to profane accounts, he had previouſly conquered. He then lays a ſtreſs upon *Joſephus*, who ſays, *That* Herodotus, *through miſtake, aſcribed the actions of* Seſac *to* Seſoſtris: and again; *That* Herodotus *was only miſtaken in the king's name*; adding, that, ſince *Herodotus* and *Joſephus* agree as to the fact, there is no great matter in the difference of the names they uſe; and becauſe *Herodotus* profeſſes to have ſeen ſome of *Seſoſtris*'s ignominious pillars in the *Syrian Paleſtine*; and becauſe it is ſaid in the Scripture, and by *Joſephus*, that *Rehoboam* gave up the city without the leaſt reſiſtance, he ſeems to be clearly of opinion, that *Seſac*, or *Shiſhak*, ſet them up upon that very account (8).

Let us now ſee what *Perizonius* has to offer in contradiction to this; for we have already obſerved, that he makes it his chief buſineſs to confute the foregoing chronologer. He then lays it down with great poſitiveneſs, that *Seſac* and *Seſoſtris* are kings widely different and remote from each other. How he proves this, we ſhall give in the briefeſt and cleareſt order we are able.

1. He examines the expreſſions above-cited from *Joſephus*; and, after proving that ſeveral of the

(8) *Vid. Marſh. ubi ſup.*

learned,

to belong to one man, whoſe reign is eſteemed the moſt extraordinary part of the *Egyptian* hiſtory. He is repreſented

learned, as well as Sir *John Marſham*, have taken them wrong, he proceeds thus: Firſt, he inſiſts, that, by the common conſent of the *Greeks*, *Seſoſtris* was much older than the *Trojan* war. So ſays *Herodotus*; and the ſame is reported by *Diodorus*, only with this difference, that he makes a much greater ſpace between this king and that war than *Herodotus* does. This alſo is evidently confirmed by *Strabo* (9), and by *Ariſtotle* (10), who places him before *Minos* the *Cretan* lawgiver: as alſo by the writers of the *Argonaut* expedition, the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius* (11); by *Arrianus* (12), who makes him contemporary to *Jandyſis* the *Scythian*; by *Jornandes* (13), who ſays he flouriſhed before the *Amazons*; and laſtly, by *Juſtin* and *Ælian* (14); the former declaring that *Seſoſtris* lived before the days of *Ninus*, and the latter, that he was inſtructed by *Mercury*, and ſo makes him equal to the *Egyptian Mercury*, who muſt certainly have been more antient than the time of *Roboboam*. After theſe citations, he blames Sir *John Marſham* for making ſlight of ſuch abundant teſtimony, and for pronouncing the whole a miſtake which aroſe from the ignorance of the *Greeks*: and then proceeds; But could the *Greeks* be ſtrangers to the age of *Seſoſtris*, if he lived ſo late? there was no very great interval between *Homer* and *Roboboam*: and who can conceive that he, who was born in *Aſia Minor*, and ſpent the greateſt part of his days there, or in the adjacent iſles, and lived, as *Marſham* allows, after the days of *Seſoſtris*; who, ſays he, can account for his not making mention of *Seſoſtris* in any of his poems, as he did of *Memnon*, who muſt have followed this conqueror very near? *Memnon* was celebrated, ſays *Marſham*, becauſe he lived nearer to the poetical times; but *Perizonius* will have it, that *Homer* wrote ſoon after the death of *Roboboam*, and therefore muſt have followed him near enough to have had perfect information and freſh records of the deeds of *Seſoſtris*: beſides *Aſia Minor* at that time was all *Greek*, by the *Æolic* and *Ionic* colonies which were tranſplanted thither ſometime before the reign of *Roboboam*; and the inhabitants muſt have principally been *Greeks* when *Seſoſtris* invaded *Aſia Minor*, if *Marſham* be right. What is here ſaid of the *Aſiatic Greeks*, is to clear the way for a farther confutation of *Marſham*, who obſerves, that, if *Seſoſtris* had extended the war into *Greece*, we ſhould have had clearer lights concerning him, nor would he have been involved ſo much in obſcurity; ſeeing the *Athenians*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Co-*

(9) *Vid. l.* i. *p.* 38. *& l.* xvii. *p.* 824. (10) *Vid. politic.* vii. 10.
(11) *L.* iv. *v.* 272. (12) *Apud Photium, cod.* 53. (13) *Geticis, c.* 6.
(14) *L.* i. *c.* 1. *Var. hiſt. l.* xii. *c.* 4.

rinthians,

sented as potent at land and on sea, wise, just, generous, valorous, magnificent, but ambitious almost beyond

rinthians, had begun to preserve the memory of things; that the *Asiatic Greeks* were not at this time very regardful of foreign transactions, were unskilful in letters, and that *Homer* was not yet born, who was older than any *Greek* historiographer: and from hence concludes, that we ought not to wonder, that the *Egyptian* affairs are almost utterly unknown. To this it is answered, that the *Asiatic Greeks* were more likely to transmit the history of *Sesostris* down to posterity, as being superior and senior in learning to the *European*; that, if they did not immediately keep written records, they undoubtedly preserved very faithful traditions of past occurrences, which they propagated from one generation to another, and particularly in the case of *Sesostris*, the monuments of whose conquests they had before their eyes; and if his monarchy descended to his successors, as *Marsham* thinks it did to the first Olympiad, and if *Homer*, was not yet born, it is certain that he must have been born soon after, and whilst the fame and power of this monarchy must have subsisted. In a word, *Perizonius* prefers the *Asiatic* before the *European Greeks*, as to what concerns the remembrance of antient matters; and proves that the latter received the greatest part of their arts and sciences, nay, of their alphabet, from the former; observing, that, if not all yet most of the antientest *Greek* writers were *Asiatics*. He continues; Now if *Sesostris* invaded *Asia Minor* after the *Greeks* settled there, the *Asiatic Greeks*, who first of all delivered down the memory of things, both in prose and verse, must certainly have known something of this celebrated expedition, either from the writings or the traditions of their forefathers, and have given as just and accurate an account thereof as the *European Greeks* could have given. But nothing of this appears; for *Herodotus*, the most antient of the *Greek* historians we have, professes to have received the whole story of *Sesostris* from the *Egyptian* priests. He thinks moreover, that, supposing *Marsham* to be in the right, the *European Greeks* must have had sufficient knowlege of *Sesostris*, seeing he carried on the war into *Thrace*, and that *Lycurgus*, within an hundred years afterwards, must have travelled into *Asia*, whence he brought over with him the works of *Homer*. He certainly would have also brought some account with him of so great a victory from the *Asiatic Greeks*, if it had been obtained only 70 years, or thereabouts, before.

2. But the *Greeks* alone did not put *Sesostris* many ages more backward than *Sesac*; the *Egyptians* did it also. *Manetho* expressly says, that *Ægyptus* and *Danaus* were only different names for *Sethosis* [*Sesostris*], and his brother *Armais*. Now

beyond compare. Both the *Greeks* and *Egyptians*, who recorded his actions, whether in proſe or verſe, differed widely

Now *Danaus* came into *Greece*, as is ſaid, three ages before the *Trojan* war, and he could borrow this from no *Greek* author, at leaſt, that is extant; and therefore, that *Seſoſtris* and *Armais* were *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*, ſeems to have been the opinion of the *Egyptians*, or, at leaſt, of *Manetho*.

3. The ſacred hiſtory does not favour the opinion of *Seſoſtris*'s being *Seſac*; for, by the profane accounts, *Seſoſtris*, in a continued expedition of nine years, over-ran all *Aſia*: but the Scripture makes no farther mention of *Seſac*, than that he ſpoiled the temple and the city, and returned back. *Joſephus* ſays expreſly, that he returned into his own country.

4. What *Marſham* ſays of the duration of *Seſoſtris*'s monarchy, as that it reached down to *Amaziah* and *Uzziah* kings of *Judah*, and to the beginning of the firſt Olympiad; by the Scripture it appears, that the kings of *Judah*, after *Rehoboam*, never ſerved any foreign power, or paid any tribute, till they were invaded by the *Aſſyrians*. So that, if *Seſoſtris* and *Shiſhak* be the ſame, as *Marſham* would have them, it does not appear that the *Egyptian* monarchy was of any duration; ſo that here he is alſo miſtaken. So far we have given you the arguments of *Perizonius* againſt *Marſham*: we will now inſert his opinion as to the times when this conqueror lived.

And, concerning this, he ſpeaks with great uncertainty and caution. He begins thus: *Herodotus* declares, that king *Mæris* had not been dead quite 900 years when he was in *Egypt*. Now the ſame hiſtorian makes *Seſoſtris* the immediate ſucceſſor of *Mæris*; and moreover ſays, that the *Trojan* war was about 800 years before he wrote; and that *Hercules*, the ſon of *Alcmena*, went into *Egypt* about 900 years before himſelf. By this chronology, *Seſoſtris* lived about an age or century before the *Trojan* war, and was contemporary with the aboveſaid *Hercules*, or a little later. So it follows from this computation; but, in fact, he muſt have been older, if he be the ſame with *Ægyptus*, whoſe brother *Danaus* was the ſixth predeceſſor of *Perſeus*, who was the great grandfather of *Hercules*: and from hence he conjectures, that *Seſoſtris* may be fixed in the days of the judges. But, continues he, it may be objected, that there is not the leaſt mention made of *Seſoſtris*, and what he did, in holy writ. To this he anſwers, that the *Iſraelites*, when *Seſoſtris* came into *Paleſtine*, were under ſubjection to the various nations which inhabited the country; for that *Paleſtine* bent under the incurſions of *Seſoſtris*, appears plain from *Herodotus*, who there ſaw the ignominious pillars which he uſed to raiſe in countries where he met with no reſiſtance.

widely from each other; but they could never differ more, nor ſure ſo much, as our modern chronologers and hiſtorians do,

diſtance. And ſince the *Iſraelites* were not principals in this infamy, they might imagine it not primarily to concern them, but accidentally to have fallen upon them in common with their maſters; and therefore took no notice thereof, as thinking it could be no immediate part of their own hiſtory. Add to this, that *Seſoſtris* could make no long ſtay there, conſidering that they voluntarily ſubmitted to him, and that he had no leſs a conqueſt in his eye, than all the eaſtern parts of the world, if not the whole habitable earth; which required diſpatch: and thence he takes occaſion to ſpeak in the words of *Juſtin*, that, though *Seſoſtris* gloried in his conqueſts, he abſtained from empire, and made no change in the government of any country. Finally, he ſuppoſes alſo, that *Seſoſtris* might have come into *Paleſtine* when *Iſrael* was under the *Moabites*; and owns, that it is no way important whether or no *Danaus* was the brother of *Seſoſtris*; deems what *Manetho* ſays on that head, to be calculated to pleaſe the *Greeks*; and, in a word, concludes, that he has deſtroyed Sir *John Marſham*'s hypotheſis, by proving that *Menes* is not *Ham*, or *Mizraim*; or *Seſoſtris*, *Shiſhak* (15).

We will now, in general terms, inſert the opinion of *Pezron*. He teaches, that *Sethoſis* and *Seſoſtris* are one and the ſame perſon, and that he was the *Ægyptus* brother to *Danaus*; that he was a prince widely diſtant from *Seſonchis*, whom he will have to have been the ſame with *Shiſhak*; and that neither *Seſoncheris*, or *Seſonchoſis*, was *Seſoſtris*, but diſtinct both from him and from each other. We forbear entering into his reaſons, and proceed to another learned man, who has no one notion in common with what has entered into the heads of theſe three celebrated chronologers (16).

We mean Mr. *Whiſton*, who, becauſe he is ſingular in taking this king for the very *Pharaoh* who periſhed in the *Red Sea*, and the very *Typhon* of the *Mythologiſts*, we will give you his own words. And firſt, he premiſes this propoſition: "*Harmeſſes Mi Amûn*, or *Rameſſes the Great*, the grandfather of *Seſoſtris*, was king of the lower *Egypt* when *Moſes* was born: *Amenophis* III. his ſon, was there king after him during *Moſes*'s youth; and *Sethos*, or *Sethoſis*, or *Seſoſtris the Great*, the ſon of *Amenophis* III. was ſo during the reſt of the ſervitude of the children of *Iſrael* in *Egypt*; and was that very *Pharaoh* who periſhed in the *Red Sea*." Then off in 13 reaſons or arguments in demonſtation of this propoſition; but, paſſing over to the tenth,

(15) *Vid. Perizon. ubi ſup.* (16) *Pezron. antiq. des temps retab. p.* 64.

he

do, in fixing his age, and in ſpeaking concerning him: however, we ſhall collect the beſt account we can of his reign.

SESOSTRIS

he there ſays, that "the preſervation of *Moſes*, and his education by *Pharaoh*'s daughter (17), are very agreeable to what her brother, *Amenophis* III. did about, or ſoon after, the birth of *Moſes*; I mean, when he called together, and educated with his ſon *Seſoſtris*, no fewer than ſeventeen hundred boys (18), or all the male children that were born in *Egypt* the ſame day with him: which might well be in imitation of *Thermutis* [the daughter of this *Pharaoh*, who was otherwiſe called *Harmeſſes Mi-Amôun*, or *Rameſtes the Great*], when ſhe drew *Moſes* out of the river, and educated him for her own ſon (19). And, by the way, if this *Thermutis* were but as ſagacious and learned as her great niece *Athyrtes*, the daughter of *Seſoſtris*, is deſcribed by *Diodorus* (20), we ſhall have no reaſon to wonder at what St. *Stephen* informs us, that Moſes *was learned in all the wiſdom of the* Egyptians, *and was mighty in words and in deeds*, even before he received any particular commiſſion from God for the delivery of his people out of *Egypt*. Nay, indeed, theſe laſt words concerning *Moſes*, that he was ſo early mighty *in words and in deeds*, ſeem to me to confirm thoſe accounts we have in *Artapanus* an heathen, and *Joſephus* the *Jew*, concerning *Moſes*'s wiſe and valiant conduct under the king of *Egypt*, when he was young, againſt the *Ethiopians*; who attempted the conqueſt of that country at that time. Which ſucceſſes of theſe *Egyptians*, under the conduct of *Moſes*, might probably enough encourage king *Seſoſtris* to undertake thoſe other vaſt expeditions which raiſed the *Egyptian* monarchy, and ſpread his empire over almoſt all the then known world. Nor is it impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that the *Ethiopic* war, which is known to have been undertaken both at ſea and land, by this *Seſoſtris*, might be when he was young; and might be that very *Ethiopic* war which was managed by *Moſes*, under the king of *Egypt*, as mentioned by *Artapanus* and *Joſephus*."

Mr. *Whiſton*'s eleventh argument runs thus: "There are evident remains of this *Seſoſtris*'s periſhing in or near the *Red Sea*, as did this *Pharaoh* at the *exodus* out of *Egypt*. *Diodorus* aſſures us, that *Seſoſtris* at laſt became blind; and that ſo he was voluntarily the occaſion of his own death; and that he deſervedly obtained the admiration of the prieſts and people of

(17) *Exod.* ii. (18) *Marſh. p.* 353. (19) *Exod.* ii. 10.
(20) *Marſh. p.* 354.

SESOSTRIS then is by ſome thought to have been the ſon of *Amenophis*; but, whoever his father was, it is ſaid, that the god

" *Egypt* on account of that his " magnanimous death. But " what ſort of voluntary and " magnanimous death this was, " it ſeems the *Egyptian* prieſts " did not inform him. But " then, if we conſider, that *Se-* " *ſoſtris*'s real or *Egpptian* " name was *Seth-os*, or *Seth-* " *oſis*; and that there was an " antient famous *Egyptian* king, " whoſe fictitious name among " the *Greeks* was *Typhon, the* " *proud*; but his real or *Egy-* " *ptian* name was no other than " *Seth*, as *Plutarch* himſelf, a " great maſter of old *Egyptian* " learning, more than once aſ- " ſures us; that *Typho*'s own " city *Peluſium* was peculiarly " the city of this *Seſoſtris*, " whither he firſt came when " he returned from his famous " eaſtern expedition; and where " he and his queen received a " ſort of miraculous deliverance " from the murderous deſigns " of his brother *Armais*, and " was, by the *Egyptians*, called " according to his own name " *Seth-ron*; and the *nomos* " thereto belonging, the *Seth-* " *roite nomos*; we ſhall find, " that what the *Egyptians* " could not, or would not, di- " rectly inform *Diodorus* of in " in the way of plain hiſtorical " fact, and thereby concealed " the true manner of his death " from foreigners; yet did " ſome of thoſe *Egyptians* pre- " ſerve the memory of it un- " der another form; and that " this *Seth*, or *Seth-os*, or *Seth-* " *oſis*, or *Typho*, came to the " ſame end that the *Egyptian* " *Pharaoh* did, and was drown- " ed in or near to the ſame *Red* " *Sea*. For as they, in ſome " places at leaſt, long kept the " memory of *Oſyris*, the uſual " name of any beloved king of " *Egypt* that was murdered; as " was *Iſis* the uſual name of " ſuch a king's wife, or queen; " and *Typho* the uſual name of " ſuch a murderer; ſo it was " here. *Oſyris* ſeems to have " been ſome beloved king that " *Seſoſtris* had ſlain [perhaps " his own brother *Ramaſſes*]; " and himſelf ſeems thence to " have had the hateful name of " *Typho* given him by the " other's ſubjects. And cer- " tainly this name *Typho*, or " *the proud*, was never applied " more fitly than to this *Seſo-* " *ſtris*; who after his conqueſt " uſed ſometimes to take his " horſes out of his chariot, and " to harneſs a certain number " of his captive kings, and to be " drawn in ſtate by them, in- " ſtead of the other. And, as " to the death of this *Typho*, the " *Egyptian* records are plain " and direct; and aſſure us, that " he was *ſtruck by a thunder-* " *bolt, and his blood ran out at* " Heroopolis, a city very near " the place where the *Iſrael-* " *ites* entered the *Red Sea*; the " very ſame, I ſuppoſe, that " *Moſes* calls by its elder name " *Baalzephon*; that the ſame " city was called *Blood*, or " *The bloody city*, from that " *firſt ſhedding of the blood of* " Typho *there*; and that he " *lies*

god *Vulcan* appeared to him in a dream, and admoniſhed him, that the ſon which was or ſhould be born to him, would

" *lies drowned under the waters* " *of the lake* Sirbon, which is " not far from the *Red Sea*; " and was antiently ſuppoſed " to communicate therewith " under-ground. The city alſo " itſelf ſeems to me to have its " later name *Heroopolis*, or *the* " *city of heroes*, on this very " account, that near thereto " the moſt potent *Egyptian* " king, and his mighty com- " manders, with their intire " army, thoſe great heroes, be- " came martyrs for the *Egy-* " *ptian* idols, idolatry, and ty- " ranny, in oppoſition to the " GOD of *Iſrael*, and his peo- " ple: nor do I meet with any " other in hiſtory for that ap- " pellation. And very remark- " able it is, how exactly all this " agrees to the other more di- " rect *Egyptian* account already " ſet down; *viz.* That *Seſo-* " *ſtris*'s death was voluntary " and magnanimous, and ſuch, " indeed, as was highly extol- " led both by the prieſts and " people of *Egypt*. And what " *Paulinus* in *Auſonius* could " mean, when, in the diſtinct " mention of two of the moſt " illuſtrious kings of *Egypt*, " *Neceſos* and *Seſoſtris*, he ſays " of the latter, *Et qui regna-* " *vit, ſine nomine mox*, Seſoo- " ſtris; *that he who had been* " *ſo great a king, was by-and-* " *by without a name*; unleſs " he refer to ſome ſuch igno- " minious death of his, as we " have here deſcribed; is hard " to ſay. Nor is that *thunder-* " *bolt*, or *ſtorm of thunder and* " *lightning*, mentioned in this " account of *Typho*'s deſtructi- " on, other than what we have " hinted at in the caſe of *Pha-* " *raoh*'s deſtruction in our pre- " ſent copies of the *Pentateuch*; " where we find, that GOD " looked through the pillar of " fire, and of the *cloud*, and ſo " *troubled the hoſts of the* Egy- " ptians, that *their chariot-* " *wheels were taken off, and* " *they drove heavily*; *and the* " Egyptians *reſolved to flee* " *from the face of* Iſrael, *be-* " *cauſe* they now perceived, that " GOD *himſelf fought for them* " *againſt the* Egyptians, while " *with the blaſt of his noſtrils* " *the waters were gathered to-* " *gether*; and directly ſet down " by *Joſephus* and *Artapanus* in " the hiſtory itſelf; and alſo " by the pſalmiſt in his celebra- " tion of this moſt wonderful " deliverance and judgment; " who declares, that, beſides the " pouring out of water from " the *clouds* at that time, *the* " *ſkies* then *ſent* out a ſound, " and GOD's arrows went " *abroad*; that *the* voice of his " thunder was in the *heaven*; " that *the* lightnings lightned " the *world*; and that *the* " earth trembled and *ſhook*: in " exact agreement with the " heathens account of the de- " ſtruction of *Typho*." To con- clude; the ſame writer thinks it a plain ſolution to the que- ſtion, *of what became* of the fa- mous *Egyptian* monarchy after the death of *Seſoſtris*? that he and his numerous hoſt was loſt

His father gathers in all the boys in Egypt *that were born on the ſame day with him.*

would be lord of the whole earth. Fraught with this viſion, he got together all the males in *Egypt* born on the ſame day as the *Hebrews* were no better in *Egypt*, he thinks muſt have given a great ſhock to the *Egyptian* power, and naturally ruined their newly-acquired monarchy. In a word, it is his opinion, that the ſudden extinction of this vaſt monarchy, at the death of its founder *Seſoſtris*, is little elſe than a demonſtration, that he was that very *Pharaoh* who with all his hoſt periſhed in the *Red Sea* (21).

The great Sir *Iſaac Newton* is of opinion, that *Seſoſtris* is the *Oſiris* of the *Egyptians*, the *Bacchus* of the *Greeks*, and the *Seſac* or *Shiſhak* of the Scripture; towards the proof of which he produces the following arguments:

"1. *Bacchus the Conqueror* "loved two women, *Venus* and "*Ariadne*; by the laſt of theſe "he had ſons who were *Argo-* "*nauts*; therefore the great "*Bacchus* flouriſhed but one "generation before the *Argo-* "*nautic* expedition. This *Bac-* "*chus* was potent at ſea (22), "conquered eaſtward as far as "*India*, returned in triumph, "brought his army over the "*Helleſpont*; conquered *Thrace*, "left muſic, dancing, and poe- "try there; killed *Lycurgus* "king of *Thrace*, and *Pentheus* "the grandſon of *Cadmus*; "gave the kingdom of *Lycur-* "*gus* to *Tharops*; and one of "his minſtrels, called by the "*Greeks Calliope*, to *Oeagrus* "the ſon of *Tharops*; and of "*Oeagrus* and *Calliope* was "born *Orpheus*, who ſailed "with the *Argonauts*: this "*Bacchus* was therefore con- "temporary to *Seſoſtris*; and "both being kings of *Egypt*, "and potent at ſea, and great "conquerors, and carrying on "their conqueſts into *India* "and *Thrace*, they muſt be one "and the ſame man.

"2. *Dicæarchus*, as he is cit- "ed by the *ſcholiaſt* upon *Apol-* "*lonius* (23), repreſents *Oſiris* "and *Orus*, two generations "older than *Seſoſtris*, ſaying, "that after *Orus*, the ſon of "*Oſiris* and *Iſis*, reigned *Se-* "*ſonchoſis*. The people of "*Naxus* made *Bacchus* two "generations older than *The-* "*ſeus*, and for that end feign- "ed two *Minos*'s and two *Ari-* "*adne*'s. Now, by the con- "ſent of all antiquity, *Oſiris* "and *Bacchus* were one and "the ſame king of *Egypt*: this "is affirmed by the *Egyptians*, "as well as by the *Greeks*; "and ſome of the antient my- "thologiſts, as *Eumolpus* and "*Orpheus* (24), called *Oſiris* "by the names of *Dionyſus* "and *Sirius*. *Oſiris* was king "of all *Egypt*, and a great con- "queror, and came over the "*Helleſpont* in the days of "*Triptolemus*, and ſubdued "*Thrace*, and there killed *Ly-*

(21) *Vid. Whiſton's appendix.*

(22) *Vid. Hermippum apud Athenæum, l.* i. *p.* 7.

(23) *Argonaut. l.* iv. *v.* 272.

(24) *Diod.*

curgus;

ſame day with his ſon, and appointed nurſes, and proper perſons to take care of them, and had them treated in all reſpects like

" *curgus*; and therefore his " expedition falls in with that " of the great *Bacchus*. *Oſiris*, *Bacchus*, and *Seſoſtris*, " lived about the ſame time; " and by the relation of hiſtorians, were all of them kings " of all *Egypt*, and reigned at " *Thebes*, and adorned that city, " and were very potent by land " and ſea: all three were great " conquerors, and carried on " their conqueſts by land thro' " *Aſia*, as far as *India*: all " three came over the *Helleſpont*, and were there in danger of loſing their army: all " three conquered *Thrace*, and " there put a ſtop to their victories, and returned back " from thence into *Egypt*: all " three left pillars with inſcriptions in their conqueſts: " and therefore all three muſt " be one and the ſame king of " *Egypt*; and this king can " be no other than *Seſac*. All " *Egypt*, including *Thebais*, " *Ethiopia*, and *Libya*, had no " common king before the expulſion of the *ſhepherds*, who " reigned in the *Lower Egypt*; " no conqueror of *Syria*, *India*, *Aſia Minor*, and *Thrace*, " before *Seſac*; and the ſacred " hiſtory admits of no *Egyptian* " conqueror of *Paleſtine* before " this king.

" 3. *Bacchus* had *Libyan* women in his army, and they " were commanded by *Minerva*, herſelf a *Libyan* (25). " *Diodorus* (26) calls her *Myrina*, and ſaith, that ſhe was " queen of the *Amazons* in *Libya*, and there conquered the " *Atlantides* and *Gorgons*, and " then made a league with " *Orus* the ſon of *Iſis*, ſent to " her by his father *Oſiris* or " *Bacchus* for that purpoſe; " and, paſſing through *Egypt*, " ſubdued the *Arabians*, and " *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, and came " through *Phrygia*, *viz.* in " the army of *Bacchus*, to the " *Mediterranean*; but, paſſing " over into *Europe*, was ſlain, " with many of her women, " by the *Thracians* and *Scythians*, under the conduct of " *Sipylus* a *Scythian*, and *Mopſus* a *Thracian*, whom *Lycurgus*, king of *Thrace*, had baniſhed. This (ſays our moſt " ſagacious author) was that " *Lycurgus* who oppoſed the " paſſage of *Bacchus* over the " *Helleſpont*, and was ſoon after conquered by him, and " ſlain: but afterwards *Bacchus* met with a repulſe from " the *Greeks*, under the conduct of *Perſeus*, who ſlew " many of his women, as *Pauſanias* (27) relates, and was " aſſiſted by the *Scythians* and " *Thracians* under *Sipylus* and " *Mopſus*; which repulſes, together with the revolt of his " brother *Danaus*, put a ſtop " to his victories: and, in returning home, he left part " of his men in *Colchis*, and at

(25) *Vid. Diod. l.* iii. *p.* 140. (26) *Lib.* iii. *p.* 131, 132. (27) *Pauſan. l.* ii. *c.* 20. *p.* 155.

like his own child; perſuaded that they who had been the conſtant and equal companions of his childhood and youth, would

" mount *Caucaſus*, under *Æe-*
" *tes* and *Prometheus*; and his
" women upon the river *Ther-*
" *modon* near *Colchis*, under
" their new queens *Marthefia*
" and *Lampeto*; for *Diodorus*
" (28), ſpeaking of the *Ama-*
" *zons*, who were ſeated at
" *Thermodon*, ſaith, that they
" dwelt originally in *Libya*,
" and there reigned over the
" *Atlantides*, and, invading
" their neighbours, conquered
" as far as *Europe*: and *Am-*
" *mianus* (29), that the anti-
" ent *Amazons*, breaking thro'
" many nations, attacked the
" *Athenians*, and then, receiv-
" ing a great ſlaughter, retired
" to *Thermodon*: and *Juſtin*
" (30), that theſe *Amazons* had
" at firſt, he means at their
" firſt coming to *Thermodon*,
" two queens, who called
" themſelves daughters of
" *Mars*; and that they con-
" quered part of *Europe*, and
" ſome cities in *Aſia*, *viz.* in
" the reign of *Minerva*; and
" then ſent back part of their
" army, with a great booty,
" under their ſaid new queens;
" and that *Marthefia*, being af-
" terwards ſlain, was ſucceed-
" ed by her daughter *Orithya*,
" and ſhe by *Penthefilea*; and
" that *Theſeus* captivated and
" married *Antiope*, the ſiſter of
" *Orithya*. *Hercules* made war
" upon the *Amazons*, and in
" the reign of *Orithya* and
" *Penthefilea* they came to the
" *Trojan* war: whence the firſt
" wars of the *Amazons* in *Eu-*
" *rope* and *Aſia*, and their ſet-
" tling at *Thermodon*, were but
" one generation before thoſe
" actions of *Hercules* and *The-*
" *ſeus*, and but two before the
" *Trojan* war, and ſo fell in
" with the expedition of *Se-*
" *ſoſtris*: and ſince they war-
" red in the days of *Iſis* and her
" ſon *Orus*, and were a part of
" the army under *Bacchus* or
" *Oſiris*, we have here a far-
" ther argument for making
" *Oſiris* and *Bacchus* contem-
" porary to *Seſoſtris*, and all
" three one and the ſame king
" with *Seſac*.

" 4. The *Greeks* reckon *Oſi-*
" *ris* and *Bacchus* to be ſons of
" *Jupiter*, and the *Egyptian*
" name of *Jupiter* is *Ammon*.
" *Manetho* (31) in his eleventh
" and twelfth dynaſties, as he
" is cited by *Africanus* and
" *Euſebius*, names theſe four
" kings as reigning in order;
" *Ammenemes*, *Geſongeſes*, or
" *Seſonchoris*, the ſon of *Am-*
" *menemes*, *Ammenemes*, who
" was ſlain by his eunuchs, and
" *Seſoſtris*, who ſubdued all
" *Aſia*, and a part of *Europe*:
" *Geſongeſes* and *Seſoncboris*
" are corruptly written for
" *Seſonchoſis*; and the two firſt
" of theſe four kings, *Amme-*
" *nemes* and *Seſonchoſis*, are the
" ſame with the two laſt, *Am-*
" *menemes* and *Seſoſtris*, that is,
" with *Ammon* and *Seſac*; for

(28) *Lib.* iii. *p.* 130. *et ſchol. Apollonii*, *l.* ii. (29) *Lib.* xxii. *c.* 8.
(30) *Lib.* ii. *c.* 4. (31) *See before*, *p.* 8.

" *Diodorus*

would prove the moſt faithful miniſters, and moſt affectionate fellow-ſoldiers. They were abundantly furniſhed with every

" *Diodorus* ſaith, that *Oſiris* " built a temple at *Thebes* to " his father *Jupiter Ammon*, " who reigned in that city " (32): and *Thymæſtes*, who " was contemporary to *Orpheus*, wrote expreſly, that " the father of *Bacchus* was " *Ammon*, a king reigning over " part of *Libya*; that is, a king " of *Egypt* reigning over that " part of *Libya* antiently called " *Ammonia*: Πᾶσα ἡ Λιβύη " ἔτως ἐκαλεῖτο ἀπὸ Ἄμμωνος (33). All *Libya* was " called *Ammonia* from *Ammon*; that is, that king of " *Egypt* from whom *Thebes* " was called *No-Ammon*, and " *Ammon-No*, the city of *Ammon*, and by the *Greeks Dioſpolis* the city of *Jupiter Ammon*. Here again our author " ſeems to demonſtrate, that " *Seſoſtris* and *Oſiris* were the " ſame perſon."

5. And to corroborate what is ſaid in the preceding article; *Seſoſtris*, upon his returning home, divided *Egypt* by meaſure amongſt the *Egyptians*; and this gave a beginning to ſurveying and geometry: and *Iamblichus* derives this diviſion of *Egypt*, and the beginning of geometry, from the age of the gods of *Egypt*. And becauſe *Seſoſtris*, or *Seſac*, to render the *Nile* more uſeful, dug canals from it, and thereby made a general diſtribution of its water; this chronologer is of opinion, that the river was conſecrated to him, and he was called by its names, *Ægyptus*, *Siris*, *Nilus*; and obſerves from *Plutarch*, that the ſyllable *O*, put before the word *Siris* by the *Greeks*, made it ſcarce intelligible to the *Egyptians*.

6. He thinks it appears, " That *Seſoſtris* was alſo *Shi-* " *ſhak*, or *Seſac*, becauſe the " firſt conqueſts this king is " ſaid to have made were *Tro-* " *glodytica*, *Libya*, and *Ethio-* " *pia*; and, in the firſt year of " *Reheboam*, *Seſoſtris* [*Seſac*] " came out of *Egypt* with a " great army of *Libyans*, *Tro-* " *glodytes*, and *Ethiopians*; and " ſpoiled the temple, and re- " duced *Judea* into ſervitude; " and went on conquering, " firſt eaſtward towards *India*, " and then weſtward as far as " *Thrace*; for GOD *had given* " *him the kingdoms of the coun-* " *tries* (34).

7. There is no one argument on which this great chronologer lays a greater ſtreſs, for the proof of what he advances concerning *Seſoſtris* than the following: " *Solon*, having travel- " led into *Egypt*, and converſed " with the prieſts of *Sais* about " their antiquities, wrote a " poem of what he had learn- " ed, but did not finiſh it (35); " and this poem fell into the " hands of *Plato*, who relates " out of it, that at the mouth " of the *Streights*, near *Her-* " *cules*'s *Pillars*, there was an " iſland called *Atlantis*, the

(32) *See before*, p. 28. (33) *Steph. in* Ἀμμωνία. (34) 2 *Chron.* xii. 2, 3, —8. (35) *Plat. in Timæo et Critia.*

" people

every thing needful, and, as they grew up, they were by degrees inured to laborious and manly exerciſes, and were in particular

" people of which, nine thou-
" ſand years before the days of
" *Solon*, reigned over *Libya* as
" far as *Egypt*, and over *Eu-*
" *rope* as far as the *Tyrrhenean*
" *Sea*; and all this force col-
" lected into one body invaded
" *Egypt* and *Greece*, and what-
" ever was contained within
" the pillars of *Hercules*; but
" was reſiſted and ſtopped by
" the *Athenians*, and other
" *Greeks*; and thereby the reſt
" of the nations not yet con-
" quered were preſerved: he
" ſaith alſo, that in thoſe days
" the gods, having finiſhed
" their conqueſts, divided the
" whole earth amongſt them-
" ſelves, partly into larger,
" partly into ſmaller portions,
" and inſtituted temples, and
" ſacred rites, to themſelves;
" and that the iſland of *Atlan-*
" *tis* fell to the lot of *Neptune*,
" who made his eldeſt ſon *At-*
" *las* king of the whole iſland,
" a part of which was called
" *Gadir*; and that *in the hi-*
" *ſtory of the ſaid wars men-*
" *tion was made of* Cecrops,
" Erechtheus, Erichthonius,
" *and others before* Theſeus,
" *and alſo of the women who*
" *warred with the men, and*
" *of the habit and ſtature of*
" Minerva, *the ſtudy of war in*
" *thoſe days being common to*
" *men and women*. By all
" theſe circumſtances it is ma-
" niſeſt, that theſe gods were
" the *Dii magni majorum gen-*
" *tium*, and lived between the
" age of *Cecrops* and *Theſeus*;
" and that the wars which *Seſo-*
" *ſtris*, with his brother *Nep-*
" *tune*, made upon the nations
" by land and by ſea, and the
" reſiſtance he met with in
" *Greece*, and the following
" invaſion of *Egypt* by *Neptune*,
" are here deſcribed; and how
" the captains of *Seſoſtris* ſha-
" red their conqueſts amongſt
" themſelves, as the captains of
" *Alexander the Great* did his
" conqueſts long after; and, in-
" ſtituting temples and prieſts,
" and ſacred rites, to them-
" ſelves, cauſed the nations to
" worſhip them, after their
" death, as gods: and that the
" iſland *Gadir* or *Gades*, with
" all *Libya*, fell to the lot of
" him who after death was
" deified by the name of *Nep-*
" *tune*. The time, therefore,
" when theſe things were done,
" is by *Solon* limited to the age
" of *Neptune* the father of *At-*
" *las*; for *Homer* tells us, that
" *Ulyſſes*, preſently after the
" *Trojan* war, found *Calypſo*,
" the daughter of *Atlas*, in the
" *Ogygian* iſland, perhaps *Ga-*
" *dir*; and therefore it was but
" two generations before the
" *Trojan* war. This is that
" *Neptune*, who, with *Apollo*,
" or *Orus*, fortified *Troy* with
" a wall, in the reign of *Lao-*
" *medon* the father of *Priamus*;
" and left many natural chil-
" dren in *Greece*, ſome of which
" were *Argonauts*, and others
" were contemporaries to the
" *Argonauts*; and therefore he
" flouriſhed but one generation
" before the *Argonautic* expe-
" dition, and, by conſequence,
" about

particular never permitted to taſte of any thing till they had performed a courſe of 180 furlongs, or upwards of 22 miles. By this exerciſe of the body, and by a proper cultivation of the mind, they were equally fitted to command and to execute. *Amenophis*, after he had been at this vaſt expence and trouble in laying the foundation of his ſon's future grandeur, reſolved to give him and his companions an opportunity of diſplaying the good effects of their inſtitution; and therefore he ſent him and them with an army into *Arabia*. In this expedition the young *Seſoſtris* ſurmounted all the dangers of ſerpents and venomous creatures, all the wants and hardſhips of a dry and barren country; and in the end ſubdued the *Arabians*, who, till that time, had never been conquered. His father then ordered him weſtward, and he ſubdued the greateſt part of *Afric* [k]; nor did he ſtop, it ſeems, his career, till he ſaw the *Atlantic* ocean [l]. Whilſt he was on this expedition, his father died; and, having now the reins in his own hands, and being elated by the ſucceſs which had hitherto attended him, he graſped at the conqueſt of the whole earth; or he called to mind the prediction of the god, and prepared for the enterprize. Some ſay, that his daughter *Athyrte*, a young woman of great wit and ſagacity, excited him thereto by her counſel, repreſenting it as an eaſy matter; others, that ſhe obtained aſſurances of her father's ſucceſs by divination, by dreams in temples, and pro-

Sends him into Arabia and Afric.

[k] Diod. l. i. p. 48.

[l] Lucan. x. ver. 27.

"about 400 years before *Solon* went into *Egypt*: but the prieſts of *Egypt* in thoſe 400 years had magnified the ſtories and antiquity of their gods ſo exceedingly, as to make them 9000 years older than *Solon*, and the iſland *Atlantis* bigger than all *Afric* and *Aſia* together, and full of people; and becauſe in the days of *Solon* this great iſland did not appear, they pretended that it was ſunk into the ſea, with all its people: thus great was the vanity of the prieſts of *Egypt* in magnifying their antiquities." Theſe are the moſt obvious and direct arguments concerning *Seſoſtris*, which we meet with in Sir *Iſaac Newton*. The learned *Uſher* is of opinion, that *Seſoſtris* and *Armais* were the ſons of *Amenophis*, who was drowned in the *Red Sea*; and that *Amenophis* was the *Belus* of the *Greeks*, being the father of *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*; for, according to *Manetho*, *Sethoſis* or *Seſoſtris* was alſo called *Ægyptus*, and his brother *Danaus*, as we have hinted above (36).

(36) *Vid. Uſh. ad A. M.* 2494.

digica

digies in the air, and the like [g]; so that, according to these, he could be no very young man at this time. Lastly, it was said, that he was instructed by *Mercury*, who gave him counsels proper for carrying on the war [h].

Undertakes to conquer the whole world.

HAVING in view a general conquest, and knowing that he must be long absent, and far remote from *Egypt*, he bethought himself by what means he might retain the hearts and affections of his own people; wisely deeming it the most natural means of preparing those who followed him, to lay down their lives chearfully in his service; and of preventing those at home from attempting any innovations during his absence. He therefore, as much as was in his power, endeared himself to all his subjects, by largesses in money, by donations in land, or by the remission of punishments: he discharged all who were guilty of treason with impunity, and paid the debts of all who were thereby incumbered, of which last he had many in his army. In fine, he wrought upon the minds of all by fair speeches, and a familiar deportment. In the next place he divided the whole kingdom into 36 *nomes*, or provinces; assigned a governor to each of them [i]; and constituted his brother *Armaïs* supreme regent, investing him with ample power; but forbad him the use of the diadem, and commanded him to offer no injury to the queen and her children, and to abstain from the royal concubines [k]. Having thus settled the government, he picked out the choicest of his subjects, and listed an army equal to the vastness of his designs, and bestowed the chief commands of it on his beloved companions, who were upwards of 1700 in number. As an earnest of his benevolence, and besides the favours he had bestowed on them in common with the rest of their countrymen, and that he and his successors might always have a regular force ready at hand, he settled certain portions by lot, of the most fertile land in *Egypt*, on his whole army; whence an handsome income arising to them, neither they nor their posterity might lie under the necessity of seeking a livelihood by mercantile or mechanic callings, but wholly apply themselves to the military exercises. His army consisted of 600,000 foot, 24,000 horse, and 27,000 warlike chariots. He first marched into *Ethiopia*, and reduced the inhabitants to a tribute of ebony, gold, and ivory [l]. He is generally believed to have been the first that subdued

Divides Egypt into 36 nomes.

He institutes the military order.

Conquers Ethiopia.

[g] DIOD. ubi supr. p. 49.
[h] ÆLIAN. var. hist. l. xii. c. 4.
[i] DIOD. ubi supr. p. 50.
[k] MANETH. apud Joseph. contra Apio. l. i. p. 1041.
[l] DIOD. ubi supr.

Ethiopia

Ethiopia and *Troglodytica*; and is ſaid to have reached the promontory of *Dira*, near the ſtreights of the *Red Sea*, where he ſet up a pillar, with an inſcription in ſacred characters; and went on as far as the country where cinnamon grows, or, at leaſt, ſome place from whence cinnamon was brought, where he raiſed monuments and pillars with inſcriptions, which were to be ſeen many ages after [m].

His fleets.

His land-forces alone were not anſwerable to the conqueſt he intended; and therefore, breaking through the antient ſuperſtition of the *Egyptians*, he was the firſt of their kings that fitted out fleets of tall ſhips. He had two; the one of 400 ſail, in the *Arabian* gulph, if *Diodorus* is to be credited [n], who gives us this number, and *Herodotus* [o], who mentions the ſame fleet in general terms; and the other in the *Mediterranean Sea*, if we may believe *Manetho* [p], who by *Sethoſis* underſtands *Seſoſtris*. By theſe naval armaments, and by the great ſervices they are ſaid to have done, *Seſoſtris* probably wiped away the averſion the *Egyptians* had to ſea-affairs [q], at leaſt for a time; and inſtituted the marine claſs, as, by what appears hitherto, he did likewiſe the military order. But, not to dwell on this conjecture, we ſhall only add, that his conſecrating a ſpacious and magnificent ſhip to the ſupreme god of the *Thebans* [r], looks as if he deſigned to bring navigation into credit in *Egypt*. With the firſt of theſe fleets he ſailed out of the *Arabian* gulph into the *Red* or *Indian Sea*, and ſubdued the coaſts thereof; and, continuing his courſe till he was ſtopped by certain ſhoals, and difficult places, returned back to *Egypt* [s]: or, according to another author, he went not on board himſelf, but ſent them out againſt the iſlands and maritime places of the continent, as far as *India* [t]. With his *Mediterranean* ſquadron he conquered *Cyprus*, the ſea-coaſt of *Phœnicia* [u], and ſeveral of the *Cyclades* [w]. This is all we know concerning his exploits by ſea.

He inſtitutes the marine claſs, or order.

Continuation of his conqueſts and wars.

Now, as to his further conqueſts on the land, it is by almoſt all antiquity agreed, that he over-ran and pillaged all *Aſia*, and ſome part of *Europe*. He croſſed the *Ganges*, on the banks of which river he erected pillars, and, to uſe the poet's expreſſion, did the fame in the remoteſt moun-

[m] Vid. Strab. l. xvi. p. 769, 770. Vid. etiam l. xvii. p. 790. Plin. hiſt. nat. l. vi. c. 29. [n] Ubi ſup. [o] Ubi ſup. [p] Apud Joſeph. contra Apion. ubi ſup. [q] See vol. i. p. 515. [r] See before, ibid. [s] Herod. l. ii. c. 102. [t] Diod. ubi ſup. [u] Maneth. apud Joſeph. contra Apion. ubi ſup. [w] Diod. ubi ſup. p. 51.

tains

tains of *India* [w]: and, indeed, he is said to have marched on till he was stopped by the main ocean eastward [x]. From thence returning, he invaded the *Scythians* and *Thracians*; but the accounts of his war with the former do not all agree in giving him a complete conquest over them. *Herodotus*, *Diodorus*, *Agathias* [y], and others, represent him victorious; but some relate, that he was repulsed, and fled from the *Scythians*, and was worsted by the *Colchians*. For *Justin* tells us, that *Vexores* or *Sesostris* dispatching embassadors before him, to summon the *Scythians* to surrender, they sent back his messengers with contempt, threats, and defiance, and immediately took up arms. *Sesostris*, being informed that they were advancing towards him by hasty marches, suddenly faced about, and fled before them, leaving all his baggage and warlike stores to the pursuers, who followed him till they came on the borders of *Egypt* [z]. *Pliny* relates, that he was overthrown by the king of *Colchis* [a]; and *Valerius Flaccus* insinuates, that he was repulsed with great slaughter, and put to flight, in these parts [b]; but whether he had good or bad success in these countries, it is a common opinion, that he settled a colony in *Colchis*; though *Herodotus*, whom we chiefly rely on in this matter, does not decide whether it was of his own planting, or whether part of his army, tired out, loitered in the rear, and voluntarily sat down on the banks of the river *Phasis* in that kingdom. He says, from his own knowlege, that the inhabitants were, undoubtedly, of *Egyptian* descent, as was visible from the personal similitude they bore to the *Egyptians*, who were swarthy, and frizzle-haired; but, more especially, from the conformity of their customs, particularly circumcision; and from the affinity of their language with that of *Egypt*. And many ages afterwards, at *Æa*, the capital of *Colchis*, they shewed maps of their journeys, and the bounds of sea and land, for the use of travellers [c]; and hence came geography. This relation to each other was acknowleged on both sides [d]. We now attend upon him into *Thrace*, the utmost boundary of his progress westward in *Europe*. Here he was in danger of losing his army through want of provisions, and the difficulty of the passes; and therefore he here stopped his progress [e]. But the more probable opinion is, that his return was hastened by ad-

Supposed to settle a colony in Colchis.

[w] Dionys. in perieg. ver. 625. [x] Diod. ubi sup. p. 50. [y] L. ii. p. 55. [z] L. ii. c. 3. [a] L. xxxiii. c. 3. [b] Argonaut, l. v. ver. 420. [c] Apollon. Rhod. Argon. l. iv. ver. 272. [d] Herod. ibid. c. 103, 104. [e] Diod. ubi sup. p. 51.

vice

vice he received from the high-prieſt of *Egypt* concerning his brother's revolt and diſobedience [e]. However th s was, his pillars were no-where to be ſeen in *Europe* beyond *Thrace* [f]: for it was his cuſtom to ſet up pillars in every country he conquered, with this inſcription, or one to the like effect; Seſoſtris, *king of kings, and lord of lords, ſubdued this country by the power of his arms.* If the nation had ignobly crouched to him, he, beſides the inſcription, cauſed the privities of a woman to be carved, as a mark of their effeminacy and baſeneſs [g]. If they had defended themſelves bravely, their pillars bore the diſtinction of the contrary ſex, in teſtimony of their courage [h]. Beſides theſe, he left ſtatues of himſelf behind him, two of which are ſtill to be ſeen, ſays *Herodotus*, the one on the road between *Epheſus* and *Phocæa*, and the other between *Smyrna* and *Sardis:* they were armed after the *Ethiopian* and *Egyptian* manner, were five palms high, and held a javelin in one hand, and a bow in the other. Acroſs the breaſt they had a line drawn from one ſhoulder to the other, with this inſcription; *This region I obtained by theſe my ſhoulders.* They were miſtaken for images of *Memnon* [i]. *His pillars and ſtatues.*

Upon advice, therefore, of the rebellious proceedings of his brother, who, encouraged by his long abſence, and great diſtance, had aſſumed the diadem, violated the queen, and taken to himſelf the royal concubines [k], he haſtened from *Thrace*, and, at the end of nine years, came to *Peluſium*, attended by an infinite multitude of captives of all nations, and loaded with the ſpoils of *Aſia* [l]. Here the rebel *Armais*, or *Danaus*, received him with outward ſubmiſſion and joy, but with a private deſign to take away his life, and root out his family. Accordingly, he invited the king his brother, the queen, and her children, to a banquet he had prepared for their refreſhment: they accepted the invitation, drank freely, and, being thereby overcome, betook themſelves to reſt; in the mean time, he cauſed a great quantity of dried reeds to be laid all round the apartment where they ſlept; and, ſetting fire to them, hoped thereby to accompliſh his wicked deſign. *Seſoſtris*, perceiving the danger he was in, and that his guards, overcharged with liquor, were heavy, and incapable of aſſiſting him, lifted up his hands, and, imploring the gods in behalf of his wife and *Return to* Egypt.

[e] Maneth. apud Joſeph. contr. Apion, ubi ſup. [f] Herod. Diod. ubi ſup. [g] Herod. ibid. c. 102, & 106. [h] Vid. Syncell. p. 59, 60. [i] Herod. ibid. c. 106. [k] Maneth. ubi ſup. [l] Herod. ibid. c. 107.

Is miraculously delivered from the murderous designs of his brother.

children, rushed through the flames, and they followed him. In thanksgiving for this wonderful deliverance, and to perform the vows he had made in his extremity, he presented donations to several gods, and, particularly, to *Vulcan*[m], as will be observed hereafter. *Herodotus* writes, that his wife persuaded him to lay two of his sons across the fire, and to tread over them. He then took revenge on his brother *Armais*[n], who is said to have been the *Danaus* of the *Greeks*[o]; and, being on this occasion driven out of *Egypt*, to have withdrawn into *Greece*.

Sesostris, having thus defeated his brother's unnatural designs, and seeing himself again in the quiet possession of his kingdom, adorned all the temples with spoils and rich gifts, and rewarded his army in proportion to every man's merit. His army was not only glorious in their return, for the mighty actions they had performed, and the great riches they had acquired, but, also, for the great variety of foreign commodities they brought home with them, and with which they stored the whole kingdom. Now, laying aside all thoughts of war, he disbanded his forces, leaving every one to the undisturbed enjoyment of what fortune had favoured him with. As for himself, he henceforward applied his mind to such stupendous works as might immortalize his name, and everlastingly contribute to the public good.

His works.

His works were of three sorts; religious, military, and civil: and, first, he erected a temple in every city of *Egypt*, which he dedicated to the peculiar and supreme deity of each place: in the course of so universal an undertaking as this, no *Egyptian* was set to work; wherefore, upon all these temples there was this inscription, *No one native laboured hereon*[p]. In the city of *Memphis*, before the temple of *Vulcan*, he raised six gigantic statues, which were each of one stone; two of them were 30 cubits high, and represented himself and his wife; the other four were 20 cubits, and represented his four sons[q]. These he dedicated to *Vulcan*, in remembrance of his and his family's preservation at *Pelusium*[r]. Many ages afterwards it was said, that *Darius* would have placed his own statue above this of *Sesostris*; but the priest of *Vulcan* stifly opposed it, urging, that the *Persian*, though great, had not yet equalled the *Egyptian*, and, particularly, had never conquered *Scythia*;

[m] Diod. ubi sup. p. 53. [n] Herod. ibid. [o] Maneth. ubi sup. [p] Diod. ubi sup. p. 51, 52. [q] Herod. ibid. c. 110. [r] Diod. ubi sup. p. 53.

and

and that therefore it was unjuſt to preſer him to one he had not yet excelled, and ſo put a ſtop to the attempt [r]. He, moreover, raiſed two obeliſks of hard ſtone [marble] 120 cubits high; and charged them with inſcriptions, which deſcribed the greatneſs of his power, the amount of his revenues, and the nations he conquered. Theſe are his works, which may be ſaid particularly to commemorate his own piety and glory. Let us now take a view of what he did for the benefit and laſting welfare of his people.

In order to prevent the incurſions of the *Syrians* and *Arabians*, he fortified the eaſt ſide of *Egypt* with a wall, which ran from *Peluſium* through the deſert to *Heliopolis*, 1500 furlongs, or 187 miles and an half. He moreover raiſed an incredible number of vaſt and lofty mounts of earth, to which he removed ſuch towns as had before too low a ſituation, to ſecure the men and cattle from the dangers of the *Nile* in its inundations. All the way from *Memphis* to the ſea, he dug canals, which branched out from the *Nile*, and not only gave an eaſier communication from one place to another, and greatly advanced the trade and proſperity of the kingdom, but alſo rendered the country impaſſable to an enemy, or, at leaſt, very incommodious and difficult. So that *Egypt*, which had hitherto been famous for her horſes and chariots, and was admirably well adapted for either, was now no longer the ſame place in thoſe reſpects, and put on a new face [s]. This looks as if *Seſoſtris* feared, that the ſeveral nations he had diſturbed, or, at leaſt, ſome of them, might unite againſt *Egypt*: but quite the reverſe appears, by his haughty carriage towards the tributaries, as will be ſeen by-and-by. In the mean time, it is ſaid, that ſome of the captives grew deſperate under the intolerable ſlavery impoſed on them; and that, particularly, the *Babylonians* aroſe, and reſolved, at all hazards, to ſhake off their bondage. They firſt ſeized upon a ſtronghold, and, acting offenſively againſt the *Egyptians*, waſted the country round about them: but, on the offer of pardon, and a place for their dwelling, they were pacified, and built themſelves a city, which they called *Babylon*. The like was ſaid of the *Trojan* captives [t]. According to *Herodotus*, there was a report, that this king, after he returned from his wars, divided the land equally amongſt all the *Egyptians*; but as this is inconſiſtent with what has been ſaid of the lands he beſtowed on his army before he ſet out, which we

[r] Herod. ubi ſup. c. 110.
[s] Diod. ubi ſup. p. 52.
[t] Idem ibid.

take to be more conformable to the genius and policy of this warlike prince, we are inclined to think, that *Herodotus* was miſinformed. The ſame author, upon this occaſion, ſays, that the king reſerving to himſelf a ſmall rent out of the lands ſo divided, whenever it happened, that the waters of the *Nile*, in their retreat, waſhed away any part of a perſon's ground, he gave information thereof to the king, who, in ſuch caſe, remitted a proportionable part of the rent, and, by ſending ſurveyors to meaſure it, gave riſe to the invention of geometry [t].

His inſolence.

HIS behaviour towards the conquered princes who waited on him with their tribute, is moſt remarkably inſolent: for, upon certain occaſions, he is ſaid to have unharneſſed his horſes, and, yoking kings together, to have made them draw his chariot [u]. This practice he continued, as is ſaid, till a certain day; when, obſerving one of the kings, who drew him along, look with great ſtedfaſtneſs back on one of the wheels, he aſked what took up his thoughts, that he kept his eye ſo fixed on that object? He anſwered, "O "king, the going round of the wheel calls to my mind "the viciſſitudes of fortune: for as every part of the "wheel is uppermoſt and lowermoſt by turns, ſo is it with "men; who one day ſit on a throne, and on the next are "reduced to the vileſt degree of ſlavery." This anſwer brought the inſulting conqueror to his ſenſes; ſo that he gave over the practice, and thenceforth treated his captives with great humanity. At length he loſt his ſight, and laid violent hands on himſelf. The manner of his death was extolled, by the prieſts, into the higheſt act of magnanimity [w]; and, that nothing might be wanting to make his hiſtory completely glorious, they reported, that the phœnix came to *Thebes* during his reign [x]. By what has been here ſaid concerning *Seſoſtris*, it may be gathered, that he was the firſt who divided *Egypt* into nomes, and its inhabitants into orders and claſſes; that he was the firſt *Egyptian* king who was conſiderable at ſea; and that he erected the firſt great empire in the world. *Juſtin* ſays, he neither aimed at it, nor kept it; being contented with the bare glory of the conqueſt he made [y]. But all are not of his opinion.

Pheron, *or* Seſoſtris II.

PHERON was the ſon of *Seſoſtris*, and ſucceeded him: he is alſo ſtiled *Seſooſis* [*Seſoſtris*] II. The ſtory of his reign, as it is handed down to us, favours more of fiction,

[t] HEROD. ubi ſup. c. 109. [u] DIOD. ubi ſup. p. 53. PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3. [w] DIOD. ubi ſup. p. 54. [x] TACIT. ann. vi. p. 154. [y] L. i. c. 1.

than

than of truth. He performed nothing in the military way, but had the misfortune, in common with his father, to be ſtruck blind. Though this might be really owing to ſome infirmity derived from his parent, yet is it reported, that his loſs of ſight was a puniſhment inflicted on him for his impiety towards the river: for the *Nile* having, in his time, overflowed the country to an unuſual height, a gale of wind aroſe, and greatly diſturbed the waters; whereat he capriciouſly took offence, and inſolently darted a javelin among the waves: upon this, he was immediately ſeized with a pain in his eyes, and, ſoon after, by a total darkneſs, which oppreſſed him for ten years; in the eleventh year the oracle at *Butus* declared, that the term of his affliction was elapſed, and that his ſight would return to him, if he paid particular devotions to the god at *Heliopolis*, and waſhed his eyes with the urine of a woman who had never known any man beſides her huſband. He began with his own wife, but, receiving no benefit from her, went on from one woman to another, till, at length, a poor gardener's wife afforded him the relief the oracle had promiſed. Her, therefore, he made queen; but, as for the adultereſſes, he ſent them to a city called *Erythibolus*, which, together with them, he burnt. He paid his vows to the gods in ſeveral rich donations, and, particularly, raiſed two magnificent obeliſks in the temple of the *Sun* at *Heliopolis*[z].

He is ſtruck blind.

He recovers his ſight again, and raiſes two obeliſks.

MANY ages after, the ſceptre fell to *Amaſis*, or *Ammoſis*. He miſuſed his people with the utmoſt violence and injuſtice. Many he condemned to death, without a cauſe; many he deprived of their poſſeſſions, upon no other motive than his own imperious will; and towards all he behaved with inſupportable arrogance. Under this oppreſſor they groaned for a while, not daring to reſiſt ſo dreadful a power; but, in time, *Actiſanes*, king of *Ethiopia*, made war againſt *Ammoſis*, and, entering *Egypt*, the people joined him, and drove their unnatural prince from the throne[a].

Amaſis, *or* Ammoſis, *a tyrant. His ſubjects join with the Ethiopians, to drive him out.*

AMOSIS is ſaid to have aboliſhed the cuſtom of ſacrificing men to *Juno* at *Heliopolis*, and, inſtead of them, to have ſubſtituted waxen images. They were examined, and ſealed like pure calves, and called *Typhonians*[b]. Three of them were burnt in a day, and their aſhes ſcattered abroad, ſo as to be no more ſeen, and this publicly every year, du-

[z] HEROD. ubi ſup. c. 111. DIOD. ubi ſup. p. 54. [a] Idem ib.
[b] JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. i. p. 352, &c.

ring the dog-days, at the city of *Iditbya* [c]. *Joſephus* looks upon the whole ſtory as fabulous [d].

Actiſanes the Ethiopian.

ACTISANES united *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* under him, and was king of both. He bore his proſperity with great moderation and prudence, and behaved affectionately towards his new ſubjects. He cauſed a general ſearch to be made after the *Egyptian* thieves and robbers, and, giving them a juſt hearing, commanded their noſes to be cut off, and ſent them away to the remoteſt part of the deſert between *Syria* and *Egypt*, where he built them a town, which was called *Rhinocolura*, from the diſfigurement of its infamous inhabitants. This part was ſo barren, that it ſcarce afforded any one neceſſary of life; for even the few wells and ponds, there found, were brackiſh, bitter, and moſt unpleaſant to the palate. Hither he baniſhed them, that they might not injure their honeſt neighbours by living among them, nor be hid in corners among the innocent. But as frightful and barren as their ſituation was, neceſſity, the mother of invention, ſuggeſted a means to them of ſupplying themſelves with food: for it is reported, that they made long nets of ſlit reeds, and with them caught great numbers of quails, which came in flocks from the ſea-ſhore [e].

He ſends all the Egyptian *thieves and robbers to* Rhinocolura.

ACTISANES died, and the *Egyptians* were left to their own diſpoſal; and therefore they choſe them a king, named, by ſome, *Mendes*, and, by others, *Marus*. He is celebrated for the ſepulchral labyrinth he built.

Mendes, *or* Marus.

He builds a labyrinth.

AFTER *Mendes*, there enſued an anarchy, or interreign, for five generations. At length, a *Memphite*, of obſcure birth, was choſen king. His *Egyptian* name was *Cetes*, which the *Greeks* rendered *Proteus* (K). Both *Herodotus*

Proteus *is choſen king.*

[c] MANETH. apud Porph. de abſtin. l. ii. c. 55. [d] JOSEPHUS, ubi ſup. [e] DIOD. ubi ſup. p. 55.

(K) According to *Perizonius*, *Proteus* was the *Sethos* of *Manetho*, and the *Typhon* of the poets. He thinks, that *Homer*'s *Proteus*, and this king, are the ſame perſon; and that he was ſtiled a ſea-god, becauſe he had commanded on the coaſts of *Egypt*. He gives no credit to *Herodotus*, as to the arrival of *Paris* and *Helen* under this king. It is not conſiſtent with his hypotheſis (1).

Sir *Iſaac Newton*, on the contrary, ſeems to give credit to *Herodotus*, as far as relates to

(1) *Vid. Perizon. ubi ſup.*

Paris

rodotus and *Diodorus* ſuppoſe him to have lived in the time of the *Trojan* war. The prieſts gave him out for one ſkilled in the weather, or a magician; and pretended he could aſſume any ſhape or form he pleaſed, even that of fire. This fable, as it was told by the *Greeks*, drew its origin from a cuſtom among the *Egyptians* (perhaps introduced by *Proteus*), who were uſed to adorn and diſtinguiſh the heads of their kings with the repreſentations of animals or vegetables, or even with burning incenſe, as ſo many enſigns of royalty, to ſtrike the beholders with dread and ſuperſtition [g]. Whilſt *Proteus* reigned, *Paris*, or *Alexander*, was driven on the coaſts of *Egypt* by a ſtorm, and there landed with *Helen*, whom he was carrying from *Greece* to *Troy*: but, when he heard the perfidious breach of hoſpitality this young man had committed, he ſeized him, his miſtreſs, and his companions, with all the riches he had brought away with him from *Greece*. As for *Helen*, and her huſband's effects, he detained them, promiſing to reſtore both to the injured party, whenever demanded; and ſo he did: but *Paris* and his companions he commanded to depart out of his dominions in three days, upon pain of being treated as enemies. He had a very rich and ſumptuous temple erected to him at *Memphis*, and left a ſon and ſucceſſor behind him, called *Rhemphis* [h].

The fable of Proteus, *whence derived.*

Paris *and* Helen *arrive in* Egypt.

RHEMPHIS is alſo called *Rhampſinitus* (L), and was of an inclination to hoard up money. *Diodorus* reports him

Rhemphis, *or* to Rhampſinitus,

[g] Idem, p. 56. [h] HERON. ubi ſup. c. 112, &c.

Paris and *Helena*; but makes him cotemporary with *Amenophis*, whom, as we have already obſerved, he ſuppoſes to be one and the ſame perſon with *Menes*. He thinks, he might have been governor of ſome part of the *Lower Egypt* under *Amenophis*; and obſerves, that *Homer* places him on the ſea-coaſt, and calls him the ſervant of *Neptune*; and that his *Greek* name ſignifies only *a prince*, or *preſident* (1).

(L) Sir *John Marſham* is inclined to think him the eldeſt ſon of *Seſoſtris*, and to be the ſame with *Rhampſes*; and this he advances, fraught with the authority of *Manetho*, who calls him the ſon of *Sethos*: and that the famous inſcription, which was interpreted to *Cæſar Germanicus* at *Thebes*, related to him. And, indeed, there is no very great difference between the *Rhamſes* of *Tacitus* and the *Rampſes* of *Manetho*; in fine, that he enjoyed by right, what his father had obtained by conqueſt (2).

(1) *Sir Iſaac Newton's chronol. of antient kingdoms amended.* (2) *Vid. Marſh. ubi ſup.*

to have been ſo ſordidly avaricious, that, during his whole reign, he rather acted the part of a mean-ſpirited ſteward, than of a king; that he never could find in his heart to be at the leaſt expence in any thing that might tend either to the honour of the gods, or the good of men: and that to his ſordid temper was owing the immenſe treaſure he left behind him, no leſs than 400,000 talents[i]. *Herodotus* ſufficiently inſinuates, that he was fond of riches; but does not reduce him to ſo wretched a degree of baſeneſs.

builds the weſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan,

Rhampſinitus, ſays he, added the weſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, and erected two ſtatues before it, each 25 cubits high: one of them faced towards the north, and was adored by the *Egyptians* under the title of *Summer*; the other looked towards the ſouth, and went by the name of *Winter*, and was abhorred. Moreover, he had accumulated a far greater ſtore of wealth than any king of *Egypt* that ſucceeded him; and, being deſirous to depoſit it in ſome ſecure place, commanded a treaſure-houſe to be firmly built, for that purpoſe. The architect employed in this work placed one of the ſtones in ſo artful a manner, that it might be taken out, and put in again, by one man only; it being his intention to have ſome ſhare of the riches of the place. But, about the time that the treaſure was lodged in it, he was ſeized with a violent fit of ſickneſs; and, finding himſelf at the point of death, he ſent for his two ſons, declared to them the whole artifice, and gave them the moſt exact directions in the management of the buſineſs which he foreſaw would never be his fate to accompliſh. The father died, and the young men, impatient to

and a treaſure-houſe,

[i] Diod. ubi ſup.

Perizonius ſuppoſes that the *Rhamſes* of *Tacitus* is *Seſoſtris* himſelf. But *Rameſſes*, or *Rhamſinitus*, the ſon of *Proteus*, he makes cotemporary with the *Trojan* war, in which he is ſupported by a paſſage from *Pliny* (3).

Sir *Iſaac Newton* conjectures him to have been the ſon of *Amenophis*, or *Menes*, and to be ſhadowed under the different names of *Rhamſinitus*, *Ramſes*, *Ramiſes*, *Rameſes*, *Rameſſes*, *Rameſtes*, *Rhampſes*, and *Rhempſis*; and that the obeliſk which was ſent to *Rome* by the emperor *Conſtantius*, with an inſcription interpreted by *Hermapion*, an *Egyptian* prieſt, expreſſing that he was long-lived, and reigned over a great part of the earth, as alſo that pompous inſcription mentioned by *Tacitus*, belonged to him (4).

(3) *Periz. ubi ſup.*

(4) *Sir Iſaac Newt. ubi ſup.*

take advantage of the diſcovery, repaired, ſoon after his death, to the treaſury; and having, with great eaſe, removed the ſtone, carried off with them a conſiderable ſum, repeating, every night, the ſame theft. Some time after, *Rhampſinitus*, going in to view his wealth, was ſurpriſed to find a viſible diminution of his treaſure; and the more, as his ſeal was whole on the door, the only part of the building which he thought could give entrance. The two brothers continued their night expilations, till the king, after two or three further ſurveys, was perfectly ſenſible, that, by ſome means or other, his wealth ſuffered a ſucceſſive decreaſe. He then ordered ſnares to be laid all round the veſſels which held his money. The two brothers failed not to come at night; but one of them, as he approached a veſſel full of ſilver, was immediately taken in the ſnare. As he found it impoſſible to make his eſcape, he called to his brother, who ſtood without, and earneſtly intreated him to come in, and cut off his head, that ſo he might ſave his own life, and prevent the diſcovery of their clandeſtine theft. The brother, conſulting his own ſafety, and deſpairing of his, complied with his requeſt; and, putting the ſtone in its place again, took the head away with him. Early next morning, the king, going in to ſee the event of his project, was ſo ſurpriſed to find a man taken in the ſnare without a head, that he haſtened out in the greateſt confuſion; from which he no ſooner recovered, than he directed that the body ſhould be hung on the outſide of the wall, and expoſed to public view; charging the guard, appointed to take care of it, to make a narrow inſpection into the countenances of the ſpectators, and in whomſoever they perceived ſigns of ſorrow and mourning, to bring ſuch perſons into his preſence. The mother of the deceaſed, hearing that the body was expoſed in this manner, diſtracted with grief, and upbraiding her ſurviving ſon, threatened, if he did not procure her his brother's body, and bring it home, to let the king know who had robbed his treaſury. The young man did his utmoſt to bring her to ſome temper, by remonſtrating to her the impracticability of her requeſt, but to no purpoſe. Finding her, therefore, unalterable in her reſolution, he gratified her, in the end, by the following ſubtil invention: loading his aſſes with ſkins of wine, he drove them towards the place where the body hung up. Having reached the guard, he privately opened ſome of the ſkins; and, ſtriking himſelf, in token of deſpair, as ſoon as the wine began to run out, he counterfeited the trouble and conſternation of a perſon ut-

which is plundered by the architect's two ſons.

terly undone: in the mean time, the ſoldiers upon duty ſtrove to ſave as much of the liquor as they could for themſelves; which he ſeeing, reviled them with the moſt bitter reproaches, for the pleaſure they took in his misfortune, inſtead of offering to aſſiſt him: but they uſing him kindly, he pretended to be pacified, and, leading his aſſes out of the way, feigned to be very buſy in ſecuring the remainder of his wine; in the mean time, the guards ſtood round him, and he, pretending to be pleaſed with their jokes and humour, at laſt conſented to give them a ſkin of the wine; and they, in return for ſo great a favour, preſſed him to ſtay, and take part of it with them: he complied, and when the ſkin was emptied, he gave them another; ſo that, by exceſſive drinking, the whole guard was overcome, and fell into a deep ſleep: then watching his opportunity, in the dead of the night, he took down the body, laid it acroſs an aſs, and, ſhaving the right cheek of each of the ſoldiers, by way of deriſion, carried it home to his mother. The news of this was matter of new wonder to the king, who, to find out the perſon who had done it, bethought him of the following expedient: he ordered his daughter to proſtitute herſelf, in a certain apartment of the palace, to all comers promiſcuouſly; but under this reſtriction, that ſhe ſhould previouſly extort from each of them a confeſſion of the moſt ingenious action he had ever managed, and the moſt wicked crime he had ever committed. The daughter punctually complied with her father's inſtructions; which the young man being appriſed of, he reſolved to perplex the king a little farther. With this view, he got the arm of a dead body, yet freſh, and, taking it under his cloak, went in to the king's daughter: ſhe examined him, in the ſame form, and to the ſame purpoſe, as ſhe had done the reſt who had been with her before him; when he frankly confeſſed, that the moſt abominable and wicked action of his life was the cutting off his brother's head, when inſnared in the treaſury; and the moſt ingenious thing he had ever done, was the ſtealing the body from the guard that kept it. She then offered to lay hold of him; but he, holding out the dead arm to her, haſtened out, while ſhe graſped it; and, by the favour of the night, made his eſcape. *Rhampſinitus*'s rage being now converted into an admiration of the boldneſs and ingenuity of the man, he cauſed it to be proclaimed in every city, that if the perſon, whoever he was, would diſcover himſelf, he ſhould not only be pardoned, but rewarded. The young man, confiding in this, went

ſtraitway

ſtraitway to the palace; and, having made himſelf known, in the end, the king gave him his daughter in marriage, accounting him far ſuperior in wiſdom to any man then living upon earth. Our author does not warrant every particular of this ſtory [i].

Rhampſinitus *goes down to hell.*

AFTER this, it was fabled, that *Rhampſinitus* deſcended alive into the infernal regions, where he played at dice with *Ceres*, but neither won nor loſt; and that, at his departure, ſhe preſented him with a golden bowl. The ſpace between his deſcent and return to the upper regions was obſerved with great ſolemnity by the *Egyptians*, for many ages afterwards. And now, that we may conclude the hiſtory of this king with ſome air of truth and probability, he reigned with great prudence and juſtice, and was a conſtant and ſtrict obſerver of the good order, which, till his death, had uninterruptedly ſubſiſted throughout the kingdom, from its firſt foundation [k].

Nilus.

THIS king was ſucceeded by ſeven others, all of nameleſs fame, and ignoble character, except one, called *Nilus*. He is celebrated for the great number of canals he dug all over the country, and for his endeavours to make the *Nile* as univerſally ſerviceable as poſſible. Whence it was, that the river, which had been hitherto called *Ægyptus*, was now called after his name [l].

Cheops, Chemmis, *or* Chembes, *a tyrant.*

CHEOPS, CHEMMIS, or CHEMBES (M), is, by *Diodorus*, reckoned the eighth from *Rhampſinitus*. *Herodotus* places no diſtance between them. This king is branded for his impiety and tyranny. He began his reign with ſhutting up the temples, and forbidding all public ſacrifices; and then, trampling on the laws, and invading the liberties of his people, reduced them to a ſtate of the moſt laborious ſlavery. Great numbers he ſent to dig out ſtone in the quarries among the mountains of *Arabia*, and to tranſport them into *Egypt* [m]: and haraſſed them in the end, in raiſing the largeſt of the three great pyramids [n]. By this, and other vain-glorious works of the ſame kind, he was reduced ſo low, that he expoſed his daughter to common proſtitution; telling her, in general terms, to earn what

Builds the largeſt pyramid.

Proſtitutes his daughter, who builds a ſmall pyramid.

[i] HEROD. l. ii. c. 121 — 123. [k] Idem ibid. [l] DIOD. ubi ſup. p. 57. [m] HEROD. ubi ſup. c. 124. [n] Idem ibid. c. 125. & DIOD. ubi ſup. See vol. i. p. 426.

(M) Sir *Iſaac Newton* ſuſpects, that he intended to be worſhiped, himſelf, after death; and ſuppoſes, that he was alſo called *Chemnis*, *Phiops*, *Apathus*, *Apappus*, *Suphis*, *Saophis*, *Syphoas*, *Syphaoſis*, *Soiphis*, *Syphuris*, *Anoiphis*, and *Anoiſis*.

ſhe

ſhe could. She obeyed, and, by her father's example, deſiring to perpetuate her memory, required each of her gallants only to contribute a ſtone towards a building ſhe had in view. With the ſtones, ſo collected, ſhe built a ſmall pyramid [n]. This tyrant reigned fifty years [o].

Cephrenes, Cephren, or Chabryis, a tyrant.

HE was ſucceeded by *Cephrenes*, *Cephren*, or *Chabryis*. It is doubted whether *Cephren* and *Chabryis* were one and the ſame perſon; ſome ſaying that *Cephren* was the brother, and that *Chabryis* was the ſon of *Cheops*. But, leaving this obſcure controverſy; this king trod in the footſteps of his predeceſſor, and, particularly, in building a pyramid: but it fell much ſhort of the former. He reigned fifty-ſix years. Though both he and his predeceſſor deſigned theſe pyramids for their eternal manſions, to uſe the *Egyptian* phraſe, yet neither of them were depoſited in them after death: dreading what the rage of the multitude might prompt them to, their friends buried them where nobody could ever find them [p].

Builds a pyramid.

Mycerinus, or Cherinus, a good prince.

AFTER *Egypt* had been thus afflicted, by tyranny, for one hundred and ſix years, *Mycerinus*, or *Cherinus* (N), the ſon of *Cheops*, a good and merciful prince, aſcended the throne. Abhorring the impiety and injuſtice of his father, and his uncle, he opened the temples, reſtored the ſacrifices, and allowed the people to purſue their private affairs. His generoſity and good-nature are reported to have been ſuch, that if, at any time, complaint was made to him of a hard ſentence pronounced in matter of property, he would ſatisfy the party aggrieved to the amount of the loſs, out of his own treaſure [q]. Whilſt he was thus intent on the happineſs of his people, a heavy misfortune fell upon him, the death of his daughter. He mourned her with great bitterneſs, and honoured her with an extraordinary funeral: for, cauſing an hollow wooden image of a cow to be made, and richly gilt, he therein depoſited her body. This cow was never interred, but was expoſed in a magnificent chamber of the palace, in the city of *Sais*; where they burned the moſt exquiſite odours by day, and illuminated the place by night with a lamp. In a room contiguous to this, were twenty naked images of women, which

His daughter dies, and he buries her in an extraordinary manner.

[n] HEROD. ubi ſup. c. 126. See vol. i. p. 428. [o] HEROD. ubi ſup. c. 127. [p] Idem ibid. c. 128. DIOD. ubi ſup. p. 57, 58. [q] HEROD. ibid. c. 129.

(N) The laſt-cited chronologer calls him, alſo, *Cheres*, *Ikicheres*, *Moſcheres*, *Menchores*.

the

prieſts of *Sais* reported to have been the concubines of
erinus. But, as it generally happens in caſes of remote
quity, this was not the only report that was ſpread con-
ning this cow, and the ſtatues. It was ſaid, that *Myce-*
s, falling in love with his daughter, forced and deflow-
her; whereupon ſhe fell into a deep melancholy, and
violent hands on herſelf. The twenty naked ſtatues in
next room, ſaid they, were her women, who had been
umental in betraying her to her father's unnatural luſt,
therefore had their hands cut off by the queen. They
ared, indeed, without hands; but our author, who was
ye-witneſs of theſe things, tells us, they were dropped
with age, and lay ſcattered upon the floor. He tells
alſo, that the cow was in a kneeling poſture, and as
as the largeſt cow living. Her neck and head were
y laid over with gold, and between the horns was a
en circle, in imitation of the ſun; and her body had a
Tyrian carpet thrown over it. This ſepulchral image
removed once a year from the apartment where it
l, and expoſed to the open day, in purſuance of a re-
t the deceaſed made to her father, that ſhe might behold
un once every year [r].

ow to return whence we digreſſed; the death of his
hter was not the only misfortune that befel *Mycerinus*,
re dreadful one enſued; for it was denounced againſt
from the oracle at *Butus*, that he had but ſix years *The oracle*
to live; and that in the ſeventh he ſhould die. At *at* Butus
he was greatly troubled, and ſent to expoſtulate with *declares*
oracle, remonſtrating, that, ſince his father and uncle, *him to be*
had been monſters of impiety and cruelty, had been *ſhort-*
d with great length of days, it would be ungrateful *liv'd.*
quite his piety and humanity with the execution of
id a ſentence. The oracle anſwered; That his father
uncle knew the decree of fate, which had condemned
gyptians to 150 years of bondage and miſery, and acted
rmably thereto; but his having interrupted the courſe
ir miſery, as not being acquainted with that decree,
he cauſe he was ſo ſuddenly to be cut off. Finding
ſore that his doom was irreverſible, he conſulted how
ke the moſt of the ſmall remainder of life; and, com-
ing a great number of lamps to be lighted up every
, he ſpent his whole time in drinking and revelling.
nceforward making no diſtinction between day and
, he roved about among the groves and meadows, and
ever he heard of the moſt gay and chearful company.

[r] Idem ibid. c. 130—133.

Thus

Endeavours to convict the oracle of falsehood.

Thus he went on, thinking to convict the oracle of falsehood, and, instead of six, to live twelve years. Finally, *Mycerinus* is said to have built a pyramid, which, from the basis to the middle, was of *Ethiopian* stone; and on the northern front of it he inscribed his own name. This pyramid the *Greeks*, by a gross mistake, attributed to the courtesan *Rhodopis*, who flourished in the days of *Amasis*, several reigns lower[r].

We now proceed to *Gnephactus*, the father of *Bocchoris* the wise. He is also named *Technatis*, by *Plutarch*[s], and *Neochabis*, by *Alexis*. What interval there was between him and *Mycerinus*, or whether any, does no-where plainly appear. This king is famed for his abstinence, and for the execration he denounced against *Menes*. For it is recorded of him, that, leading an army into *Arabia*, and travelling the vast and barren deserts, he there fell into great straights, and want of provision; and, being one day obliged to take up with the poor and slender diet he met with, he afterwards fell into a profound sleep. This so delighted him, that he forbad all excess and luxury, and cursed *Menes*, who first introduced them: and so earnestly did he persecute the memory of this his predecessor, that, by the consent of the priests, he engraved his curse upon a pillar, which was seen in the temple at *Thebes*.

Forbids all luxury, and curses Menes.

Bocchoris.

Bocchoris, the son of *Gnephachthus*, was surnamed *the wise*. He was despicable in his person, but, for prudence and wisdom, far beyond any of his predecessors. He is reckoned the fourth *Egyptian* lawgiver; but his laws[t] seem not to have concerned any thing, except commerce, and the regulation of the public revenue. His judgments were, for their excellence, retained many generations after his death; but his great qualities were somewhat debased by his propension to avarice[u]. So high was the veneration his subjects paid him, that they fabled *Isis* to have sent an asp to deprive him of his sight, that he might judge righteously[w]. However, he drew a general odium upon himself, by letting in a wild bull to the sacred one, called *Mnevis*; but this got the better, and killed his antagonist. At last, with all the equity of his judgment[x], the purity of his mind, he is said to have been taken by *Sabbaco* the *Ethiopian*, and burnt alive[y].

[r] Idem ibid. c. 133—134. See vol. i. p. 427. [s] De Isid. & Osir. [t] See vol. i. p. 466. [u] Diod. l. i. p. 59, 85. [w] Plut. περὶ δυσωπίας, p. 529. [x] Ælian. de anim. l. xi. c. 11. [y] Syncel. p. 74.

Asychis

Asychis.

Asychis is, by *Herodotus*, placed next in order to *Mycerinus*; but in compliance with *Diodorus*, we have put two reigns between them, notwithſtanding our full perſuaſion, that *Bocchoris* and *Aſychis* were the ſame king, as we ſhall take occaſion to obſerve by-and-by. It is recorded of *Aſychis*, that he built the eaſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*, with a magnificence that eclipſed the others. And, finding that the riches of *Egypt* were lodged in a few hands, and that credit was decayed, he enacted a law, whereby a man might borrow money upon the ſepulchre of his father, and depoſit the body, as a pledge, in the hands of the creditor; and, till it was redeemed, the debtor might neither be buried in the ſepulchre of his father, or in any other, nor put any of his deſcendants there. This king, to ſurpaſs all his predeceſſors, built a pyramid of brick, which he charged with a very vaunting inſcription [z].

Builds the eaſtern portico to the temple of Vulcan, *and a brick pyramid.*

Anyſis.

After *Aſychis*, a blind man, named *Anyſis*, from a city of the ſame name, became king. In his reign *Sabbaco* king of *Ethiopia* broke into *Egypt* with a powerful army, and *Anyſis* fled for ſhelter to the fens, leaving the kingdom to the invader [a].

Bocchoris *and* Aſychis *the ſame king, and contemporary to* Anyſis, *and* Ecus *the father of* Pſammitichus.

But before we enter upon the reign of *Sabbaco*, let us take a curſory retroſpect of theſe three laſt reigns, and perhaps we may find reaſon to think, that *Bocchoris* and *Aſychis* are different names for one king, and that the blind man *Anyſis* was his contemporary. For the law ſaid to have been inſtituted by *Aſychis* ſavours ſo much of *Bocchoris*'s genius, as might incline one to think them but one man. And if it be true, that *Bocchoris* was burnt alive by *Sabbaco*, they muſt not only have been ſo, but *Anyſis* muſt alſo have been king of another part of *Egypt* at the ſame time. Furthermore, it is declared by *Herodotus*, that *Ecus* the father of *Pſammitichus* was ſlain by the ſame *Ethiopian* [b]. Here we have three kings, if we may ſuppoſe *Ecus* to have been of royal dignity, ſubdued by one and the ſame enemy, and all in *Egypt*. From hence it may appear, that many of the kings of *Egypt* are placed in order of ſucceſſion, that were collateral, merely out of oſtentation, and to ſupport the pretenſions the prieſts made to the exceſſive antiquity of their kingdom.

Sabbaco *the* Ethiopian.

We now return to *Sabbaco*; from whoſe cruelty towards *Bocchoris*, we ſhould conclude him to have begun his reign with the like barbarity towards others, were we not aſſured,

[z] Herod. l. ii. c. 136. See vol. i. p. 428, 429. [a] Herod. ubi ſup. c. 137. [b] Idem ibid. c. 152.

that

that he no ſooner found himſelf firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, than he became a new man; ſo that he is highly extolled for his mercy, clemency, and policy. He is thought to have been the *So* in Scripture, and to have entered into a league with *Hoſhea* king of *Samaria*, againſt *Shalmanaſſar* king of *Aſſyria*. He was excited to the invaſion of *Egypt* by a dream or viſion, which aſſured him he ſhould hold *Egypt* fifty years; and, when that term was expired, he voluntarily retired into *Ethiopia* again, reſigning his conquered kingdom. But, whilſt he was in *Egypt*, he gave the higheſt proofs of his wiſdom and piety, and yielded to none of his *Egyptian* predeceſſors in the art of governing. He never would conſent to the death of any criminal, though capitally condemned, commuting the puniſhment into hard labour, which purely conſiſted in raiſing of mounts, and digging of canals; ſo that the cities of *Egypt* were raiſed higher, and rendered more commodious, than they had been by *Seſoſtris*; and particularly the city of *Bubaſtis*, where ſtood a moſt magnificent temple, conſecrated to the goddeſs of the ſame name. At length *Sabbaco* had a viſion in his ſleep, wherein the tutelar god of *Thebes* admoniſhed him, that he could not hold hold the kingdom of *Egypt* with ſafety and happineſs, except he maſſacred the prieſts as he paſſed through them with his guards. Being haunted with this viſion, and his heart abhorring ſo dreadful an undertaking, he ſent for the prieſts, and declaring to them what the gods prompted him to, he thence concluded, that it was their pleaſure he ſhould remain no longer in *Egypt*; and that therefore he was determined to return to his native country, and reſign a crown which he could not preſerve without ſo general a ſlaughter. It had been foretold, that he ſhould reign 50 years; theſe were now expired; and therefore, looking upon the viſion as a command to quit *Egypt*, he readily complied with it, and returned into *Ethiopia*[c].

As ſoon as *Sabbaco* had departed the kingdom, *Anyſis* came out from his hiding-place, and reaſſumed the government. He had been abſent fifty years, and in that time had formed an iſland for his habitation, compoſed of aſhes and earth; for, when any *Egyptian* came to him with proviſion, he always deſired, that aſhes might be brought to him, unknown to the *Ethiopian*. This iſland was called *Elbo*[d].

[c] Idem ibid. c. 137 — 139. Diod. Sic. ubi ſupra, p. 59.
[d] Herod. ibid. c. 140.

After

AFTER him reigned one *Sethon*, who was both king, and prieſt of *Vulcan*. He not only neglected the military claſs or order, but injuriouſly diveſted them of their privileges and lands; whereat they were ſo incenſed, that, thinking themſelves abſolved from their allegiance, they entered into a combination not to bear arms under him. But he, regardleſs of their threats and murmurs, gave himſelf wholly up to contemplation; and the functions of religion. This was the ſtate of affairs when *Sennacherib* king of *Aſſyria* drew near to *Peluſium*, deſigning to enter *Egypt*. *Sethon*, perceiving his danger, and ſenſible that now his only truſt muſt be in the military order, whom he had ſo unjuſtly dealt with, had recourſe to them; but in vain: they obſtinately perſiſted in refuſing to march under his banner. The prieſt now, deſtitute of all other advice and ſupport, repaired to his god, and, in the utmoſt dejection of mind, implored his aid. Whilſt he was yet in the temple, he fell into a deep ſleep; during which it ſeemed to him that the god, ſtanding at his ſide, exhorted him to take courage, and promiſed that, if he would but go out againſt the *Aſſyrians*, he ſhould obtain a complete victory over them. Fraught with this viſion, he aſſembled together a body of artificers, ſhopkeepers, and labourers; and, with this unexperienced multitude, bent his march towards *Peluſium*. The very night after his arrival there, an infinite number of field-rats, entering the enemies camp, gnawed their quivers, bow-ſtrings, and ſhield-ſtraps, to pieces [c]. This is conſonant to the prophecy of *Iſaiah*: *The king of Aſſyria ſhall not come into this city* (meaning *Jeruſalem*), *nor ſhoot an arrow there, nor come before it with a ſhield* [d]. However, archbiſhop *Uſher* [e] and Dr. *Prideaux* [f] are of opinion, that *Sennacherib*, what loſs ſoever he might have ſuſtained at *Peluſium*, entered *Egypt*, and, having deſtroyed the famous city of *No*, carried with him, on his return into *Aſſyria*, a great multitude of *Egyptian* captives: for it was, according to them, on this occaſion, that the prophecy of *Nahum* was fulfilled: *Yet was ſhe* (the populous *No*) *carried away*; *ſhe went into captivity*; *her young children alſo were daſhed in pieces at the top of all the ſtreets*; *and they caſt lots for her honourable men*; *and all her great men were bound in chains* [g]. This calamity happened to the city of *No*, as the above-mentioned writers obſerve, while *Ethiopia* and *Egypt* were her ſtrength [h]; and at this

Sethon king and prieſt.

[c] Idem ibid. c. 141. [d] 2 Kings xix. 32. [e] USH. ad A. M. 3292. [f] PRID. connect. part. i. book i. p. 23. octav. [g] Nahum iii. 10. [h] Ib. ver. 9.

time

time *Tirhakah* king of *Ethiopia*, and *Sethon* king of *Egypt*, were joined in alliance. But this opinion, however plauſible, has great difficulties attending it; as we ſhall ſhew in the hiſtory of the *Jews*. When *Sethon* next morning found the enemy thus diſarmed, and moving off, he purſued them with great ſlaughter. In memory of this miraculous event, a ſtatue of ſtone was erected to this king, in the temple of *Vulcan*, holding a rat in one hand, and delivering theſe words: *Whoſoever beholdeth me, let him be pious* [i].

A ſhort time after the death of *Sethon*, *Egypt* was (upon what motive is not preciſely known) divided into twelve kingdoms, and twelve of the chief *Egyptian* lords were appointed over them. Theſe 12 entered into the ſtricteſt aſſociation for the public welfare. This mutual league was conceived in the moſt obligatory manner, and cemented by all the ſtricteſt ties that could poſſibly maintain a perpetual union and harmony among them; becauſe it had been foretold by an oracle, upon their aſſuming the government, that he of their number who ſhould perform a libation in a brazen cup, ſhould, in time, be king of all *Egypt*. This new regulation was attended with peace and happineſs, and the twelve kings reſolved to raiſe a monument, which might perpetuate their names to the lateſt ages; and accordingly they raiſed the famous labyrinth [k] near the lake *Mœris*. At length they all met together, to ſacrifice in the temple of *Vulcan*; and being to offer a libation on the laſt day, the high-prieſt, through miſtake, brought out only eleven of the twelve gold bowls, which were reſerved for the uſe of the twelve princes; and *Pſammitichus*, ſtanding the laſt in order, and being unprovided for the ceremony, took off his helmet, which was of braſs (they all twelve wore the ſame), and performed his libation with that. This he did inadvertently; but it being obſerved by the reſt, they called to mind the oracle, which promiſed the whole kingdom of *Egypt* to him who ſhould happen to perform a libation in this place with a braſs bowl. Wherefore, though they were ſatisfied he had no ill intention, and, for that reaſon, would not ſentence him to die, yet they were unanimouſly for confining him to the marſhy country, diveſting him of the greateſt part of his diſtrict, and forbidding him to concern himſelf with the affairs of the public [l]. The reaſon of this diſcord is told differently by others; and the whole is attributed to envy: for, at the diviſion of the country into twelve provinces, as has been obſerved, the ſea-coaſts

[i] Herod. l. ii. c. 141. [k] See vol. i. p. 445. [l] Herod. ibid. c. 151.

fall

fell to the lot of *Pſammitichus*; and he, greatly encouraging all commerce with the *Grecians* and *Phœnicians*, not only accumulated great wealth, but acquired alſo the favour and friendſhip of ſeveral foreign kings and nations; which drew on him the envy of his collegues; who, fearing he ſhould grow too formidable, and affect to rule over them, reſolved to reduce him betimes. Wherefore they all declared war againſt him; and he, finding himſelf unequal to the conflict, hired an army of mercenaries, conſiſting chiefly of *Ionians*, *Carians*, and *Arabians*; repelled force with force, and, in the end, ſubdued the other kings, and put an end to the *duodecemvirate* [m]. On the other hand it is related, that, in purſuance of his ſentence, he retreated to the fens; but, greatly reſenting the ſeverity of his uſage for ſo trifling a thing, done without any evil deſign, he ſent to the oracle of *Latona*, at the city of *Butus*, to know how, and when, he might hope for redreſs. The anſwer he received was, that *Brazen* would ſuddenly riſe out of the ſea, and avenge his cauſe. This he received as a flat abſurdity: but, not long after, ſome *Ionian* and *Carian* pirates landed in braſs armour: and an *Egyptian*, who had never ſeen men armed ſo before, going up to *Pſammitichus*, and acquainting him, that certain brazen men had riſen out of the ſea, and were pillaging the land near the ſea-ſhore, he perceived that the oracle was come to paſs: therefore, perſuading them to ſtay, by the large promiſes he made them if he ſucceeded, and joining to them ſuch *Egyptians* as were well affected to him, he ſubdued and dethroned the eleven kings, and ſeized on the whole kingdom for himſelf [n]. It is ſaid, the deciſive battle was fought at *Monemphis*; that ſome of the kings were ſlain, and that others took refuge in *Afric*. Thus was the government by twelve diſſolved, after it had ſubſiſted 15 years [o].

HITHERTO the *Egyptian* hiſtory has been covered with an impenetrable miſt: it now begins to clear up a little. *Pſammitichus*, of the tribe of *Sais*, thus poſſeſſed of the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, reigned with as much wiſdom, magnanimity, and ſplendor, as any of his predeceſſors. He was the ſon of *Ecus*, whom *Sabbaco* put to death when he conquered *Egypt*; and, had he not fled into *Syria*, would have ſhared in his father's fate. He made good his engagements with his allies, and over and above preſented them with certain lands on each ſide of the *Nile*, and called their ſettlements *the camp*. He alſo put ſeveral

Year of flood 1678. Bef. Chriſt 670. Pſammitichus. *Gives great encouragement to the Greeks.*

children

[m] DIOD. Sic. ubi ſup. p. 59. [n] HEROD. ubi ſup. c. 152. [o] DIOD. p. 60.

children under their tuition, that they might be inſtructed in the *Greek* language. They had their ſituation near the ſea, below the city of *Bubaſtis*, by the *Peluſian* mouth of the *Nile*: and here they continued till *Amaſis* removed them to *Memphis*, as will be ſhewn in its place. However, it is here proper to obſerve, that theſe *Grecians* are ſaid to have been the firſt foreigners who were permitted to dwell in *Egypt*; and that, from the intercourſe and correſpondence which was conſtantly kept up between them and their countrymen in *Greece*, we are well aſſured of the truth and exactneſs of the *Egyptian* hiſtory from the days of *Pſammitichus* [i].

Concerning the public edifices he erected there is ſome diſagreement: *Herodotus* ſays, he added the ſouthern, and *Diodorus*, that he added the eaſtern portico to the temple of *Vulcan*. The former writes, that he built a ſpacious edifice oppoſite to this portico, for the reception of the god *Apis*, whenever he ſhould appear; and that it was enriched with ſculptures, and ſurrounded by gigantic ſtatues, 12 cubits high, inſtead of pillars. The latter, that he incompaſſed the temple with a wall, ſubſtituting coloſſes inſtead of pilaſters [k].

In conſideration of the fidelity and warlike experience of the foreigners, who had placed him on the throne, he always kept ſome of their countrymen in pay, and went ſo far as to compliment them with the poſt of honour when he marched his army into *Syria*; where he warred many years. This ſo incenſed the *Egyptians*, that upwards of 200,000 of them deſerted him, and marched off in a body. Perceiving his error in thus affronting his own ſubjects, he at firſt ſent ſome of the chief officers after them, to excuſe the matter: but, finding that their perſuaſions had no effect, he took ſhipping, with ſome of his friends, and overtook them on the banks of the *Nile*: and there, intreating them to halt, in conſideration of all the natural obligations that could endear their country to them, and their gods; they unanimouſly ſtruck their ſpears upon their ſhields, and cried out, that, as long as they had arms, they did not doubt but they ſhould find a country to ſettle in: and, diſcovering their nakedneſs, added, that they ſhould never want wives and children. They then ſullenly marched on, till they came into the territories of *Ethiopia*; where they ſat down on a fertile ſpot, and dwelt there.

[i] Herod. ibid. c. 154. [k] Idem, ubi ſupr. c. 153. Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 62.

To

To repair this loſs, he earneſtly applied himſelf to the advancement of commerce, and opened his ports to all ſtrangers; whom he greatly careſſed, contrary to the cruel or reſerved maxims of his predeceſſors. At the ſame time he was thus intent upon his affairs at home, he entered into, or renewed an alliance with the *Athenians*, and other *Greek* nations[l]. But his reign is for nothing more remarkable, than for the long and tedious ſiege he laid to *Azotus* in *Syria*, which held out againſt the whole power of *Egypt* for the ſpace of 29 years[m]. His conduct towards the *Scythians*, who, about this time, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Aſia*, and were now marching with a deſign to pour themſelves into *Egypt*, is highly commended: for, inſtead of oppoſing them, he joined them in *Syria*, and by his preſents and intreaties prevailed on them to march back again[n]. After a reign of fifty-four years[o] he died, and was buried in the the temple of *Bubaſtis*, or *Minerva*, at *Sais*, the place where all the *Saitic* kings were depoſited. He is reported to have been the firſt king of *Egypt* that drank wine[p], to have ſent to diſcover the ſprings of the *Nile*[q], and to have made an experiment to find out which was the moſt antient nation in the world: to which purpoſe, he got two new-born children, and brought them up after ſuch a manner that they never heard an human voice; and becauſe, when at two years old they pronounced a word *(beccos)* which ſignified bread in the *Phrygian* tongue, the *Egyptians* no longer vaunted of their ſeniority before all other nations, but ſubmitted to the *Phrygians*[r].

Opens the ports of Egypt to ſtrangers.

His ſiege of Azotus, and tranſaction with the Scythians.

NECHUS was the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Pſammitichus*. He is the *Pharaoh Necho* of ſcripture, and was a prince of a magnificent and warlike genius, and great both at land and ſea. In the beginning of his reign he attempted to cut a canal from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea*[t]; but, after the loſs of 120,000 of thoſe employed on this work, he was warned by an oracle to deſiſt, and leave the finiſhing of it to a *Barbarian* or foreigner. He obeyed the oracle; and thenceforth turning his thoughts to warlike enterprizes, built a fleet of galleys in the northern [*Mediterranean*] ſea, and another in the ſtreights of the *Arabian* gulph, where footſteps of his naval preparations were ſeen many ages afterwards[s].

Year of flood 1732. Bef. Chr. 616.

Nechus.

[l] Idem ibid. [m] HEROD. l. ii. c. 157. [n] Idem, l. i. c. 105. [o] Idem, l. ii. c. 157. [p] EUDOX. apud Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 353. [q] ATHENÆUS, l. viii. p. 345. [r] HEROD. l. ii. c. 2. [t] Idem ibid. c. 158. [s] Idem, ibid. c. 159.

Affects the empire of the sea. He sent some of the most expert *Phœnician* mariners he could procure, upon a discovery of the *African* coasts. Accordingly, sailing out of the *Red Sea* through the streights of *Babelmandel*, as now called, they steered down the eastern shores of *Afric*; and, doubling the *Cape* of *Good-Hope*, coasted up northward, till they came to the streights of *Gibraltar*; by which they entered the *Mediterranean*, and so returned into *Egypt*: this voyage they performed in three years [t].

His wars at land. He was not only great at sea, but was also formidable by land. *Josephus*, following *Ctesias*, says, that he made war upon the *Medes* and *Babylonians*; who had just then dissolved the *Assyrian* monarchy, and were grown dreadful to the nations far and near [u]: but the Scripture expressly says, that he went out against the king of *Assyria*, who was then on the river *Euphrates*, perhaps at *Babylon*: in his march thither, *Josiah* king of *Judah* refused him a passage through *Judea*, and drew up an army to prevent his design, which was to besiege *Carchemish* [w]. Finding therefore that *Josiah* opposed him, he sent messengers to him to remonstrate, that his arms were not taken up with a design to do *Josiah* the least prejudice; that the war he was going to engage in, was undertaken by the express command of God; wherefore he would do well not to incur the wrath of heaven by withstanding its decree. But, finding that *Josiah* gave no ear to his remonstrances, he resolved to give him battle; and both armies being drawn up in the valley of *Megiddo* (or *Magdolus*, as *Herodotus* has it [x]), *Josiah* was wounded mortally with an arrow, as he was driving his chariot up and down the ranks; and, perceiving his end to be near, he commanded his army to retreat, and *Necho* held on his march [y]. Arriving on the banks of the *Euphrates*, he there took the great city of *Carchemish*; where he lodged a sufficient garison, and, after three months, returned towards *Egypt* [z]. As he drew near to *Jerusalem*, he heard that *Jehoahaz* had taken upon him to be king; and, sending him an order to meet him at *Riblah* in *Syria*, he there bound him in chains, and sent him away prisoner to *Egypt*. After which he went to *Jerusalem*, and made *Eliakim*, whose name he changed into *Jehoiakim*, king over *Judah*, imposing on him at the same time a tribute of an hundred talents of

[t] Idem, l. iv. c. 42. [u] Josephus antiq. l. x. c. 6. [w] 2 Kings xxiii. 29. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20. [x] Herod. l. ii. c. 159. [y] 2 Chron. xxxv. 24. Josephus antiq. ubi supr. [z] Idem ibid.

silver,

ſilver, and one talent of gold [a]. And thus he became maſter of *Judea* and *Syria*. *Herodotus* ſays that he took the great and mountainous city of *Cadytis* in *Paleſtine*, that is, as ſome underſtand him, *Jeruſalem*. It is plain *Nechus* was there; but it is almoſt as plain, that he entered it in a peaceable manner [b]. Hitherto he was ſucceſsful in his wars, and weakened the declining power of *Aſſyria*; which very ſoon after ceaſed to give name to a monarchy: and, in commemoration of his good fortune, or in gratitude to the god, he is ſaid to have conſecrated the garments he wore in theſe actions to *Apollo*, and to have ſent them to the oracle of the *Branchidæ* in the land of the *Mileſians* [c].

BUT he did not long enjoy his new acquiſitions; for, ſome years after, *Nebuchadnezzar* came from *Babylon*, with deſign to drive the *Egyptians* from *Carchemiſh*, and recover the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* provinces [d]. But he, no way daunted at the formidable power of this newly-erected monarchy, marched towards the *Euphrates* with a very numerous army, againſt *Nebuchadnezzar*; but in the end *Necho* was routed with a terrible ſlaughter, and loſt *Carchemiſh*, with all *Syria* and *Judea*, quite to *Peluſium* [e]. He afterwards entered into a confederacy with *Jeboiakim*, and made as if he intended to renew the war againſt the *Babylonians*; but he did nothing of moment afterwards, nor ſtirred out of *Egypt* [f]. He died about eight years after he had been defeated by *Nebuchadnezzar*, having reigned ſixteen, and left his ſon *Pſammis* to ſucceed him in the kingdom [g].

His turn of fortune.

IN the reign of *Pſammis*, the ſon of *Necho*, embaſſadors came into *Egypt* from the *Eleans*, to know if the moſt ſage *Egyptians* could add any thing to their regulations concerning the *Olympic* games, or could perceive any defect in them. When the king was informed of their buſineſs, he called a council of the wiſeſt men in the nation; and, ſending for the embaſſadors, he aſked them, if their own citizens were allowed to contend at their games. The *Eleans* anſwered, they were. The *Egyptians* pronounced, that they erred from all the rules of hoſpitality; ſince it was natural for them to favour their fellow-citizens more

Year of flood 1748. Bef. Chr. 600. Pſammis.

[a] 2 Kings xxiii. 33. [b] Vide PRIDEAUX connect. p. 56, 57. HEROD. ubi ſupr. [c] Idem ibid. c. 159. [d] Jerem. xlvi. 1, 2. 2 Kings xxiv. 7. [e] JOSEPHUS, ubi ſupr. [f] 2 Kings xxiv. 7. JOSEPHUS ubi ſupr. [g] HEROD. ubi ſupr.

than ſtrangers: that if they were come to be informed concerning what ought, or ought not, to be done in the matter they had propoſed, the moſt equitable law they could make, would be to exclude their own countrymen, and admit none but ſtrangers to contend for the prizes. *Pſammis* reigned ſix years, and died in an expedition againſt the *Ethiopians*, leaving his ſon *Apries* to ſucceed him [h].

Year of flood 1754. Bef. Chr. 594. Apries.

APRIES is the *Pharaoh-hophra* of Scripture. The firſt part of his reign was great and proſperous, the laſt, inſolent and miſerable. In the firſt year of his reign he received embaſſadors from *Zedekiah* king of *Judah*, and with them he entered into a league, promiſing to aſſiſt their king againſt the king of *Babylon* [i]; and, about two years after, marched out of *Egypt* with a deſign to relieve *Jeruſalem*, then cloſely beſieged by *Nebuchadnezzar*; who no ſooner heard of his motions than he raiſed the ſiege, and reſolved to meet him [k]. But the *Egyptians*, afraid of venturing a battle, retreated as faſt as the *Babylonians* approached, till they got back into their own country [l], leaving the *Jews* to the mercileſs rage of their enemy, in contempt of the moſt ſolemn engagements. And for this breach of faith it was that *Ezekiel* denounced the heavy doom againſt them, that they ſhould be confounded and deſolate for forty years enſuing [m]; and that afterwards they ſhould degenerate to ſo baſe a degree, as not to have it in their power ever to ſet up a king of their own for the time to come [n]; which will be ſeen accompliſhed in the courſe of this hiſtory. The Scriptures paint him in very diſadvantageous colours, and in the end threaten him with a violent death; which was his fate, as we ſhall ſee anon. In the mean-time it may not be amiſs to take notice, that *Herodotus* gives this king twenty-five years of greater proſperity than any of his predeceſſors, except *Pſammitichus*, had enjoyed; though *Diodorus* allows his whole reign no more than twenty-two years. However, they both agree in giving him the character of a martial prince, and ſpeak of ſucceſsful wars which he waged, both by ſea and land, againſt the *Tyrians*, *Sidonians*, and *Cypriots* [o]. The city of *Sidon* he took by ſtorm; and, having vanquiſhed both the *Phœnicians* and *Cypriots* in a ſea-fight, he returned with immenſe ſpoil into *Egypt* [p]. This no way claſhes with what the ſacred writings record of him; but

His affairs with the Jews.

His victories.

[h] Idem ibid. c. 160, 161. [i] Ezek. xvii. 15. [k] Jerem. xxxvii. 5. [l] Idem ibid. ver. 7. [m] Ezek. xxix. 8 — 12. [n] Idem xxx. 13. [o] HEROD. ubi ſupr. c. 161. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 62. [p] Idem ibid.

is rather conſonant therewith: for ſure he muſt have been a mighty king, in whom the *Jews* dared to confide againſt the monarch of *Babylon!* And, as to the feint *Apries* made to relieve *Jeruſalem*, and his ſhameful retreat, that rather reflected diſhonour on him, than amounted to a misfortune.

AND now, to obſerve the perfect agreement and harmony between the ſacred and profane writers, let us hear the former pronounce judgment againſt him, and learn from the latter, how it was executed. We have already obſerved, that the Scripture threatened this king with a violent death: the words of the prophet are; *Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold, I will give* Pharaoh-hophra, *king of* Egypt, *into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that ſeek his life; as I gave* Zedekiah *king of* Judah *into the hand of* Nebuchadnezzar *king of* Babylon *his enemy, and that ſought his life* [q]. Many predictions of the ſame kind are uttered againſt him in *Ezekiel*; but there he is confounded with his ſubjects, and therefore we ſhall paſs them over. Now the profane hiſtorians acquaint us, how theſe predictions were fulfilled: the *Cyreneans*, a colony of the *Greeks*, being greatly ſtrengthened by a numerous ſupply of their countrymen under their third king *Battus the Happy*, and encouraged by the *Pythian* oracle, they began to drive out the *Libyans*, their neighbours, and ſhare their poſſeſſions among themſelves. Hereupon *Andican*, king of the injured *Libyans*, ſent an embaſſy of ſubmiſſion to *Apries*, and implored his protection from the violence of the new comers. *Apries*, complying with his requeſt, ſent a powerful army to relieve him. But the *Egyptians* being defeated with great ſlaughter by the *Cyreneans*, the few, who eſcaped, were highly incenſed againſt the king, as if he had ſent them to certain deſtruction, in hopes that they being cut off, he might tyrannize without controul over the remainder of his ſubjects. What ground there was for this ſuſpicion, does not appear; but it prevailed to ſuch a degree among the giddy multitude, that almoſt an univerſal defection enſued. Upon news that they were aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and talking loud of a revolution, *Apries* ſent a truſty friend, as he thought, and one much reſpected by the people, called *Amaſis*, to appeaſe them. But he, inſtead of reconciling them with *Apries*, made intereſt with them for himſelf; and, as he was pretending to reproach them, and recal them to their allegiance, one of them came behind him, put an helmet on

The cauſe of his ruin.

Is betrayed by Amaſis.

[q] Jerem. xliv. 30.

his head, and saluted him king of *Egypt*; and from that instant he prepared to war against his master[r]. *Apries*, finding himself thus betrayed, commanded one *Patarbemis*, the most considerable of all the *Egyptians*, who as yet adhered to him, to go to the rebellious camp, and bring *Amasis* to him alive. He obeyed; and, coming in sight of *Amasis*, called out to him, charging him to attend on the king. At this, *Amasis*, who was on horseback, lifted up his thigh with the utmost scorn, and, breaking wind, bid him carry that back to his master. *Patarbemis* still pressing him to obey the royal summons, he returned this final answer, That he had been some time preparing to visit the king; but, that he might do it in a proper manner, he would bring a suitable equipage along with him. *Patarbemis* had now heard and seen too much to imagine he should succeed in the business he was charged with, and began to think, that the best service he could do for *Apries*, at this conjuncture, would be to give him the most early notice of the posture and temper of the rebels. He therefore hastened back to the king, who no sooner saw him without *Amasis*, than he ordered his ears and nose to be cut off. This insolent and tyrannical behaviour completed his ruin: for when the rest of the *Egyptians*, who had continued faithful to him, beheld the inhuman mutilation of so worthy and noble a person, they all withdrew from him, and went over to *Amasis*. And now the tyrant on the one hand, and the usurper on the other, prepared for war; the one having the whole body of the natives under his banner; the other only such *Carians*, *Ionians*, and other mercenaries and foreigners, as he could engage in his service[s].

During these intestine broils and diversions, which must have greatly weakened *Egypt*, it is probable that *Nebuchadnezzar*, who much about this time broke up his thirteen years siege of *Tyre*, and had at last nothing but an empty town for his pains, took advantage of the troubled state of this kingdom, in hopes here to acquire such spoil as might make amends for what he missed at *Tyre*. And this is perfectly consonant to the Scripture, where it is said; Nebuchadnezzar *king of* Babylon *caused his army to serve a great service against* Tyrus . . . . . *yet had he no wages nor his army for* Tyrus . . . . . *Therefore, saith the Lord God, Behold, I will give the land of* Egypt *unto* Nebuchadnezzar *king of* Babylon . . . . . *and it shall be the wages for his*

[r] Herod. ubi supr. c. 161, 162. Diod. ubi supr. [s] Herod. ubi supr. c. 163.

army.

army [t]. A nation in such distraction as *Egypt* must have been in at this time, was an easy prey to a number of experienced veterans; and, besides, must have been in the most proper condition to gratify an army already worn out with fatigue, as the *Babylonians* doubtless were. *Nebuchadnezzar* therefore entered *Egypt*, and miserably harassed the country, slew and led away great numbers of its inhabitants; so that some think it did not recover from this incursion for forty years, as had been foretold. At length he left the country; but, whether he appointed *Amasis* for his lieutenant, or what terms he made with him, is what we do not take upon us to say; no more than whether *Amasis* and *Apries* stood their ground, and made head against the enemy; or left him to act at his pleasure in *Egypt*. This alone is certain, that the *Babylonian* carried away an immense booty with him.

Civil war between Apries and Amasis.

And now we resume the civil war, which we have been obliged to interrupt, by taking a view of the devastation of the country by a foreign enemy. *Apries* marched from *Sais*, where he had a most sumptuous and delightful palace, at the head of 30,000 *Carians* and *Ionians*; and *Amasis*, on the other hand, was in motion at the head of an army of *Egyptians* [u]. They met in the fields near *Memphis*; and *Apries* was so far from doubting of victory, that he is said to have entertained a notion, that it was not in the power even of any god to divest him of his kingdom [w], as he is upbraided by the prophet, *The river is mine, and I have made it* [x]. But his confidence availed him nothing; the armies drew up at *Memphis*, and though the foreigners did wonders, yet, being overpowered by numbers, they were utterly defeated, and *Apries* himself was taken prisoner.

Year of flood 1779. Bef. Chr. 569.

Amasis.

Apries *is strangled.*

And now *Amasis*, of the tribe of *Sais*, usurped the kingdom. He confined *Apries* in the palace of *Sais*, formerly his own; and treated him with great care and respect. But the people were implacable, and could not rest whilst *Apries* enjoyed his life [y]: and therefore, murmuring against *Amasis*, and remonstrating that his lenity was wrong applied in extending it to his and their common enemy, he found himself under a necessity of delivering *Apries* into their hands. And now, being fallen under the power of those who *sought his life* [z], they strangled him, and laid his

[t] Ezek. xxix. 18, 19. [u] Herod. ubi supr. c. 169. Diod. ubi supr. [w] Herod. ubi supr. [x] Ezek. xxix. 3. [y] Plato in Tim. [z] Jerem. ubi supr.

body

body in the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, which was in the temple of *Minerva*, adjoining to the palace, on the left-hand going in. Here it was that all the princes of the tribe of *Sais* were intombed [z].

WE know it is ſaid, that *Amaſis* did not thus uſurp the throne, nor ſucceed *Apries*. It was one *Partamis*, ſay they, whom *Amaſis* ſucceeded, and that, by the following incident: *Partamis* celebrating his birth-day, *Amaſis*, as yet a private perſon, preſented him with a moſt beautiful and elegant garland of flowers: whereupon being invited to his table as a gueſt, and thenceforward added to the number of the king's friends, he was at laſt ſent at the head of an army to reduce the *Egyptians*, who had rebelled; but the army made him king, out of the hatred they bore to *Partamis* [a]. We are inclined to think, that the *Partamis* here, and the *Patarbemis* above, are the ſame man; and, if ſo, he was rather the idol of the people's affections, than the object of their hatred. But we forbear enlarging any farther on this ſubject, and ſhall only ſay, that the author, who gives us this account, is not always the moſt faithful tranſcriber.

WHOEVER *Amaſis* ſucceeded, and which way ſoever he came to the crown, it is commonly allowed, that he was of plebeian extraction. And, perceiving at firſt, that it was with reluctance the people payed him the reſpect due to the ſublimity of his ſtation, he took a golden ciſtern, in which his gueſts were uſed to waſh their feet, and ordered it to be melted down, and caſt in the ſhape of a god. This precious idol was ſet up in the moſt frequented part of the city; and all paid due reverence and honour to it. He then called an aſſembly of the *Egyptians*, and acquainted them, That the god they now worſhiped was made of the veſſel which had ſerved for the meaneſt uſes: that his own caſe was the ſame; formerly he was a mean perſon, but, being now their king, he expected and required to be honoured and obeyed as ſuch. It was a rule with him to attend cloſely to buſineſs every morning, and to divert himſelf with his friends the remainder of the day, drinking and making merry with them: but his mirth was ſomewhat of too low an allay for a king; at which ſome of his friends were ſcandalized, and aſſured him, that ſuch forgetfulneſs of his dignity would draw the contempt of all his ſubjects upon him. To this he replied, that as a bow always bent would undoubtedly loſe much of its ſpring and energy, and

[z] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [a] HELLANIC. apud Athenæ. deipnoſ. l. xv. p. 680.

in the end be wholly uſeleſs; ſo a man who ſhould, uninterruptedly, attend upon ſerious matters, would grow ſtupid, and loſe his ſenſes: and, being perfectly convinced of this truth, he was determined to divide his time between buſineſs and diverſion. And indeed it is ſaid of him, that, when a private man, he delighted in his cup and his jeſt; and was ſo averſe to buſineſs, that he ſupported himſelf in his riot and luxury by thieving. In conſequence of this heinous practice, being oftentimes accuſed, and continually denying his guilt, they were uſed to carry him to the oracle of the place, where-ever he was, by which he was ſometimes convicted, and ſometimes acquitted. When he came to the throne, he recollected the former tranſactions of his life, and, calling to mind the deceitfulneſs and ignorance of the oracles, who had pronounced him innocent, he ſlighted the temples of ſuch gods, abſtained from their ſacrifices, and refuſed to preſent them with any donations. On the contrary, he highly revered thoſe for veracity and omniſcience, who had charged him with his odious crime[b].

The public works of Amaſis.

He built a portico to the temple of *Minerva* at *Sais*, which was of the utmoſt magnificence, both in the vaſtneſs of its proportion, and the maſſiveneſs of the materials, adorning it with coloſſes, and the monſtrous images of *Androſphynges*. But, what is moſt to be admired, he removed an houſe all of one ſtone, from the ſame city to *Sais*. The exterior dimenſions of it were twenty-one cubits in front, fourteen deep, and eight high: the interior meaſures were eighteen cubits, twelve, and five. Two thouſand mariners were employed three years in tranſporting this extraordinary edifice. It ſtood near the entrance of the temple, and was never carried quite in, either, as was ſaid, becauſe the chief engineer ſighed one day, as if he was tired out with the work; at which *Amaſis*, who ſtood by, taking offence, would never ſuffer him thenceforth to concern himſelf with it; or, becauſe one of the men, who were rolling it into the temple, was cruſhed to death by it. He was very magnificent in the gifts and ornaments he beſtowed upon the other celebrated temples, particularly on that at *Memphis*; where, before the temple of *Vulcan*, he cauſed a coloſſus to be made 75 feet in length, lying on its back; and on the ſame baſis, or pavement, he erected two ſtatues twenty feet high, cut out of the ſame ſtone, and ſtanding on each ſide of the great one. The great temple of *Iſis* at *Memphis* was built by him[c].

[b] Herod. ibid. c. 173 — 175. [c] Idem ibid. c. 176, 177.

More-

The state of Egypt *under him; and his laws.*

MOREOVER, *Egypt* is said to have been perfectly happy during his reign, in the fecundation of the *Nile*, and to have now contained no less than 20,000 populous cities. And, that good order might the better subsist in the midst of so vast a multitude, *Amasis* enacted a law, whereby every *Egyptian* was bound once a year to inform the governor of the province, by what means he earned his living, and, in default thereof, to suffer death; which was also the punishment now ordained for those, who were not able to give a satisfactory account of themselves[a]: and for this, and the other laws he enacted, he is stiled the fifth lawgiver of *Egypt*[b].

Is very favourable to all the Greeks.

HE was a great friend to the *Greeks*, and had a visit from *Solon*[c]. Besides the favours he conferred on particular persons and cities of that nation, he gave full liberty to the *Greeks* in general to come into *Egypt*, and to settle, either in the most celebrated mart of *Naucratis*, or drive on their trade upon the sea-coasts; granting them places where they might erect altars and temples to their own deities. Accordingly they erected several temples, the most frequented and noted of which was called the *Grecian* temple, being built at the joint charge of the *Ionian* cities of *Chio*, *Teos*, *Phocæa*, and *Clazomenæ*; of the *Dorians* of *Rhodes*, *Cnidus*, *Halicarnassus*, *Phaselis*, and of the *Æolians* in the city of *Mitylene*. Those of *Ægina* also built a temple to *Jupiter* at their own expence; the *Samians* another to *Juno*, and the *Milesians*, a third to *Apollo*. The *Greeks* elected officers to preside over their commercial affairs, and their religion, and thenceforward became a considerable body in *Egypt*[d].

So great was the fame of *Amasis* for his generosity and humanity, that when the *Delphians*, whose temple had been burnt, were going about from city to city to raise such a contribution as might enable them to pay that part of the expence which was imposed on them, they applied not only to the *Greeks* in *Egypt*, but also to *Amasis* himself, who gave them a thousand talents of alum[e].

Marries a Greek.

He made an alliance with the *Cyreneans*, and, being desirous of a *Grecian* woman, or else willing to give an ample testimony of the affection he had for that people, he married *Ladice*, the daughter of *Battus*, according to some; and, according to others, of *Arcesilaus*, or *Critobulus*, a person of high authority among the *Cyreneans*. This marriage was very extraordinary in its beginning, and

[a] See vol. i. p. 465. HEROD. ubi supr. & c. 178. [b] DIOD. ubi supr. p. 85. [c] HEROD. l. i. c. 30. [d] Idem, l. ii. c. 178. [e] Idem ibid. c. 180.

could

could not be conſummated without the intervention of a deity. For *Amaſis*, tho' he found no impediment in himſelf with reſpect to other women, was at the ſame time ſenſible of a total inability in regard to his wife. Hereupon, ſuſpecting ſome ſecret charm, he told her one night, that, how deeply ſoever ſhe was verſed in ſupernatural contrivances, ſhe ſhould not eſcape the vengeance he intended to take on her for her ingratitude to him. She denied the charge, and, applying with ſighs and tears to *Venus*, vowed to ſend a ſtatue of her to *Cyrene*, and erect it there, if ſhe delivered her from her preſent diſtreſs. The goddeſs heard her prayer, the impediment was removed, and the king thenceforth uſed her with all the kindneſs of a tender husband. *Ladice* performed her vow to the goddeſs, whoſe ſtatue, ſet up by her, was ſeen without the gates of *Cyrene* ſome ages afterwards. This miracle, as it was doubtleſs called, brought the gods of the *Greeks* into as much credit with *Amaſis* as they were with the *Greeks* themſelves, as we gather from his conſecrated donations to *Greece*. To the city of *Cyrene* he ſent a gilt ſtatue of *Minerva*, and his own picture done to the life. To the city of *Lindus* he gave two ſtone ſtatues of the ſame goddeſs, with a linen pectoral or ſtomacher wonderfully wrought and adorned. To *Samos* he ſent two wooden images of himſelf, which were ſeen ſtanding ſeveral ages afterwards, behind the gates of the great temple of *Juno*. This donation he made to *Samos* for the ſake of *Polycrates*, with whom he was in eſpecial alliance. As for *Lindus*, it was reported, that the daughters of *Danaus* founded the temple of *Minerva* there, when they fled from the ſons of *Ægyptus*. To all the great things which have been hitherto ſaid of him, we may add, that he was the firſt who ſubdued *Cyprus*, and who exacted tribute from the *Cypriots*, its inhabitants [d].

Amiracle.

His conſecrated donations to Greece.

Conquers Cyprus.

HITHERTO we have repreſented this reign in the majeſtic colours the *Egyptian* prieſts beſtowed on it; and under ſo prudent a prince as it is likely *Amaſis* was, the greateſt part of what they ſaid may be true enough: but they dwelt ſo much on the glory of this reign, as to forget all the ignominy that was mixed with it. *Xenophon* writes, that *Cyrus* conquered *Egypt* [e]; and if ſo, it muſt have been during this long reign; and *Herodotus* ſays, that *Amaſis* and *Cræſus* were leagued together againſt *Cyrus* [f]. It is certain, That *Nebuchadnezzar* almoſt ruined the

[d] HEROD. ubi ſupra. c. 181, 182. DIOD. ubi ſupra.
[e] Cyropædia ſub fin. & in prolog. [f] HEROD. l. i. c. 77.

whole

whole kingdom; but no mention is made of this by profane authors, who, ſo far as they have touched upon the *Egyptian* affairs, have copied the antient records of that nation, or depended upon the oral traditions of their prieſts. But now that it was no longer in their power to conceal their diſhonour, they frankly confeſſed it. For, according to themſelves, the latter days of *Amaſis* were darkened by a dreadful ſtorm, which threatened the utter ruin of *Egypt*; and though he died juſt ſoon enough to eſcape the rage of it, yet his dead body was ſo cruelly abuſed and deſtroyed, that, could he have been ſenſible of the hard fate he was doomed to, he, according to the *Egyptian* ſuperſtition, would have thought the loſs of his kingdom a trifle, if compared with it.

His latter days unhappy;

and why. For, by ſome means or other, *Amaſis* had incenſed *Cambyſes* the *Perſian* (who was naturally a raſh and paſſionate prince) againſt him to ſuch a degree, as has ſcarce its parallel in hiſtory. The ſeeds from whence this enmity ſprang are not certainly, nor perhaps at all, known to us. On one hand it is ſaid, That *Amaſis* ſending an *Egyptian* oculiſt to *Cyrus* king of *Perſia*, who had deſired to have the beſt in his kingdom; the man, who was choſen by the king for this purpoſe, took it much at heart, that he ſhould be thus exiled, as it were, from his wife and children, and ſent into *Perſia*; and eſpecially ſince *Cyrus* had deſired the beſt oculiſt in *Egypt*, which, he was conſcious, was not himſelf. The angry *Egyptian*, continuing in *Perſia*, and plainly perceiving the turbulent genius of *Cambyſes*, prevailed on him to ſend an herald to *Amaſis*, to demand his daughter to wife, aſſured, that whether *Amaſis* complied with this requeſt or not, he ſhould have his full meaſure of revenge on him. *Cambyſes* hearkened to this man, and did as he had ſuggeſted. When the *Perſian* herald came to *Amaſis*, he knew not what to reſolve on: he dreaded the *Perſian* power, if he refuſed; and was aſhamed of the diſhonour which muſt be reflected on his family, if he complied, knowing that, inſtead of being a wife, his daughter would be no better than the *Perſian*'s concubine. At laſt he bethought him, that his predeceſſor had left behind him an only daughter, of great beauty, and majeſtic deportment, called *Nitetis*. Her therefore he ſent with all the pomp and ſplendor becoming his own daughter, to *Cambyſes* in *Perſia*; who, when he ſaw her, ſaluted her by the title of daughter to *Amaſis*. She immediately anſwered, that *Amaſis* had deceived him; that ſhe was not his daughter; but the unhappy child of the unfortunate

unfortunate *Apries*, whom *Amaſis* had put to death, and whoſe throne he had ungratefully uſurped. At this *Cambyſes*, fired with indignation, vowed the deſtruction of *Amaſis*. This was the ſtory the *Perſians* told: but we look upon the whole account as fabulous. 'Tis more likely, that *Amaſis* [f], who had ſubmitted to *Cyrus*, refuſed, upon the death of that great conqueror, to pay his ſucceſſor the ſame homage and tribute. But, whatever was the cauſe of this war, we leave *Cambyſes* preparing for it, and return to *Amaſis*.

Amaſis *is betrayed by* Phanes *of* Halicarnaſſus.

WHILST this cloud was gathering, *Phanes* of *Halicarnaſſus*, commander of the *Grecian* auxiliaries in the pay of *Amaſis*, took ſome private diſguſt, and, leaving *Egypt*, embarked for *Perſia*. He was a prudent counſellor, a valiant captain, perfectly well acquainted with every thing that related to *Egypt*; and, beſides, had great credit with the *Greeks* in theſe dominions. *Amaſis* was immediately ſenſible how great the loſs of this man would be to him, and how much he had it in his power to ſtrengthen the hands of *Cambyſes*, or any prince elſe, who ſhould undertake to invade him; and therefore in all haſte he ſent a truſty eunuch with a ſwift galley to purſue him; who overtook him in *Lycia*. However, he was not brought back to *Egypt*; for, making his guard drunk, he continued his way to *Perſia*, and preſented himſelf to *Cambyſes*, as he was meditating the downfal of *Egypt*, which he forwarded by his counſel and diſcoveries, as *Amaſis* had dreaded [g].

Makes Polycrates his enemy.

WE have already obſerved, that there had been an eſpecial harmony between *Amaſis* and *Polycrates* the tyrant of *Samos*; but a miſunderſtanding ariſing between them, *Polycrates*, when occaſion offered, joined *Cambyſes* againſt his former *Egyptian* ally. For *Amaſis*, receiving continual accounts of the uninterrupted ſucceſſes and depredations of this *Samian*, feared that in the end ſome heavy diſaſter would fall upon him, equal to the glory of his triumphs; and therefore ſent him this letter adviſing him as follows: *Amaſis* to *Polycrates* ſpeaketh..... *It is with pleaſure I hear of the happy ſtate of my friend and ally. Nevertheleſs I fear for thy great proſperities, knowing the unſtableneſs of fortune. For my part, I ſhould rather chuſe, that my affairs, and theſe alſo of my friends, ſhould be ſometimes proſperous, and ſometimes unhappy, than have them go on with continued ſucceſs. Therefore do thou now*

[f] HERODOT. l. iii. c. 1, 2. [g] Idem ibid. c. 4.

hearken to my counſel, and do as I ſhall bid thee, to take away from thy happineſs: conſider then with thyſelf, what thou poſſeſſeſt of greateſt value to thyſelf; and what would the moſt bitterly grieve thee, if loſt: and when thou haſt found it, caſt it away from thee, ſo that it may never more be beheld by man. If thy happineſs, after this, knoweth no mixture of evil, preſerve thyſelf againſt the ſorrow that may come upon thee, by repeating the remedy I have ſhewn thee. When *Amaſis* heard, that *Polycrates* had taken his advice, and had accordingly thrown a very valuable ſignet into the ſea, but that it was found a few days afterwards in the belly of a fiſh, and reſtored to him, he gave him over as the moſt unhappy of men; and, dreading to partake as a friend in ſome diſmal calamity, which he feared muſt befal him, he diſpatched an herald to *Samos* to renounce the alliance, and all the obligations between him and *Polycrates*, that he might not mourn his misfortune with the ſorrow of a friend[h]. *Amaſis*, by thus diſſolving the cement of this conjunction, left *Polycrates* to act againſt him, if his inclination led him ſo to do; and accordingly he offered a fleet of ſhips to *Cambyſes*, to aſſiſt him in his invaſion of *Egypt*. Thus we ſee *Amaſis* in danger of an inexorable, cruel, and moſt powerful enemy, in concert with a diſguſted and formidable friend.

His death. Year of flood 1823. Bef. Chr. 525.

But before the dreadful day came, his life ended, after he had reigned forty-four years. His dead body was embalmed, and depoſited in a ſepulchre he had built for himſelf in the temple at *Sais*; but there, to ſpeak in the antient *Egyptian* phraſe, he enjoyed but a ſhort repoſe, as will be ſeen hereafter.

Pſammenitus.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pſammenitus*, whoſe reign was ſhort and calamitous. For he was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when *Cambyſes* appeared at the head of a powerful army, on the borders of *Egypt*. *Pſammenitus* drew together what forces he could, to prevent his penetrating into the kingdom. But in the mean time *Cambyſes*, laying ſiege to *Peluſium*, made himſelf maſter of that important place by the following ſtratagem: he placed in the front of his army a great number of cats, dogs, and other animals, that were deemed ſacred by the *Egyptians*; and then attacked the city, and took it without oppoſition, the gariſon, which conſiſted intirely of *Egyptians*, not daring to throw a dart, or ſhoot an arrow, that way, thro' fear of killing ſome of thoſe animals[i].

[h] Idem, ibid. c. 40 — 43. [i] Polyæn. l. viii.

Cambyses

CAMBYSES had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of *Peluſium*, the key of *Egypt* on that ſide, when *Pſammenitus* advanced with a numerous army to ſtop his further progreſs; whereupon a bloody battle enſued. But before the two armies engaged, the *Greeks*, who ſerved under *Pſammenitus*, to ſhew their indignation againſt their treacherous countryman *Phanes*, brought his children into the camp, killed them in the ſight of their father, and, in the preſence of the two armies, drank their blood. The *Perſians*, enraged at ſo cruel a ſight, fell upon the *Egyptian* army with ſuch fury, that they ſoon put them to flight, and cut the greateſt part of them in pieces. Thoſe who eſcaped, fled to *Memphis*, where they were ſoon after guilty of an horrid outrage towards a herald, whom *Cambyſes* ſent to them in a ſhip of *Mitylene*; for they no ſooner ſaw her come into the port than they flocked down to the ſhore, deſtroyed the ſhip, and tore the *Perſian* herald and all the crew to pieces, carrying their mangled limbs in a barbarous triumph into the city. Not long after, they were cloſely beſieged by the *Perſians*, and in the end obliged to ſurrender: and ſo fell the glory of *Egypt*. The news of this ſtruck with ſuch terror the *Libyans*, *Cyreneans* and *Barceans*, that they ſubmitted to *Cambyſes*, and implored his protection. [h]

He is overthrown by Cambyſes.

Taken priſoner, and loſes his kingdom.

UPON the tenth day after *Memphis* had been taken, *Pſammenitus* and the chief of the *Egyptian* nobility were ſent ignominiouſly into the ſuburbs of that city to act a part in one of the moſt doleful tragedies that can be conceived: for the king being there ſeated in a proper place, he ſaw his daughter coming along in the habit of a poor ſlave, with a pitcher, to fetch water from the river, and followed by the daughters of the greateſt families in *Egypt*, all in the ſame miſerable garb, with pitchers in their hands, all drenched in tears, and bemoaning, with loud lamentations, their unhappy condition. When the fathers ſaw their children in this diſtreſs, and reduced to ſo mean a ſtate, they burſt out into tears, all but *Pſammenitus*, who, though ready to ſink under his grief, only caſt his eyes towards the ground, and there fixed them. After the young women, came the ſon of *Pſammenitus*, and two thouſand of the chief *Egyptian* youths, all with bits in their mouths, and halters round their necks, led to execution, to expiate the murder of the *Perſian* herald, and the *Mitylenean* ſailors. For *Cambyſes* cauſed ten *Egyptians* of the firſt rank to be publickly executed for

The particulars of his captivity

[h] HEROD. ib. c. 11. 13.

every one of thoſe they had ſlain. But *Pſammenitus*, like one ſtupefied, and quite ſenſeleſs, as they paſſed by, obſerved the very ſame conduct as before, whilſt the *Egyptians* about him cried with the loudeſt lamentations. A ſhort ſpace afterwards he ſaw an intimate friend and companion, who, now that he was advanced in years, had been plundered of all that he had, and was begging his bread from door to door in the ſuburbs. As ſoon as he perceived this man he wept bitterly, and, calling out to him by his name, ſtruck himſelf on the head as one frantic. Of this the ſpies, who had been ſet over the captive king to obſerve his behaviour, gave immediate notice to *Cambyſes*, who thereupon ſent a meſſenger to know what might be the cauſe of ſuch immoderate grief. *Pſammenitus* anſwered, "That the "calamities of his own family confounded him, and were "too great to be lamented by any outward ſigns of grief; "but the extreme diſtreſs of a boſom friend gave him "more room for reflection, and therefore extorted tears "from him." *Cambyſes* was ſo affected with this anſwer, that he ſent to ſtop the execution of his ſon; but his orders were given too late; the young prince having been put to death the firſt. At the ſame time *Pſammenitus* himſelf was ſent for into the city, and reſtored to his liberty: and, had he not betrayed a deſire of change and revenge, he might have been entruſted with the adminiſtration of *Egypt*; but, being of a vindictive temper, he was ſeized, and condemned to drink bull's blood [1]. Thus he ended his life after a diſmal reign of ſix months, and a ſhort captivity; and with him died the antient ſplendor and liberty of *Egypt*.

and death.

THE *Egyptians* now felt the heavy preſſure of conqueſt in a very extraordinary manner. They ſaw their late king *Amaſis* inhumanly taken out of his tomb, cruelly mangled, and finally burnt. They ſaw their god *Apis* ſlain, and their prieſts ignominiouſly ſcourged; all which made ſuch dreadful impreſſions on the minds of the whole nation, that they ever afterwards bore an irreconcileable averſion to the *Perſians*.

The dead body of Amaſis *burnt; and the god* Apis *ſlain.*

THUS were the *Egyptians* reduced to the loweſt degree of ſubmiſſion; their royal line was extinct; their religion was trampled on in the moſt outrageous manner; and themſelves perſecuted and deſpiſed for the profeſſion they made of it.

Egypt *a province of the* Perſian *empire.*

[1] Idem ibid. c. 14—16.

A PEOPLE

A PEOPLE who had been bred up to ſuch a ſolemn obſervance of the inſtitutions of their forefathers, muſt needs think themſelves unhappy under ſuch governors as held their laws in deriſion; and therefore they continually conſulted how they might ſhake off the intolerable yoke of their *Perſian* oppreſſors.

AT length they broke out into an open revolt, in the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, and continued in a ſtate of rebellion againſt the *Perſians* all the firſt year of *Xerxes* [k]; but, in the ſecond year [l] of the ſame prince, they were reduced to harder ſubjection than before, as is uſually the caſe; and had one *Achæmenes*, brother to *Xerxes*, for their governor. *The* Egyptians *revolt from the* Perſians; *but ſubdued again.*

BUT the more ſeverity they ſuffered, the more they were exaſperated. In the fifth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* they revolted again; choſe *Inarus* king of *Libya* to fill their throne; and called in the *Athenians* to their aſſiſtance; who chearfully embraced this opportunity of expelling the *Perſians* out of *Egypt* [m]. The *Egyptians* almoſt ſucceeded in their project. The *Athenians* falling on the *Perſian* fleet at ſea, took and deſtroyed fifty ſail of them; and then, ſailing up the *Nile*, landed, under the command of *Charitimis*, and joined the *Egyptians* and *Libyans* under *Inarus*. They all attacked *Achæmenides* the *Perſian* general, though his army was 300,000 ſtrong; of whom there fell 100,000, together with the general himſelf. The reſt betook themſelves to flight, and returned to *Memphis*; but, being purſued by the *Egyptians*, they took refuge in a very conſiderable, and by much the beſt fortified, part of that city, called the *white wall*. The *Egyptians* had the reſt of it, and blocked up the *Perſians* three years within the *white wall*. Year of flood 1888. Bef. Chriſt 460. *Revolt a ſecond time, and chuſe* Inarus *for their king.*

BY this ſucceſs the *Egyptians* hoped they had wrought a total deliverance for themſelves and deſcendants; but their proſperity was of no long duration. They were, at the end of three years, obliged to raiſe the ſiege of the *white wall*, by the *Perſian* army, under the command of *Artabazus* governor of *Cilicia*, and *Megabyzus* governor of *Syria* [n]. In the mean time, when *Inarus* heard of the formidable preparations which were making by theſe *Perſian* governors to relieve the beſieged, he redoubled the attacks on the *white wall*, and made the utmoſt efforts to carry it; but

[k] HEROD. l vii. c. 1. [l] Idem ibid. c. 7. [m] THUCYDID. l. i; [n] THUCYDID. ubi ſupr. DIOD. SIC. l. xi.

the *Perſians* within defended themſelves with ſuch bravery, that the *Egyptians* made no conſiderable progreſs towards the reduction of the place [o].

In the third year of this ſiege, and the ninth of *Artaxerxes*, *Inarus* and his auxiliaries were obliged to raiſe the ſiege of the *white wall*, and defeated with great ſlaughter, which fell chiefly on the *Egyptians*. In this fight *Inarus* was wounded by *Megabyzus*; but nevertheleſs he retreated with his *Athenian* confederates, and ſuch of the *Egyptians* as adhered to him, to the city of *Byblus*, in the iſland of *Proſopitis*; which being waſhed on each ſide by navigable branches of the *Nile*, the *Athenian* fleet was ſtationed in one of them; and here they held out a ſiege of a year and an half. But the bulk of the *Egyptians* ſubmitted to the conqueror, and acknowleged *Artaxerxes* for their ſovereign; but *Amyrtæus* retreated with a party into the fens, where he ruled many years, not in the leaſt moleſted by the *Perſians*; the inacceſſibleneſs of the place ſecuring him againſt all their attempts.

Inarus taken priſoner, and Egypt reduced again to the Perſians.

Year of flood 1895. Bef. Chr. 453.

In the mean time *Inarus* and his auxiliaries, on the iſland of *Proſopitis*, were buſy in defending themſelves againſt the *Perſians*, who attacked them with great vigour: but finding that bare ſtrength was not like to effectuate a reduction of the beſieged, they had recourſe to art and ſtratagem; for, draining that branch of the *Nile* in which the *Athenian* fleet rode, they at once rendered the ſhipping uſeleſs, and made a paſſage, by which the whole body of their army might march over to the iſland. When *Inarus* ſaw this, he, and all the *Egyptians*, with fifty of his *Athenian* auxiliaries, delivered themſelves up to *Megabyzus*, on condition of being ſecured in their lives: the reſt of the *Athenians*, 6000 in number, ſetting fire to their ſhips, reſolved to die ſword in hand; which the *Perſians* perceiving, thought it adviſeable to offer them ſome reaſonable terms; which they did accordingly, and their propoſals were accepted [p]. The *Athenians* had ſent a fleet of fifty ſail to relieve the iſland of *Proſopitis*, where their citizens were in conjunction with the *Egyptians*; but they arrived too late; and as ſoon as they entered the river, were aſſaulted by the *Perſians*, both on the river, and from the ſhore; ſo that they all periſhed [q]. And thus ended the war between *Inarus* king of *Egypt* and *Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia*, under whom the *Egyptians* ever

[o] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 281. Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 282.
[p] Thucydid. ubi ſupr.
[q] Thucydid. ubi ſupr.

after

after kept quiet, and made no attempts to recover their liberties. *Sartamas* was appointed governor of *Egypt*, and *Inarus* was carried priſoner to *Suſa*, where he was crucified, notwithſtanding the promiſe given him of his life when he ſurrendered [r].

AMYRTÆUS the *Saïte*, in the mean time, held the *Fens*, and in the fifteenth year of *Artaxerxes* was joined by a fleet of ſixty ſail of *Athenian* ſhips [s]; but nothing of moment was tranſacted at this time to the prejudice of the *Perſians* in *Egypt*.

IN the tenth year of *Darius Nothus* the *Egyptians* revolted once more from the *Perſians*: for *Amyrtæus* being appriſed of the diſcontents of the *Egyptians*, and that they were ripe for any attempts to regain their liberty, ſallied out of his fens, and being joined by all the *Egyptians*, he drove the *Perſians* out of the kingdom, and became king of the whole country of *Egypt* [t]. *The Egyptians revolt a third time, and Daneus heads them.*

AMYRTÆUS, thus in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Egypt*, by the total expulſion of the *Perſians*, reſolved to attack them in *Phœnicia* alſo, having the *Arabians* in confederacy with him in this undertaking [u]. But he was engaged by *Darius* in perſon, and overthrown; and about this time he died, or was ſlain in battle. Year of flood 1934. Bef. Chr. 414.

PAUSIRIS his ſon ſucceeded him in the kingdom, with the conſent of the *Perſians* [w]. And now the *Egyptians*, though perhaps tributary to the *Perſians*, had a governor of their own nation to alleviate the burden they bore. Amyrtæus *king*. Pauſiris.

PSAMMITICHUS ſucceeded *Pauſiris*. He was deſcended from the famous *Pſammitichus*, whoſe hiſtory we have given above. He was a barbarous and ungrateful man, as appears by the only incident we have of his reign: for *Tamus*, who had been admiral in the *Perſian* ſervice, though he was a *Memphite* by birth, thinking it adviſeable, for reaſons of ſtate, to leave the *Perſian* ſervice; and, confiding in the friendſhip of *Pſammitichus*, whom he had formerly obliged by many friendly offices, put all his family and effects on board his ſhips, and ſailed for *Egypt*. But when *Pſammitichus* heard of his arrival, and that he had brought great riches with him, he, unmindful of what *Tamus* merited of him, and of all the laws of humanity and hoſpitality, fell upon him as an enemy; and, having ſlain him, his family, and his followers, ſeized on thoſe treaſures

[r] THUCYD. l. i. [s] PLUTARCH in vita Cimon. THUCYDID. ubi ſupr. DIOD. ubi ſupr. [t] EUSEBIUS in chronico.
[u] DIOD. SIC. l. xiii. p. 355. [w] HEROD. l. iii. c. 15.

which *Tamus* hoped to have enjoyed in his native country[x]. This is all we know concerning this cruel prince.

Nepheereus. Year of flood 1953. Bef. Chr. 395.

He was succeeded by *Nephereus*. This king being invited by the *Lacedemonians* into a confederacy against the *Persians*, he sent them a squadron of an hundred galleys, to carry on the war by sea, and 600,000 measures [bushels] of corn for the subsistence of their army; but the vessels which were laden with this valuable present, ignorantly putting into *Rhodes*, whose inhabitants had just then put themselves under the protection of the *Persian* fleet, which then rode at anchor there, under the command of *Conon* the *Athenian*, they fell a prey to him, and never reached the *Lacedemonians*[y].

Acoris. Year of flood 1959. Bef. Chr. 389.

Acoris succeeded *Nephereus*. He joined *Euagoras* king of *Cyprus*, and the *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and *Barceans*, a people of *Libya*, against the *Persians*[z]. *Acoris* sent some forces to the assistance of *Euagoras*, the chief of this league; who, being defeated, came into *Egypt*, to engage *Acoris* to assist him with his full strength; but *Acoris* could not be prevailed on to come so totally into his measures, and only dismissed him with a supply of money, by no means equal to the necessities of that prince. Soon after *Gaus*, the only survivor of the family of *Tamus*, whom *Psammitichus* murdered for the sake of his wealth, and who, as well as his father, had been promoted to the degree of an admiral in the *Persian* service, being disgusted at the ill usage of *Tiribazus* the king of *Persia*'s general, in the former part of the *Cyprian* war against *Euagoras*, revolted from the *Persians*: he was followed by a great part of the fleet and army; and entered into a league with *Acoris* and the *Lacedemonians*. But the year after *Gaus* was treacherously slain by some under him; and *Tachos*, who had undertaken to execute the same project, dying before it could be accomplished, it was dropped; and the *Persians* were freed from the troublesome effects of this new alliance[a].

It was now thirty years since the *Egyptians* had shaken off the *Persian* yoke under *Amyrtæus*, and had all along, upon every occasion that offered, signalized their aversion to the *Persian* government. But *Artaxerxes Mnemon* being now at full leisure to chastise them, they once more were threatened with a cruel war. Great preparations were made on both sides: *Acoris* joined a great number of *Greeks*,

[x] Diod. Sic. l. xiv. p. 415. Justin, l. vi. c. 2. Orosius, l. iii.

[y] Idem ubi supr. p. 438.

[z] Theopomp. in excerpt. Photii. Diod. Sic. l. xv. p. 459.

[a] Idem ibid.

and

and other mercenaries, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, to his own ſubjects[b]; but the *Perſians* being dilatory in their proceedings, *Acoris* died before it commenced; and was ſucceeded by

PSAMMUTHIS, who reigned only a year[c]. Pſammuthis.

AFTER him *Nepherotes* (who is called the laſt of the *Mendeſian* race, reigned four months[d]. Nepherotes.

AND then *Nectanebis*, the firſt of the *Sebennytic* race*. In the ſecond year of his reign the *Perſian* army and fleet came upon his coaſts and borders, and made their firſt attempt upon *Peluſium*: but *Nectanebis* having had time ſufficient to make the neceſſary preparations, that city and the adjacent country were ſo well provided for the reception of an enemy, that no impreſſion could be made there. The commanders on the *Perſian* ſide differing in their counſels, and entertaining jealouſies of each other's glory, they did nothing in this war; for, though they entered the *Mendeſian* mouth of the *Nile*, poſſeſſed themſelves of the fortreſs that guarded it, and ſtruck the *Egyptians* with the utmoſt conſternation; yet they gave them time to recover their courage: for *Nectanebis* lodged a ſufficient gariſon in *Memphis*; and taking the field, with the reſt of his forces, ſo annoyed *Pharnabazus* the *Perſian* general, that he could make no conſiderable progreſs; and the *Nile*, at the accuſtomed period, overflowing the land, the *Perſians* were obliged to march off; which they did not without conſiderable loſs[e]. Thus ended this war. Year of flood 1973. Bef. Chr. 375. Nectanebis.

ABOUT five years afterwards *Ageſilaus* king of *Sparta* came with the character of an ambaſſador to *Nectanebis*, to ſolicit ſuccours for the *Lacedemonians*, then driven to great diſtreſs by the *Thebans*[f]. Seven years after *Nectanebis* died.

TACHOS ſucceeded him. He gathered together all the ſtrength he was able, to defend his country againſt the ambitious deſigns of the *Perſians*; who, notwithſtanding their many miſcarriages, had not laid aſide the thoughts of ſubjecting *Egypt* to their dominion once more. To ſtrengthen himſelf the more, he ſent to *Greece* to raiſe mercenaries; and ſucceeded ſo well in his application to the *Lacedemonians*, that they diſpatched a good number of forces to him, under the command of *Ageſilaus*[g]. *Tachos* had promiſed this king, that he ſhould be generaliſſimo of all the forces; Year of flood 1985. Bef. Chriſt 369. Tachos.

[b] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 471. [c] See before, p. 13. [d] See before, ibid. * See before, p. 14. [e] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 478, 479. CORNEL. NEPOS, in Iphicrate. [f] PLUTARCH. in Ageſilao. [g] Idem ibid. DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 506.

His impolitic conduct towards Ageſilaus.

but, upon the firſt interview, he conceived ſuch diſadvantageous ideas of the old monarch, that he thenceforward ſlighted his counſels, and deſpiſed his perſon. He expected to have ſeen a gay and magnificent man, whoſe habit and train were equal to the fame and ſplendor of his exploits, and not a plain, mean-looking old man. This haſty and ill-grounded impreſſion may be well ſaid to have been the ruin of *Tachos*, as will be plainly ſeen. For *Tachos* allowed *Ageſilaus* to be nothing but general over the mercenaries at land, which alone had been ſufficient to diſguſt ſo great, ſo old, and ſo experienced a commander, and was the firſt cauſe of his averſion to *Tachos*. The command of the fleet he gave to *Chabrias* the *Athenian*, reſerving to himſelf the ſupreme direction of all. Having joined his mercenaries and *Egyptians* together, he marched out of *Egypt*, deſigning to attack the *Perſians* in *Phœnicia*, contrary to the advice of *Ageſilaus*, who repreſented to him the unſettled ſtate of *Egypt*, and remonſtrated how much more it would be for his intereſt to manage the war by lieutenants, and ſtay himſelf in his kingdom. The event ſhewed, that *Ageſilaus*'s counſel was the reſult of a very prudent forecaſt; for while *Tachos* was in *Phœnicia*, the *Egyptians* revolted, and ſet up his kinſman *Nectanebus* in his ſtead. *Ageſilaus*, taking this opportunity to vent his reſentment againſt *Tachos*, joined *Nectanebus*, and deprived the other of his kingdom; who fled through *Arabia*, and took refuge with the king of *Perſia* [8].

Is driven out of his kingdom.

Year of flood 1987. Bef. Chr. 361.

NECTANEBUS was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when a *Mendeſian* roſe up in oppoſition to him, with a force conſiſting of 100,000 men. *Nectanebus* was adviſed by *Ageſilaus* to fall on them immediately, and diſperſe them before they had formed themſelves into a regular body by diſcipline: but he, ſuſpecting that *Ageſilaus* intended to betray him, as he had betrayed *Tachos*, gave no ear to him. In the mean time, the enemy gathered ſtrength and regular order every day, and became ſo formidable a body, that *Nectanebus* was conſtrained to ſhut himſelf up in one of his towns, and endure a ſiege. He now urged *Ageſilaus* to ſally out upon the beſiegers, that, putting them into diſorder, he might, in the mean time, march out and take the field: and becauſe he refuſed to comply, *Nectanebus* grew more and more jealous of him. The enemy had run their lines almoſt round the town; which when *Ageſilaus* perceived, he told *Nectanebus*, that now was his time to

Nectanebus the laſt king of Egypt.

A rebellion againſt him,

[8] PLUTARCH. & XENOPH. in Ageſilao. THEOPOMP. & LYCEAS NAUCRAT. in Ægyptiacis apud Athen. l. xiv. c. i.

ſally

ſally out; that by the lines the beſiegers had raiſed, they would not be able to incompaſs him; and that the gap which was not yet filled up, was wide enough for him to march through with ſafety and convenience. The king followed his advice, and hereupon a battle enſued, in which the beſiegers were defeated; and the remaining part of the war being left to the management of *Ageſilaus*, *Nectanebus*'s competitor was every-where driven out of the field, and at length taken priſoner. And thus was *Nectanebus* ſettled in the full and quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Egypt* [h]. *which is quelled.*

In the twelfth year of his reign, the *Sidonians* and *Phœnicians*, revolting from the king of *Perſia*, entered into a confederacy with him againſt that monarch. This happened very opportunely for him; for, as the *Perſians* had been in conſtant agitation againſt him, and were now making vaſt preparations to reclaim *Egypt*, he had a very good barrier, ſeeing the *Perſian* forces could not approach his borders, but by marching through *Phœnicia*. Therefore, to keep up their ſpirits, *Nectanebus* detached a body of four thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, to join them, in hopes to manage the war at a diſtance. The *Phœnicians*, encouraged by this ſupply, drove the *Perſians* out of their territories [i]; and immediately after, the *Cypriots* entered into the alliance againſt *Perſia* [k]. *Darius Ochus* finding that his lieutenants made no progreſs in ſuppreſſing the rebels, reſolved to head his troops in perſon, keeping his eye chiefly upon *Egypt*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian* hearing this, and being at the ſame time informed of the prodigious numbers of the *Perſian* army, went over to the king of *Perſia*, by whom he was kindly received, as one who might do him ſignal ſervice by his knowlege of the country of *Egypt*, and every thing that related to it. When *Nectanebus* found, that the king of *Perſia* was reſolved on his ruin, and was taking the moſt effectual meaſures to compaſs it, he got together an army of an hundred thouſand men, conſiſting of twenty thouſand mercenaries from *Greece*, as many from *Libya*, and the reſt *Egyptians*; but they did not all together amount to a third part of the *Perſian* army. With ſome of them he gariſoned his frontier-towns, and with the others he guarded the paſſes through which the *Perſians* were to march. The *Perſian* detached three bodies from his army. The firſt, commanded by *Lachares* the *Theban*, ſat down before *Pe-*

He is joined by the Sidonians, Phœnicians, *and* Cypriots, *againſt the* Perſians.

Is invaded by the Perſians,

[h] PLUTARCH. ibid. POLYÆN. ſtrat. l. ii. [i] DIOD. l. xvi. p. 531, 532, 533. [k] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 532.

luſium,

luſium, gariſoned by 5000 *Greeks*. The ſecond, under the command of *Nicoſtratus* the *Argive*, embarked on board a ſquadron of the *Perſian* fleet, and ſailing up the *Nile* into the midſt of the country, landed there, and made a ſtrong incampment. Hereupon the whole country being alarmed, *Clinius*, of the iſland of *Cos*, muſtering all the neighbouring gariſons, undertook to diſlodge *Nicoſtratus* from his intrenchments. Hereupon a battle enſued, which was fought with great obſtinacy; but at laſt the *Egyptians* gave way, having loſt *Clinius* and five thouſand more of their number, and were utterly broken and diſperſed. The loſs of this battle was the ruin of *Egypt*; for when *Nectanebus* heard it, he drew off from the paſſes, where he had very prudently poſted himſelf, and marched for *Memphis*, to defend that city againſt *Nicoſtratus*, who, he feared, had a deſign upon that capital with his victorious fleet and army. When the *Greek* gariſon in *Peluſium* heard that *Nectanebus* had deſerted his poſt, they thought there was no further room for hope; and therefore came to a parley with *Lachares*, and delivered up the city to him, upon condition that they and their effects ſhould be ſafely conveyed to *Greece*. *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, who commanded the third body of the *Perſian* detachment, finding the paſſes unguarded, entered the country through them; and, cauſing it to be univerſally ſpread abroad, That *Ochus* would graciouſly receive all that ſubmitted, but cut off, without mercy, ſuch as reſiſted, as he had been known to have done before; both the *Egyptians* and the *Egyptian Greeks* ſtrove which ſhould make the moſt humble and ready ſubmiſſion. This when *Nectanebus* ſaw, he was driven to deſpair, and, taking what treaſure he could carry with him, he fled from his palace in *Memphis* into *Ethiopia*, and never returned more. He was the laſt native *Egyptian* who governed *Egypt*, which has ever ſince been under a foreign yoke. *Nectanebus* loſt his kingdom by relying too much on himſelf. He, as has been ſhewn, was ſeated on the throne by *Ageſilaus*: his wars againſt *Perſia* (for the *Perſians* were always attempting a reduction of *Egypt*) were managed by the prudence and valour of *Diaphantus* the *Athenian*, and *Lamius* the *Lacedemonian*; but, arrogating to himſelf a ſhare of their ſucceſſes, he took upon him to act from his own notions[1], and ſo brought ruin upon himſelf, and ignominy and ſlavery upon his ſubjects. For henceforward *Egypt* was a province of *Perſia*, till

and flies into Ethiopia.

Egypt *finally reduced by the* Perſians.

Year of flood 1998. Bef. Chriſt 350.

[1] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 534, 535.

Alexander

Alexander ſubverted that monarchy, and was received by the *Egyptians* with open arms, as their deliverer from the *Perſian* tyranny. They never had any tolerable underſtanding with that nation; which, it is likely, may have purely, if not chiefly, been owing to the wide difference between them in religious matters. We now conclude this ſection with the ſevere prediction of the prophet, *There ſhall be no more a prince of the land of* Egypt[m]. *Submits to* Alexander. Year of flood 2016. Bef. Chr. 332.

SECT. VI.

The ſucceſſion of the kings of Egypt, *according to the oriental hiſtorians.*

AS the oriental hiſtorians differ intirely from the *Greeks* in their accounts of the *Egyptian* affairs, it might be deemed an inexcuſable omiſſion in us to take no notice of the ſeries of the *Egyptian* kings, as delivered by them. We will not take upon us to vouch the truth of what we copy from them; but cannot help thinking their accounts, however fabulous, no leſs worthy of notice than the fables of the *Phœnician* and *Greek* writers[n].

IT muſt be allowed, that there are many more original hiſtories of this country to be found (even in *Europe*) in the *oriental* tongues, than are yet to be met with in *Greek*. It muſt likewiſe be granted, that the former are more methodical, more copious, and though in many things they may be as fabulous, yet experience hath demonſtrated, that they contain as much, or more truth. The nature of this work will not allow us to unravel again the geography, natural hiſtory, and antiquities of *Egypt*, in order to demonſtrate the juſtice of this aſſertion; and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with a note on this ſubject, and paſs on immediately to the proper matter of the ſection, *viz.* the hiſtory of the *Egyptian* kings, in that order in which the moſt celebrated of the oriental writers have given them (A).

IN

[m] Ezek. xxx. 13. [n] See the whole 3d and 4th §. in this chapter, and compare them with what follows.

(A) It is certainly without any great juſtice, that ſome over-nice writers amongſt the moderns inveigh with ſuch bitterneſs

In the firſt place we muſt take notice, that theſe authors divide the antient *Egyptian* monarchs into three claſſes.

terneſs againſt the oriental authors in general, as if they wrote altogether without method, and delighted in nothing but prodigies and fables. What we have aſſerted above, is a fact of ſuch unqueſtionable truth, that ſeveral ſheets might be ſpent in forming the catalogue of all the oriental writers who have come even to our knowlege; but as we are by no means fond of perplexing our readers with uſeleſs citations, we will content ourſelves with only marking a few, that they may be aſſured they are not impoſed upon, but that the thing is as we repreſent it. The famous *Khondemir* wrote in the *Perſian* tongue an univerſal hiſtory, under the title of *a collection of the pureſt and moſt authentic accounts of the moſt remarkable events, drawn from the beſt antient hiſtorians.* This body of hiſtory was divided into twelve parts. The firſt, which was a kind of preface, contained the *coſmogony*. The ſecond, the hiſtory of the prophets. The third, a chronological hiſtory of learning, and learned men. The fourth, an account of the antient monarchs of *Perſia*, and of their kingdoms before *Mohammed*, in which we have an account of *Egypt*. This author finiſhed his work A. D. 1471; and we beg leave to ſay, there were few authors in *Europe*, at that time, who could have written more methodically. As to the particular hiſtories of *Egypt*, we will mention only two; the firſt relating to the country, the latter, to its monarchs. The firſt is that of *Ahmed al Makrizi*: he divided his book into ſeven parts: 1. He treated of the land of *Egypt*, and its revenues. 2. Of its inhabitants. 3. Of the antient *Babylon* in *Egypt*. 4. Of the city of *Caire*, as it was in the time of the author. 5. Of the revolutions which had happened in *Caire*. 6. Of the caſtle of *Caire*, and of the princes who have reſided therein. 7. Of the cauſes which have induced the ruin of *Egypt*. He wrote, beſides, a copious hiſtory of all that happened in this country from the time it fell under the dominion of the *caliphs*, to the year in which he died, *viz.* of the *Hejra*, 845. A. D. 1467. The other, *Jouſouf Ben Tagri Wirdi*, who obtained the glorious ſurname of *Monazakh Meſr*, i. e. the hiſtorian of *Egypt*, by a work he compoſed in four volumes, containing the intire hiſtory of this country to the year 1449. Of which work he alſo made an abridgment, fearing, as he expreſſes it in his title, that it might be mutilated by another. The larger hiſtory was tranſlated into *Turkiſh* by the command of the emperor *Selim*; which is ſufficient to ſhew, that in the eaſt there is no want either of hiſtorians, patrons, or critics, however barbarous we are pleaſed to think them (1).

(1) *Vid. Herbelot. bibl. orient. art. Meſr, Macrizi, Jouſouf Ben Tagri.*

The

The firſt of theſe are ſaid to have ruled in this country before the creation of *Adam*, and amongſt theſe they place *Gian Ben Gian*, to whom they aſcribe the pyramids [c].

THE ſecond claſs of *Egyptian* kings are ſaid to have reigned before the deluge. The account that is given of the people of this country, in theſe early times, ſtands thus: *Kraus*, who ſtood in the fifth degree from *Adam*, growing into diſlike of the conduct of theſe who inhabited the country wherein he was born, drew together a company of ſeventy-eight perſons, and, removing into *Egypt*, cleared that country of its woods; and, finding it equally pleaſant and fruitful, built the city of *Meſr*, ſo called from the name of his father, which he made the capital of his new kingdom. Authors are not agreed, whether he derived from *Cain*, or from ſome other ſon of *Adam*; but the greateſt part of them incline to think he was a *Cainite* of a gigantic ſtature; which opinion ſeems not altogether irreconcilable to the writings of *Moſes* [d]. He is ſaid to have reigned 180 years; but in what year of the world he acceded to the throne, is not ſaid. To him ſucceeded his ſon *Tegar*, or, as others call him, *Natras*, of whom we find nothing recorded that deſerves mention.

MESRAM, whom ſome call the ſon, others the brother of the laſt-mentioned prince, ſucceeded him: he was a great magician, and is ſaid to have performed many ſtrange things; and, dying, left both his ſkill and his crown to his ſon.

GANCAM. He was a prieſt, a philoſopher, and magician; and in his reign it is ſaid *Enoch* was tranſlated. He had for his ſucceſſor his ſon [e]

ARYAK, who excelled all his predeceſſors in his skill in the occult ſciences, by dint of which it is pretended that he did many wonders. We muſt remember, that all the eaſtern hiſtorians agree in this notion, that the ſtudy of magic, and commerce with ſpirits, was the great crime of the *antediluvians*; in which, if we may ſo ſpeak, they are ſupported by thoſe writings which go under the name of the patriarchs; particularly that treatiſe which is aſcribed to *Enoch*. It is likewiſe ſaid, that in the reign of this *Egyptian* monarch, the angels *Harut* and *Marut* deſcended from heaven, and converſed with men; which is likewiſe of a piece with what is recorded in the book before-men-

[c] TARIKH AL THABARI. [d] EBN ABD AL HOKM. ap. Greaves pyramid. & MURTAD EBN GAF. in mirabil. pyramid. [e] EBN ABD AL HOKM. ubi ſupra. KHONDEMIR in Khelaſſat Alakhar. mirabil. pyramid.

tioned; whence it appears, that theſe fables are very antient, and have been generally received, no doubt, becauſe they were forged from ſome hints in the *Moſaic* writings[f].

His ſon *Louchanam* ſucceeded him, and performed nothing worthy of notice.

Chasalim, or as ſome call him, *Haſilim*, the ſon of *Louchanam*, is celebrated for his invention of the *Nilometer*; which, without queſtion, paſſed for a wonderful effect of magic in thoſe days.

Harsal, or as others call him, *Huſal*, the ſon of *Chaſalim*, reigned over his people with great lenity; and in his reign it is ſaid the prophet *Noah* was born.

Jadonsac ſucceeded *Harſal*; of him we are told, that he firſt thought of rendering the *Nile* of greater uſe by cutting canals: which is thus far probable; the inland parts of *Egypt*, being by this time thoroughly peopled, muſt neceſſarily require ſuch an aſſiſtance.

Semrond received the crown from his father *Jadonſac*; but of him we know nothing more, than that he tranſmitted it to his ſon

Sariac, or *Sarkak*; who left it to

Sahaluc, or *Sahlick*, a famous monarch, of whom, very probably, we ſhould have had ſome notable account, had not his glory been eclipſed by that of his ſon and ſucceſſor,

Saurid, a monarch equally remarkable for his wiſdom, juſtice, and power. He is ſaid to have dreamed, that he ſaw the earth, with all its inhabitants, ſubverted; the men lying on their faces, the ſtars falling from heaven, and all things filled with diſcord and confuſion. A year after, he had a ſecond dream of this ſort; which ſo affrighted him, that he immediately ſummoned the moſt learned of the prieſts together, with all the wiſe men and profeſſors of the occult ſciences in *Egypt*. To them he related his dreams, and beſought them to inform him what they portended. Theſe ſages, having conſulted together, and taken all the neceſſary precautions for ſatisfying the king's requeſt, declared to him at length, that a mighty deluge would cover the earth, and that the effects thereof had been repreſented to him in his dreams. The king, when he had heard and conſidered this, cauſed pyramids, and other prodigious ſtructures, to be erected, to ſerve for places of refuge for himſelf and his domeſtics, as alſo for ſepulchres wherein to conſerve their bodies. He likewiſe de-

[f] Vid. lib. Enoch. ap. fabric. pſeudepigraph. veter. teſtament. Herbelot, bibl. orient. art. Edris. Mirabil. pyramid.

ſigned

ſigned to cover the roof and the walls of theſe places with hieroglyphic lectures, explanatory of all the various ſciences known to the *Egyptians*, as invaluable treaſures, ſet apart and conſecrated to the ſervice of poſterity. He likewiſe deſigned to repreſent the figure of the ſtars, the celeſtial ſigns, with their effects and ſignifications, the ſecrets of nature, the productions of art, the virtues of drugs, and the fundamental propoſitions in geometry. In conſequence of this project, he built the three great pyramids; and of the manner of building theſe, and of the ſubterraneous apartments allotted to each of them, the author from whom we take this account, gives a large and particular deſcription. He concludes it with obſerving, that the *Egyptians* built theſe prodigious ſtructures in the fulneſs of their proſperity, when they were extremely numerous, and proportionably rich. When they were compleated, *Saurid* cauſed them to be covered with ſilks of ſeveral colours, from the top to the bottom, proclaiming on this occaſion a general feaſt, which laſted a conſiderable time, and to which, our author tells us, all the inhabitants of *Egypt* reſorted. When this feaſt was over, the king cauſed thirty great veſſels, made of a kind of artificial green ſtone, to be placed in the bottom of the eaſtern pyramid. Theſe veſſels he filled with all kinds of jewels, and precious ſtones; and then, placing covers over them, he poured over theſe melted lead, ſcattering on the floor a conſiderable number of pieces of gold, to delude the eyes of any greedy intruder, and to hinder them from prying into the veſſels. The ſecond pyramid he made the receptacle of all that related to civil hiſtory, laying up the books and records in ſuch veſſels as he had laid up his jewels in. In the third pyramid he collected whatſoever related to their eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and to the ſublime ſciences. In all of them he laid up mighty treaſures, and diſpoſed in them all things fit for the reception of a prince who ſhould fly thither for ſhelter, and appointed alſo in the middle of them convenient places for the interrment of him and his domeſtics. Theſe, and many other particulars, are ſaid to be taken from the antient books of the *Cophts*; wherein it is alſo recorded, that *Saurid* reigned three hundred years before the deluge, and that he governed *Egypt* one hundred and ſeven years. When he found himſelf near the time of his diſſolution, he ſent for his ſon into his preſence, and, having made before him a long diſcourſe of the duty of a king, and of the regard which he owed to him as his father and his ſovereign, he then directed, that his corpſe ſhould be carried into his

pyramid; that the room in which it ſhould be laid, ſhould be ſtrewed with camphire and ſantal-wood; that his body ſhould be embalmed with ſpices; and that his rich armour, and whatever valuable things he had uſed about his perſon, might be left in the ſame room. All which directions were punctually complied with g.

His ſon and ſucceſſor *Hargib*, whom ſome writers call *Hugib*, and will have to be his brother, governed according to the inſtructions the deceaſed king *Saurid* had given him, being no leſs careful to ſecure the hearts of his ſubjects by a kind and gentle adminiſtration, than he was to ſecure their proſperity by ruling wiſely and juſtly. He is ſaid to have built the firſt of the pyramids of *Debaſoura*, into which he cauſed immenſe wealth, and a vaſt quantity of precious ſtones, to be brought, and there interred, as his father *Saurid* had done. His favourite ſcience was chymiſtry; and it is reported, that he had the art of multiplying gold, whereby he filled his treaſury, after he had adorned his kingdom with many magnificent ſtructures. He governed *Egypt* ninety-nine years, and after his death was interred in the pyramids. His ſucceſſor was his ſon

Menaos, or, as others call him, *Mankaus*, one who deviated widely from the examples of his father and grandfather, being exceſſively proud, intolerably inſolent, and outrageouſly cruel. Many women of quality he raviſhed, ſlew many of the moſt deſerving of his ſubjects, and waſted in ſcandalous debauches a large proportion of that treaſure which his anceſtors had drawn together, and ſet apart for public uſes. At laſt, he came to ſuch a height of folly and extravagance, that he built palaces of gold and ſilver, into which he brought canals from the *Nile*; the bottoms of which were covered with precious ſtones, that glittered through the water in the eyes of the ſpectators. To maintain all this, he had recourſe to all the arts of tyranny and oppreſſion; whereby he became exceſſively hated by his ſubjects, who were wonderfully rejoiced when the king's horſe ſtarted, threw him, and broke his neck: however, they did not alter the ſucceſſion, but raiſed to the throne his ſon

Ecros, of whom we have little or no account; only it is rendered probable, that he was as a great tyrant as his father, by the courſe his ſubjects took to ſecure themſelves: for, either on his death or depoſition, they laid aſide hereditary ſovereigns, and made choice of a perſon who was of the royal family, on whom they beſtowed the crown.

g Ebn abd al Hokm. ubi ſup. mirabil. pyramid.

Ermeli-

ERMELINOUS, whom ſome call *Malinus*, having thus attained the regal dignity, governed with lenity and juſtice; and, on his deceaſe, the *Egyptians* ſubmitted to

FIRAOUN, who was the couſin of the late king, and the laſt monarch in *Egypt* who ruled before the deluge. He was a moſt tyrannical prince, and looked upon his ſubjects in no other light than that of ſlaves, deſtined to do whatever he thought fit to command them. Religion and juſtice were almoſt forgotten under his baſe and luxurious adminiſtration; and when he was informed, that *Noah* had preached repentence and amendment of life, threatening the diſobedient with deſtruction by water, he wrote to king *Darmaſel*, in whoſe dominions the prophet dwelt, to put *Noah* to death, and burn the ark which he was building. However, the high-prieſt of *Egypt*, who had read and conſidered the ſacred books carefully, being perſuaded in his mind, that what *Noah* had threatened would certainly come to paſs, procured himſelf to be ſent to enforce the counſel given to *Darmaſel*; whereby he had an opportunity of joining himſelf to *Noah*, and of matching his daughter in his family, as will be hereafter ſhewn. When the deluge came, *Egypt* was overſpread with luxury, and the king was ſo exceſſively drunk, that he had not a perfect idea of his danger till the moment he was ſwallowed up and drowned. The deſcription theſe writers give of the deluge is very frightful; and they affirm, that the waters continued upon the earth for eleven months; and that it happened two thouſand one hundred fifty-ſix years after the creation [h].

The kings of Egypt *after the deluge.*

WHEN *Noah* and thoſe that were with him came out of the ark, the high-prieſt of *Egypt* beſought him to ſend their grandſon *Banſar* or *Beiſar*, with him into *Egypt*, ſpeaking to him wonderful things of the pleaſantneſs, fertility, and riches of that country, which quickly induced *Noah* to grant him his requeſt. On their arrival in his native country, the *Egyptian* prieſt explained to them the nature of the *Nile*, the neceſſity of cutting canals, the peculiar method of cultivating and improving that ſoil, the means of opening the pyramids, and other ſacred edifices, and the manner of reaching the true ſenſe of the inſcriptions, and of acquiring the ſciences, which the antient *ante-*

[h] TARIKH AL THABARI. Mirabil. pyramid. AL SOYUTI.

diluvians had poſſeſſed. *Banſar*, by the direction of this prieſt, ſettled himſelf in this country, which he wonderfully improved, or rather retrieved, building for the place of his reſidence, and the capital of his dominions, a large and beautiful city, which was afterwards called *Memphis*; but had then no other name than that of *Maſar* or *Meſr*, which ſignifies the *great city*; and a ſon being born to him while he was employed in this work, he called him *Maſar* or *Meſr*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and was the great reſtorer of *Egypt* [i].

Some oriental writers vary in their account of this matter, attributing the ſettlement of *Egypt* intirely to *Maſar*, to whom they ſay it was ſolemnly aſſigned by his ſovereign anceſtor *Noah*, to whom he was not a little dear, on account of his great capacity, and the innocency of his manners; inſomuch that *Noah* having curſed *Cham*, his grandfather, and breathed out many bitter execrations againſt him and his poſterity, on *Maſar*'s interpoſition he retracted them with regard to him; and, in a pathetic addreſs to God, beſought him to bleſs and preſerve this young man, and to give him all the riches of the land of the river. However this might be, *Maſar* certainly eſtabliſhed the form of government which afterwards ſubſiſted in *Egypt*, built various cities, and amaſſed together great treaſures. When he found himſelf near his end, he, by his will, divided the kingdom into ſeveral little ſovereignties. One diſtrict he gave to his ſon *Coptim*, or rather *Kibt*, whoſe deſcendants are called *Copts*. To his ſon *Aſmoumeis*, whom ſome call *Aſhmun*, he gave the *Upper Egypt*. And to his ſon *Abribus*, or *Athrib*, he gave the flat country, and the fens beyond *Barod*, directing each of them to erect a fair city in his territory for the place of his reſidence, and to take all imaginable pains to improve and fertilize the adjacent country. He likewiſe gave orders about the manner of his own burial; purſuant to which, when he expired, his ſons laid his body in a cave an hundred and fifty cubits long; which cave they filled with treaſures and precious ſtones, cauſing this inſcription to be engraven on a plate of gold, which was placed upon the marble monument within which the body lay: "*Maſar* the ſon of *Banſar*, "the ſon of *Chaus*, the ſon of *Noah*, died, aged ſeven hundred "years, from the days of the deluge." Of this king they report, that he was a moſt wiſe, juſt, and pious perſon, having never done the leaſt wrong to any of his ſubjects, or

[i] Mirabil. pyramid. Tarikh al Thabari.

bent

bent his knee to any idol, but living without care, ſorrow, or ſickneſs, till by the courſe of nature he was removed from this into another ſtate, having firſt ſeen a multitude of people deſcended from his own loins, and leaving ſeveral flouriſhing kingdoms to his children [k].

To *Maſar* ſucceeded his ſon *Coptim*; but how long he governed, or what he performed, is not known. He was ſucceeded by his ſon

COPTARIM, of whom likewiſe we have no memoirs; and therefore we ſhall only ſay, that his ſon *Budeſir* ſucceeded him, as he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Gad*, or *Gadim*; after whom *Sedeth* his ſon aſcended the throne, whoſe ſon and ſucceſſor was *Mancaous*, whoſe ſon *Caſaoûs* reigned after him; and on his deceaſe his ſon *Marbis*, in whoſe ſtead reigned *Aſmar*, then *Citin*, whoſe ſon *Elſabas* was his ſucceſſor; who left the throne to *Sa*. This monarch built the city of *Sais*, and ſettled the *Egyptian* conſtitution. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Malil*, after whom reigned *Hadares*; then his ſon *Cheribas*, to whom ſucceeded *Calcan*.

TOTIS, or as he is generally called *Tulis*, ſucceeded his father *Calcan*. He it was who governed the kingdom of *Egypt*, when *Ibrahim* came down thither with his wife *Sarah*, whoſe beauty, even after ſhe was paſt her bloom, ſtruck all beholders with wonder. On their coming to *Meſr*, the capital of the kingdom, notice was preſently given to *Tulis*, that a ſtranger was arrived, who had with him a woman, the moſt beautiful that had ever been beheld. The king preſently ſent for *Ibrahim*, and, having demanded of him what relation the woman ſtood in towards him, the prophet anſwered, that ſhe was his ſiſter. Then *Tulis* directed, that ſhe ſhould be brought to him, which was accordingly done; but, when he put out his hand with an intent to touch her, he found it ſuddenly ſhrunk and withered; whereupon, apprehending that he was deceived, he beſought *Sarah* to pray for him, that his hand might be reſtored; which he did, and the king drew back his hand ſound and well. *Tulis* then demanded of her, in what degree ſhe was related to *Ibrahim*. *I am*, ſaid ſhe, *his wife*. *Why then*, ſaid he, *did he deceive me, in ſaying that you was his ſiſter? He did not delude thee, O king*, replied ſhe: *for in that I am of the ſame religion, I am his ſiſter in God, and the ſiſter of every man who believes the unity of the godhead*. Which anſwer ſo well

[k] KHONDEMIR ubi ſup. Mirabil. pyramid. AL SOYUTI.

pleaſed the king, that he ſent for *Ibrahim*, and was inſtructed in his religion. We are farther informed, that this king of *Egypt* had an only daughter, a princeſs of great parts, and of a mild and pleaſant temper; ſhe was extremely delighted with the company of *Sarah*, and would have made her many and great preſents, had ſhe not, by the command of her huſband, poſitively declined them. The princeſs, however, obliged her to accept a female ſlave, whoſe name was *Hagar*, and who was afterwards the mother of *Iſhmael*. After the departure of *Ibrahim* and his wife out of *Egypt*, *Tulis* became a moſt intolerable tyrant, inſomuch that his daughter, perceiving that his ſubjects hated him extremely, and that there was ſome danger of their changing the ſucceſſion, poiſoned him when he had reigned ſeventy years, and after a ſhort *interregnum* ſucceeded in his ſtead.

THE name of this princeſs was *Juriak*, though ſome writers call her *Charoba*. She governed with great art, pretending to be alike the mother of all her ſubjects, but in fact poiſing the power of the ſoldiery by that of the prieſts, and ſecuring the quiet of her reign by a dextrous management of parties. Under her reign, or under the reign of her daughter, ſome hiſtorians affirm, that the *Amalekites* entered *Egypt*, which they held in ſubjection for a conſiderable time; but we have a very imperfect account of the monarchs of that dynaſty, amongſt whom, however, they reckon the following princes[1].

RIYAN: he is ſaid to have differed from all his predeceſſors, that is, from all the *Amalekite* kings of *Egypt*. For whereas they were idolaters in reſpect to religion, and tyrants with regard to their adminiſtration, this *Riyan* was, on the contrary, a worſhiper of the true GOD, and a very juſt and good prince. In his time it is affirmed that *Joſeph* came into *Egypt*, and very probably it was from him that he received inſtructions, which wrought upon him ſo powerfully, as to make him act in quite a different manner from his anceſtors. We have many long and fabulous ſtories concerning the adminiſtration of that *patriarch*; but as theſe are too prolix to be inſerted here, we chuſe to omit them, and to paſs on to the ſucceſſor of this monarch, who was his ſon.

DAREM, a perſon altogether unlike his father. He was, as to religion, an impious perſon, one who affected to deſpiſe and affront divine providence, and therefore no won-

[1] TARIKH AL THABARI. Mirabil. pyramid.

der that in his government he was a tyrant and an oppreſſor. He did not however enjoy, or rather abuſe, the regal dignity long; but, by the juſt judgment of GOD, was drowned in the *Nile*. To whom, as ſome hiſtorians write, ſucceeded

CATHIM an *Amalekite*, who was a magnificent prince, and rendered himſelf famous by a variety of noble buildings, with which he adorned this country. Others allege that this *Riyan* left no ſon, but a grandſon, whoſe name was

KABUS, who ſucceeded him, and is ſaid to have reigned in the time of *Moſes*[m].

HIS brother *Valid*, or *Walid*, comes next, who is by moſt of the *Arabian* authors ſaid to be the king of *Egypt*, with whom *Moſes* had to do, and who periſhed in the *Red Sea*. He was, ſay they, an *Arab*, and of the tribe of *Ad*, though others ſay of that of *Amlak*, i. e. an *Amalekite*. Here it is neceſſary to take notice, that though *Walid* be truly a proper name, yet it is alſo uſed by the oriental writers to ſignify *ſuch an one*. Hence whenever they meet with the actions of a prince without finding his name, they preſently ſubſtitute that of *Walid*. We muſt not therefore be ſurpriſed to find, that ſome authors have given this prince another name, becauſe that will make no alteration in the hiſtory, neither will it at all affect the credit of one relation, or the other. This prince is repreſented as a moſt cruel tyrant; but at the ſame time as a man of great abilities, and of much cunning. With reſpect to the *Iſraelites*, he pretended they were all his ſlaves; and thus he made out his title. *Joſeph*, ſaid he, who brought them hither, was himſelf a ſlave, and purchaſed with the money of *Egypt*. He brought his kindred thither, who could not therefore be better than himſelf: conſequently they and all their deſcendants were ſlaves. Upon this pretence he refuſed to ſet them at liberty when *Moſes* demanded them. But if he treated them harſhly, he treated his own ſubjects no better; for, after having impoveriſhed them by exceſſive taxes, and waſted them in many fooliſh expeditions, he at length pretended to exact divine honours from them; and, though he was apparently one of the worſt of men, would needs paſs for a god. On this account, if we may believe theſe writers, the Almighty was pleaſed to puniſh him in ſo exemplary a manner as he did, by drowning him

[m] KHONDEMIR. AL SOYUTI.

in the *Red Sea*; the juſtice of which, according to their notions, will be more fully explained in a note [n] (B).

DALUKA, the daughter of *Walid*, ſucceeded him: ſhe was a woman of great wiſdom, and is ſaid to have ſurrounded the city of *Meſſer* with walls of an amazing extent, and of ſtupendous thickneſs. Some authors aſſert, that ſhe was not the daughter of the laſt king, but a diſtant relation; and that upon her death ſhe bequeathed the crown to a *Coptiſh* prince of the antient blood royal. His name was [o] (C)

DARKUN,

[n] AL SOYUTI. KHONDEMIR. TARIKH AL THABARI. [o] Mirabil. pyramid.

(B) The oriental writers in general agree in a ſtory they tell us, concerning the deſtruction of *Pharaoh*. As they relate it, it takes up a great deal of room; but as we have it not to ſpare, we ſhall deliver it in as few words as we can. When *Pharaoh* was in the height of his glory, the angel *Gabriel* preſented himſelf before him, under the appearance of a ſhepherd; and, after having made obeiſance to him, complained that he had a ſervant, upon whom he had heaped continual favours, which he particularized; and that, notwithſtanding all this, that ſervant had deſerted him, and was even ſo ungrateful as to endeavour to do him a miſchief. When *Pharaoh* had heard his complaint; Endeavour, ſaid he, to have him apprehended, and I will order him to be thrown into the *Red Sea*. Great king, ſaid *Gabriel*, will you give me this in writing? I will, anſwered *Pharaoh*. Then the angel wrote ſuch an order, and *Pharaoh* ſubſcribed it. Afterwards, when at the paſſage of the *Red Sea Pharaoh* found himſelf in danger of drowning, he cried out to the Almighty, and beſought mercy and forgiveneſs. Then *Gabriel* appeared; and, producing his own writing, Thou art the rebellious ſlave, ſaid he, and thus is thy own judgment executed on thy ſelf. Some of our readers may be ſurpriſed when we intimate that this is no fable, but rather a parable or allegory; which is, however, an opinion that may be well juſtified by reaſon and authority (z).

(C) The eaſtern hiſtorians are unanimous, as to the invaſion and conqueſt of *Egypt*, by the *Amalekites*; but they differ extremely as to the time when this conqueſt was made. For ſome ſay, that it happened ſo early as in the days of *Coptarim* the third king of *Egypt* after the deluge; and they give us a particular account both of their invaſion and expulſion. Others again place this revolution as low as the times of *Abraham*, or rather lower; and, according

(z) *Tarikh al Thabari. Khondemir. Mirabil. pyramid.*

DARKUN, a young man of an excellent diſpoſition, who ruled mildly, and with great wiſdom: after him we find in the oriental hiſtories the names of five or ſix kings, but without any account of their actions, excepting only *Aſhyaf*, who appears to have been the *Shiſhak* of the Scriptures: then there follows another large chaſm in the hiſtory, the laſt king mentioned being *Feraoum al Araj*, that is, *Pharaoh* the *lame*, who, we are told, was invaded by *Nebuchadnezzar*, whom the eaſtern writers call *Baltaknaſſar*; and after ſuſtaining a long ſiege in his capital *Meſr* was taken by the conqueror, and put to death [p]. After this the oriental agrees better with the weſtern hiſtory of *Egypt*, as will appear in its proper place.

CHAP. IV.

The Hiſtory of the Moabites, Ammonites, Midianites, Edomites, Amalekites, Canaanites, *and* Philiſtines.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of Moab.

The deſcent of the Moabites.

DESIGNING in this chapter to write the hiſtories of thoſe nations with whom the children of *Iſrael* were concerned, before or upon their ſettling in the land of *Canaan*, we ſhall begin with that of the *Moabites*.

THIS people were deſcended from *Moab* the ſon of *Lot*, by his eldeſt daughter: but, before we mention the occaſion of that inceſt, it may be proper to take the hiſtory a little higher.

[p] KHONDEMIR. TARIKH AL THABARI. Mirabil. pyramid.

ſo theſe, *Joſeph* was *Wafir*, or firſt miniſter, to an *Amalekite* king of *Egypt* (3). Theſe variations are not, however, greater than the critics have obſerved in the antient *Greek* hiſtorians, with reſpect to the ſhepherds who ſubdued *Egypt*. The truth therefore is moſt likely to be diſcovered by comparing the beſt hiſtorians of both ſorts; and this might be eaſily done, if the *Egyptian* hiſtories in the *French* king's library were printed. But what hope is there of this, while, after ſpending our youth in the ſtudy of *Greek* and *Latin*, we acquire from thence an averſion and contempt for all writers of another ſtamp?

(3) *Khondemir. Mirabil. pyramid.*

LOT was the ſon of *Haran*, the brother of *Abraham*; and after his father's death was brought by his grandfather *Terah*, together with the reſt of his family, from *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, their native city, to *Haran* in *Meſopotamia*[a]; where *Terah* dying, *Abraham* afterwards took his nephew under his protection; and, as *Joſephus* tells us[a], adopted him, deſpairing of any children of his own. He therefore carried him with him into *Canaan*[b]; where, after they had dwelt ſome time, they were obliged by a famine to go into *Egypt*[c]; and ſoon after their return from thence they parted, their flocks and herds being ſo much increaſed, that they could not dwell together any longer, as the paſture and water were not ſufficient for both; and thence diſputes aroſe between their herdſmen: *Abraham* propoſed, to prevent any miſunderſtanding between ſo near relations, that they ſhould ſeparate; and gave *Lot* the choice of removing to what part of the country he thought fit. Whereupon *Lot* choſe the plain of *Jordan*, lying eaſtward of *Bethel* and *Ai*, between which *Abraham* and he then dwelt, and which, at that time, before the terrible deſtruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, was ſo fruitful and well watered, that it is compared to the land of *Egypt*, and even to *Paradiſe* itſelf[d]. To this delightful plain or valley therefore *Lot* came, and pitched his tent not far from *Sodom*, infamous for the unnatural wickedneſs of its inhabitants; and afterwards dwelt in the city itſelf[e]: but that city, with others in the ſame plain, being not long after taken by *Chedorlaomer* and his allies, *Lot*, who, as *Joſephus* tells us[f], aſſiſted the *Sodomites*, had the misfortune to be taken by the enemy, with his family and all his ſubſtance; and had been carried into captivity, had he not been timely reſcued by *Abraham*, who not only delivered him, but recovered all his goods[g]. Notwithſtanding this warning, and the abominable wickedneſs of the inhabitants, *Lot* ſtill continued to live in *Sodom*, and had periſhed in the catastrophe of that people, if he had not been miraculouſly preſerved, and that partly for *Abraham*'s ſake[h]. Two angels, who were ſent to deſtroy the place, came to *Sodom* in the evening, in the appearance of travellers; and *Lot*, ſitting in the gate, no ſooner ſaw them than he invited and preſſed them to be his gueſts that night, according to the hoſpitality of the eaſtern nations. They had ſcarce refreſhed

[a] See vol. I. p. 302. [a] Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [b] Gen. xii. 4. &c. [c] Ibid. ver. 10. & ch. xiii. 1. [d] Gen. xiii. 10. [e] Gen. xiv. 12. [f] Antiq. l. i. c. 10. [g] Gen. xiv. 16. &c. [h] Gen. xix. 13.

themſ-

themſelves, when the inhabitants of the city, both old and young, being informed that *Lot* had ſtrangers with him, and, in all probability, tempted by the beautiful forms which the angels had aſſumed [1], incompaſſed the houſe, and demanded them to be delivered up, that they might abuſe them. *Lot* endeavoured to diſſuade them from their wicked purpoſe, and, rather than violate the rights of hoſpitality, offered to abandon his two virgin daughters to their mercy, on condition they would not moleſt his gueſts: but, inſtead of accepting this offer, they came to violence: whereupon the angels ſuddenly pulled *Lot* into the houſe, ſhut the door, and ſtruck the riotous aſſembly with blindneſs (A).

In the mean time, the angels acquainted *Lot* with their commiſſion; adviſing him, if he had any friends, for whoſe ſafety he was concerned, that he would immediately let them know their danger, and warn them to depart. Whereupon *Lot*, before it was light, went to his ſons-in-law, to whom his daughters were contracted (B); and, telling them what they muſt expect, if they ſtayed longer in the city,

[1] Joseph. antiq. l. i. c. 11.

(A) It is a very probable opinion, that thoſe men were ſtruck, not with actual blindneſs, but with a dizzineſs, which diſturbed their ſight, and repreſented objects falſly, and in confuſion (1); as were the *Syrians*, who were ſent to take *Eliſha* (2). And this is the ſenſe of the *Septuagint*. The author of the book of *Wiſdom* ſuppoſes ſome change in the air, ſaying, that they were *compaſſed about with horrible great darkneſs*, which he compares to that with which *Moſes* plagued the *Egyptians*. He adds, that they could not even find the way home; *but every one ſought the paſſage of his own doors* (3).

(B) The *Septuagint*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and other tranſlations, and ſome of the rabbins, ſuppoſe theſe were the huſbands of other daughters of *Lot*, who were married, and had left their father's houſe; which ſeems to be confirmed by the angels ordering *Lot* to take with him his wife and his two daughters, *which were there* preſent (4). But the original words, which in our verſion are rendered *his ſons in law, which married his daughters* (5), may be tranſlated, according to the interpretation of *Onkelos*, *his ſons in law, which were to marry*, &c. the contract being made, but the marriage not conſummated. And there is no mention, in Scripture, of any daughters *Lot* had, except the two who were ſaved with him; but if he had, they muſt have periſhed with their huſbands.

(1) *Vid. Auguſtin. de civit. Dei, l.* xxii. *c.* 19. *Heideg. hiſt patr. tom.* ii. *exerc.* viii. §. 16. *Cleric. in loc.* (2) 2 *Kings* vi. 18. (3) *Wiſd.* xix. 17. (4) *Gen.* xix. 15. (5) *Ibid. ver.* 14.

earneſtly

AFTER this cataſtrophe, *Lot* ſtayed not long in *Zoar*, fearing ſome further misfortune; but went, with his daughters, to the mountains on the eaſt of the *Dead Sea*, and dwelt in a cave there. In this ſolitude, the two young women, ſeeing no hopes of their ever being married (D), and being very deſirous of having children, as it was a great reproach and ſcandal in thoſe days to have none, plotted together to deceive their father, and have iſſue by him. Ac-

(21); that it has not only the lineaments of a woman, but alſo the diſtinction of ſex, and regular purgations, as if it were alive (22); which fable has been ſwallowed by ſome Chriſtian writers (23). Some late commentators (24), after all, think, that there was no miraculous metamorphoſis at all in the caſe; but that ſhe either turned back out of curioſity, to ſee the burning nearer, and ſo periſhed in the dreadful ſhower, or by ſome poiſonous vapour; or elſe, that the horror of the ſight, when ſhe looked back, and plainly beheld the terrible deſtruction of a place ſhe had but juſt quitted, ſtruck her ſtiff, and motionleſs, like a ſtatue; and that ſhe died of the fright. And as to what is urged from *Joſephus* (25), and ſome books of travels (26), that this ſtatue or pillar, was many ages after, or is now, to be ſeen; it is anſwered, that *Joſephus* might be deceived therein, as many others have been, and daily are, in things of this nature: which really ſeems to have been the caſe; becauſe the more intelligent and credible travellers ſay, they could never ſee it; and when they have aſked the people of the country after it, they either aſſured them there was no ſuch thing (27), or pretended it ſtands ſomewhere in the mountains, where the acceſs to it is very dangerous, becauſe of the wild beaſts and ſerpents; but more ſo on account of the *Arabs* (28).

(D) Several writers (29) excuſe this act of *Lot*'s daughters, by ſuppoſing what they did was for the reparation of mankind, which, as they thought, had been utterly deſtroyed, and none left, except their father and themſelves. But there is no manner of foundation for ſuch an opinion. Wherefore St. *Auſtin* very juſtly condemns the action, ſaying, they ought never to have been mothers, rather than to have made ſuch uſe of their father (30). One of theſe daughters a *Jewiſh* writer calls *Pelotith* (31).

(21) *R. Eliezer, ubi ſup. Benjam. itin. p.* 44. (22) *R. Eliezer. ibid.* (23) *Tertul. vel auctor carm. de Sodoma. Irenæus*, l. iv. c. 51. (24) *Watablus, Bedinus, P. Simon, bibl. crit. t.* iv. *let.* 44. *Cleric. diſſert. de ſtatua ſalina.* (25) *See alſo Wiſdom* x. 7. (26) *Vid. Quareſm. elucid. terræ ſanct. tom.* ii. *l.* vi. *c.* 14. (27) *Radzivil, itiner. Hieroſ. p.* 95. (28) *Brocard, deſcr. terræ ſanct. p.* 1. *c.* 7. *numb.* 24. (29) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* i. *c.* 12. *Chryſoſt. hom.* XXXIV. *in Gen. Irenæus, l.* iv. *c.* 51. *Ambroſ. de Abrah. l.* i. *c.* 6. *Theodor. in Geneſ. quæſt.* 69. *c.* 5. (30) *Auguſt. contr. Fauſt. l.* XXII. *c.* 43. (31) *R. Jehuda, apud Eliezer Pirke, c.* 25.

cordingly,

cordingly, they put their project in execution, in the manner we find related in holy writ; and from this inceſtuous commerce proceeded two ſons. That of the eldeſt daughter was therefore named *Moab*, ſignifying (though not in pure *Hebrew*, yet, perhaps, in ſome dialect of that tongue) *Of a father*; and was the progenitor of the people we are now ſpeaking of [p].

THE poſterity of *Lot* ſettled in the country bordering on the mountain where he was born, which ſome authors make part of *Cœleſyria* [q], others of *Arabia* [r]; and, having driven out the old inhabitants, poſſeſſed a ſmall tract, thence called *Moabitis*, or the land of *Moab*, the deſcription of which we reſerve to the geography of *Judea*. *Of the country poſſeſſed by the* Moabites.

WE are but little acquainted with the cuſtoms and manners of this people. They were governed by kings, uſed circumciſion [s], and ſeem to have employed themſelves, moſtly, in paſturage, and breeding of cattle, wherein their riches chiefly conſiſted. They were one of the nations whoſe good the *Jews* were forbidden to ſeek [a]; nor were they to be admitted to intermarry with the *Iſraelites*, to the tenth generation [b]. However, they appear to have cultivated a good underſtanding with that people after their ſettlement in *Canaan*, as appears from the ſojourning of *Elimelech* there [c], and the reception *David* met with in his troubles at *Mizpeh* [d]. What language they uſed, we know not; but ſuppoſe, they ſpoke a dialect of the *Canaanitiſh* or *Hebrew*. *Their government, cuſtoms, &c.*

THAT they had once the knowlege of the true GOD, we may not only conclude, from the piety of their great anceſtor, who, without doubt, inſtructed his offspring in their duty; but, likewiſe, from Scripture: for they retained this knowlege till the time of *Moſes*, even after they had monſtrouſly corrupted their religion, by introducing the worſhip of falſe gods [e]; which they ſeem to have done pretty early, though the time cannot be fixed. *Their religion.*

THE idols of the *Moabites* taken notice of in Scripture are *Chemoſh* [f] and *Baal-peor* [g]; ſometimes, ſimply, *Peor* [h]; or, as the *Septuagint* write the name, *Phegor*: but what gods theſe were, learned men are not agreed. St. *Jerom*

[p] Gen. xix. 30—37. [q] JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 12. [r] STEPHAN. de urb. in Μώαβ. [s] Jerem. ix. 25, 26. [a] Deut. xxiii. 3—6. [b] Ibid. ver. 3. [c] Ruth i. 1, 2. [d] 1 Sam. xxii. 3, &c. [e] See Numb. xxv. 11. [f] Numb. xxi. 29. 1 Kings xi. 7. Jerem. xlviii. 13. [g] Numb. xxv. 1, and 3. [h] Ibid. ver. 18. Joſh. xxii. 17, &c.

ſuppoſes, that they were both names of one and the ſame idol [h]: and, from the debaucheries into which thoſe fell who defiled themſelves with their worſhip, ſeveral writers, both antient and modern, have repreſented them as obſcene deities, not much different from *Priapus* [i]. This opinion they endeavour to ſupport from the etymologies of the names, and fanſy ſome indecency is implied therein (E). Others [k], however, imagine, that though the *Iſraelites* and *Solomon* were inticed, by the *Moabitiſh* women, to worſhip thoſe idols [l]; yet it does not thence follow, that any immodeſt ceremonies were uſed in their worſhip; nor are any ſuch mentioned in the moſt antient authors [m]; and the etymologies, we think, are not much to be relied on. *Peor* was the name of a mountain, where the high-places of *Baal* were ſituated [n]; which word ſignifies no more than *Lord*, and was a title of the ſun, perhaps added to that name by way of diſtinction, to denote the deity adored in that place [o]; though he had probably alſo a temple in *Beth-peor*, which ſtood in the plain [p]. *Voſſius* [q] ſuppoſes *Baal-*

[h] HIERONYM. in Eſai. l. v. [i] Idem in Oſeam, & contr. Jovin. l. i. c. 12. ORIGEN. in Numer. hom. xx. THEOPHYLACT. in Hoſeam. CUMBERLAND on Sanchon. p. 67, &c. [k] SELDEN de diis Syris, ſyntag. i. c. 5. CLERIC. in Numer. PATRICK's comment. on Numb. xxv. [l] Numb. xxv. [m] See PATRICK's comment. ubi ſup. [n] Numb. xxiii. 38. [o] THEODORET ad pſal. cv. Vid. SUID. in Βεελφεγωρ. [p] See Joſh. xiii. 17, & 20. [q] De idololatr. l. ii. c. 7.

(E) *Peor* they derive from פעה *paar*, *to open*, or *ſtretch*; becauſe they uſed an indecent poſture before the idol (*diſtendebant coram eo foramen podicis*), and offered him dung; which, the *Jews* pretend, was the worſhip proper to this idol (31). If this derivation be true, it was, moſt probably, a name of contempt impoſed by the *Jews*; and the ceremonies they mention, may have been invented to give ſome reaſon for the name.

Chemoſh, for want of a better etymology, they will have to come from the verb מוש *maſhaſh*, *to feel*: but Dr. *Hyde* derives it from the *Arabic khamûſh*, which ſignifies *gnat* (though in the particular dialect of the tribe of *Hodail*), ſuppoſing it to have been an aſtrological taliſman in the figure of a gnat, made to drive away thoſe inſects (32); and *Le Clerc*, who takes this idol for the ſun, from *camoſha*, a root in the ſame tongue, ſignifying *to be ſwift* (33).

(31) *Solom. Yarbi in Numer.* xxv. 3. *Maimonides more nov. part* iii. c. 46. *Vid. Phil. Jud. de nomin. mutatione, p.* 1061. (32) *Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. c.* 5. *p.* 331. (33) *Cleric. in Num.* xxxi. 28.

peor

peor to be *Bacchus*; and Dr. *Cumberland*[r] ſays, he was properly called *Meon*, and takes him to be the ſame with *Menes*, *Mizraim*, and *Oſiris* (F), who, according to his hypotheſis, were all one and the ſame man[s]. *Chemoſh* ſeems to have been a different idol. *Nebo*[t] is thought, by ſome, to have been another deity of the *Moabites*. It was, without diſpute, an idol of the *Babylonians*, and poſſibly the ſame with *Mercury*; but whether the *Moabites* worſhiped it, is not ſo certain. There was a town of this name in that part of the antient dominions of *Moab* conquered by *Sihon*, which the *Iſraelites* rebuilt, and changed its name[u]; and a part of mount *Abarim*, in the ſame tract, was alſo called *Nebo*.

[r] On Sanchon. p. 67. [s] See vol. i. p. 304, 305, (D); 317, (Z). [t] Iſai. xv. 2. Jerem. xlviii. 1—22. [u] Iſai. xlvi. 1. Pſal. cvi. 28.

(F) This learned prelate ſuppoſes *Peor* was not his true name; and, finding *Baal Meon* (34), and *Beth Meon* (35), and *Beth Baal Meon* (36), mentioned in Scripture as a place lying within the old territories of *Moab*, concludes *Meon* was the proper or honourable title of this deity, whom he will have to be the ſame with *Oſiris*, becauſe of the obſcene proceſſions uſed in honour of the latter, agreeing very well with the immodeſt ceremonies uſed in the worſhip of the former, and from the affinity between the names of *Meon* and *Menes*. The chief reaſons he gives why *Meon* was the name of an idol, and the ſame with *Peor*, are; 1. The *Septuagint* and *Arabic* verſions have *Meon* for a proper name, or title of a deity (37). 2. The *Targum* of *Jonathan* (38) calls *Baal Meon a city of* Balak, *in which* Iſrael *deſtroyed the idol* Peor *in the houſe of altars*. 3. *Meon* was ſo great a title of honour, that it is given to God himſelf in Scripture (39), though it is tranſlated *dwelling-place*. But we think nothing can be concluded from paſſages where the word is plainly an appellative. 4. *Beth Meon* ſignifies the *houſe* or *temple* of *Meon*; and no other than a ſuppoſed deity can be ſaid to have a temple dedicated to it. Yet there are ſeveral names of places compounded with the word *Beth*, which have no relation at all to idols. 5. The *Iſraelites* changed the name of the city *Baal Meon*, when they had rebuilt it, as they did that of *Nebo*, becauſe they were ſo named from falſe gods (40). But this is no neceſſary conſequence.

(34) *Numb.* xxxii. 38. 1 *Chron.* v. 8. *Ezek.* xxv. 9. (35) *Jerem.* xlviii. 23. (36) *Joſh.* xiii. 17. (37) *Ibid.* 1 *Chron.* v. 8. *Jerem.* xlviii. 23. (38) *On Numb.* xxxii. 38. (39) *Pſal.* xc. 1. *and* xci. 9. (40) *See Cumberland on Sanchon. chap.* 2.

Of

Of their religious rites and ceremonies we can say very little. The obscenity which some authors charge them with, we have already mentioned: of this the psalmist takes notice, in speaking of those who *were joined to* Baal-peor; but says only, that they *eat the offerings of the dead:* by which words he may either mean, that the idol which they impiously honoured with divine worship, was no more than a dead man; or else, that their oblations were made to the infernal gods. They sacrificed both in the open air, on mountains dedicated to that service [w], and in temples built to their idols in the cities; and, besides oxen and rams, on extraordinary occasions offered human victims, according to the *Phœnician* custom; an instance of which will be given by-and-by.

The Moabites drive out the Emims;

The first inhabitants of the land, afterwards possessed by the posterity of *Moab*, were the *Emims*, a great and powerful people, and of extraordinary strength and stature [x]. They were, most probably, descendants of *Ham*, and of the same gigantic race with the *Anakims* and *Rephaims*; though the *Moabites* called them by the name of *Emims* [y], which, in *Hebrew*, signifies *terrible*. These, having been much weakened by the invasion of *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, and his allies [z], became the easier conquest to the *Moabites*, who drove them out, and took possession of their country; but about what time, is uncertain: however, they kept not their new dominions long intire; for,

but lose part of their acquisitions to the Amorites.

in the days of *Moses*, *Sihon*, king of the *Amorites*, who bordered on them eastward, fought against the king of *Moab*, the predecessor of *Balak*, and took from that nation all their land to the north of the river *Arnon* [a].

Balak sends for Balaam to curse the Israelites.

Year of flood 897. Bef. Chr. 1451.

Balak, the son of *Zippor*, was on the throne of *Moab* when the *Israelites*, having subdued *Sihon*, were encamped in part of their new acquisitions called *the plains of* Moab, because they had lately belonged to that nation [b]. This prince, dismayed at the approach of the victorious people, whom he was not in a condition to resist, and not knowing that God had forbidden them to attempt the conquest of his remaining territories, assembled the nobles, and also the princes of the *Midianites* (a branch of which nation dwelt within the borders of *Moab*, as we shall observe hereafter); and acquainted them with his apprehensions, that the *Israelites* should, as he expressed it, *lick up all that were round about them, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field.*

[w] See Numb. xxii. 41. [x] Deut. ii. 10. [y] Ibid. p. 10, 11.
[z] Gen. xiv. 5. [a] Numb. xxi. 26. [b] Numb. xxii. 1.

Having

Having conſulted together, and not daring to truſt to their arms alone, the aſſembly agreed to ſend for *Balaam*, the ſon of *Beor*, a famous prophet (G), or diviner, of that time, in whoſe prayers and imprecations they had great confidence, that he might curſe the people, which gave them ſo much uneaſineſs (H). Accordingly, embaſſadors,

(G) Some *Jews* imagine this *Balaam* was an aſtrologer, who, obſerving when men were under a bad aſpect of the ſtars, pronounced a curſe upon them; which ſometimes coming to paſs in neighbouring nations, gained him a great reputation. Several of the antient fathers ſuppoſe him to have been no more than a common ſoothſayer (41), who pretended to foretel future events, but by no juſtifiable arts. *Origen* will have it, that he was no prophet, but only a ſorcerer, who went to inquire of the devil; but that GOD was pleaſed to prevent him, and to put what anſwer he thought fit into his mouth. It cannot be denied, however, but that the Scripture expreſly calls him a *prophet*; and therefore ſome later writers (42) are of opinion, that he had been once a good man, and a true prophet, till, loving the wages of unrighteouſneſs (43), and proſtituting the honour of GOD to his covetouſneſs, he apoſtatized from GOD, and, betaking himſelf to idolatrous practices, fell under the deluſion of the devil, of whom he learned all his magical inchantments; though at this juncture, when the preſervation of his people was concerned, it might conſiſt with GOD's wiſdom to appear to him, and vouchſafe him revelations. *Balaam*, indeed, was a man of no great probity; and might, by profeſſion, be a diviner; but, by the free acceſs he had to GOD, it ſeems apparent, that he was no common ſorcerer, or magician (44).

The *Jews* ſay *Balaam* was not his true name; but that he was ſo called, becauſe, by his counſel, עם בלע *Bala am*, i. e. *he deſtroyed the people* of GOD (45): and ſome have taken him to be the ſame perſon who, in the book of *Job*, is named *Elihu* (46). The prophetical traditions of *Balaam* the *Perſian* magi are ſaid to have had (47); and it is thought, that, from his prophecy (48), the wiſe men knew the ſignification of the ſtar which appeared at our Saviour's birth (49).

(H) It was a received opinion among the heathen nations, that imprecations might be made which would have effect, not only on private perſons, but even whole armies and nations; and there were particular forms and ceremonies for that purpoſe (50).

(41) *See Joſeph.* xiii. 22. (42) *See Patrick's comment. on Numb.* xxii. (43) 2 *Pet.* ii. 15. (44) *Stackhouſe's body of divinity, p.* 465, *&c.* (45) *Vid. Hottinger. ſmegma orient. p.* 444. (46) *See Patrick's comment. ubi ſup.* (47) *D'Herbel. bibl. orient. p.* 528. (48) *Numb.* xxiv. 17. (49) *Theodor. Tarſenſis, apud Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p.* 384. (50) *Vid. Macrob. Saturn. l.* iii. *c.* 9. *Plutarch. in vita Craſſi, p.* 553.

of both nations, were ſent, not empty-handed, but with preſents, as uſual in ſuch caſes, to *Balaam*, who dwelt at *Pethor*, a city of *Meſopotamia*, on the *Euphrates* [c]; and told him the occaſion of their coming. The prophet deſired them to ſtay with him that night, that he might inquire of GOD whether he ſhould go with them, and curſe the *Iſraelites*, or not: but, being commanded not to go, nor curſe a people whom GOD had determined to bleſs; the next morning he told them, he could not diſobey the divine command, and ſo diſmiſſed them. On their return with this anſwer, *Balak*, whoſe ſole hopes lay in the prophet, ſent a ſecond embaſſy to him, conſiſting of perſons of more diſtinguiſhed quality, and in greater number, with promiſes of great riches and preferment, if he complied with his requeſt. *Balaam* told them, that no wealth could tempt him to act contrary to the divine directions: however, being willing to gratify *Balak*, he conſulted the oracle once more; and had then leave to go, provided he ſaid nothing but what GOD ſhould put in his mouth. *Balaam* therefore went with the embaſſadors, reſolving, it ſeems, with himſelf, to do his utmoſt for the ſervice of thoſe who had employed him. But his intentions being diſpleaſing to GOD, an angel was ſent to withſtand him on the road. His aſs, ſeeing the angel with a drawn ſword in his hand, attempted three times to turn out of the way; and, being, thereupon, as often ſtruck by him, GOD miraculouſly opened her mouth (I), and ſhe expoſtulated with him for his unſea-

[c] Num. xxii. 5. Deut. xxiii. 4.

(I) This was ſo extraordinary an event, that ſome *Jews*, as great lovers of miracles as they are, have not been able to perſuade themſelves, that it really came to paſs. *Philo* (50), in relating the ſtory of *Balaam*, wholly omits this circumſtance; and *Maimonides* (51) pretends, it happened to *Balaam* in a prophetical viſion. But as there is no doubt of GOD's power to effect ſuch a miracle, and the words of Scripture are very expreſs, there can be no reaſon for diſbelieving it. The Heathens cannot reproach *Moſes* with any abſurdity in this ſtory, ſince they themſelves relate ſo many of the like nature, but not near ſo well ſupported. Witneſs what they ſay of the aſs upon which *Bacchus* rode; of the ram of *Phryxus*; the bull of *Europa*; the horſes of *Achilles* and *Adraſtus*; the elephant of *Porus* in *India*; and the lamb in *Egypt*, when *Bocchoris* reigned there (52).

(50) *De vita Moſis, l.* i.
(51) *More nevoch. part.* ii. *cap.* 42.
(52) *See Patrick's comment, ubi ſup.*

ſonable ſeverity. *Balaam*, in the heat of his paſſion, gave no attention to the prodigy (K); but, when he ſaw the angel, he fell proſtrate on his face, and offered to return home. But the angel bid him only take care to ſay no more than what GOD ſhould direct him [d].

BALAAM being come to the borders of *Moab*, *Balak* went out to meet him; and, after ſome expoſtulations for not coming on the firſt meſſage, brought him to *Kirjath-huzzoth*, where the king offered ſacrifices, and feaſted *Balaam*, and the princes who were with him. The next day *Balak* brought the prophet up into the high places of *Baal* on mount *Abarim*, where he might have a full proſpect of the camp of the *Iſraelites*, whom he had hired him to curſe [e]. There *Balak*, by the prophet's direction, built ſeven altars, in which number there might perhaps be ſome ſuperſtition; but the altars, as it appears, were erected to the true GOD, to whom they offered a bullock and a ram on each altar: and the ſame they did afterwards in two other places on the mountain. The two firſt times *Balaam* ſought for inchantments [f], or uſed ſuch means as he was able, to obtain leave of GOD to curſe the children of *Iſrael*, but without ſucceſs; for, on the contrary, he was commanded to bleſs them, ſore againſt his inclination, and to the great mortification of *Balak* [g]: wherefore, the third time, finding that no inchantments could prevail againſt *Jacob*, nor any divination againſt *Iſrael*, he omitted his former arts, and not only bleſſed them a third time, but pronounced thoſe curſed who ſhould utter any imprecations againſt that people. *Balak*, enraged at this diſappointment, ordered him to depart immediately; but *Balaam*, before he went, pronounced, in *Balak*'s preſence, a noble prophecy of the future ſucceſſes of the *Iſraelites*, and what ſhould befal ſeveral nations and kingdoms [h]. As to *Moab*, in par-

[d] Numb. xxii. 20, 35. [e] Numb. xxii. 36—41. [f] See vol. i. p. 501. [g] Numb. xxiii. [h] Ibid. c. xxiv.

(K) This ſeems to be the true reaſon why *Balaam* expreſſed no more ſurprize on this occaſion. But ſome ſuppoſe *Balaam* might have imbibed the doctrine of tranſmigration of ſouls, which was, and ſtill is, too common in the eaſt; and from thence might be the leſs aſtoniſhed to hear a brute ſpeak (53). *Joſephus*, indeed, tells us, but without authority, that he was affrighted at the accident (54).

(53) *Vid. Clerici comment. in locum.* (54) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* i.

ticular, he foretold, *that a ſtar* (M) *ſhould come out of* Jacob, *and a ſceptre ſhould ariſe out of* Iſrael, *which ſhould ſmite the corners* (or, as it may be better tranſlated, *the princes*) *of* Moab, *and deſtroy all the children of* Seth [i] (N). Which prophecy the moſt judicious interpreters take to be primarily ſpoken of *David*, and fulfilled by his victories over that nation; though it be allowed alſo ſecondarily, and in a more exalted ſenſe, to refer to the Meſſiah. After this, *Balaam* returned home [k], but not without giving a moſt wicked counſel (O) to *Balak* and the *Midianites*, which proved very pernicious to the children of *Iſrael:* for

[i] Ibid. ver. 17. [k] Ibid. ver. 25.

(M) The eaſtern nations denoted a king by a ſtar, or comet; the appearance of which they thought, portended the riſe of great princes, and the revolutions of empires (56).

(N) According to the genius of the *Hebrew* tongue, wherein it is elegant to repeat the ſame ſentence in different expreſſions, by *the children of* Seth, the *Moabites* ſhould be intended; but why they are ſo called, we cannot find. There is a paſſage in *Jeremiah*, which ſeems to prove, that, in his time, this place was differently read. *A fire*, ſays that prophet, *ſhall come out of* Heſhbon, *a flame from the midſt of* Sihon, *which ſhall devour the corner of* Moab, *and the crown of the head of the tumultuous ones*; or, as is better rendered in the margin, *of the children of noiſe* (57). The former part of this paſſage is taken from another text (58), and the latter from that which we are now ſpeaking of: the difference between them is very little in the original; *Jeremiah*, inſtead of קו קר *karkar*, *ſhall deſtroy*, having קרקד *kadkad*, *the crown of the head* (which is the reading of the *Samaritan* pentateuch in this very place); and, inſtead of שת *ſeth*, שאון *ſhaon*, *noiſe*. But we dare not hence make any correction.

(O) Though *Moſes* mentions not this where he deſcribes the interview between *Balaam* and *Balak*, yet, in another place (59), he lays the whole blame on *Balaam*; ſaying, that the *Iſraelites* treſpaſſed *through his counſel*. *Joſephus* is very particular in relating this circumſtance, and tells us, that *Balaam* bethought himſelf of it when he came to the *Euphrates*, and thence ſent to beg a conference with *Balak*, and the princes of *Midian* (60). The *targum* of *Jonathan*, and that of *Jeruſalem*, ſuppoſe, he gave this counſel juſt before he pronounced the laſt prophecy; and that the ſame is intimated by theſe words, *I will adviſe* or *counſel thee* (61).

(56) *Vid. Cleric. in loc.* (57) *Jerem.* xlviii. 45. (58) *Numb.* xxi. 28. (59) *Numb.* xxxi. 16. *See alſo Revel.* ii. 14. (60) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* iv. *c.* 6. (61) *Numb.* xxiv. 14. *Vid. etiam Cleric. in Loc.*

be

he told them, that it was in vain to expect, that GOD would ever desert that nation, so long as they continued in their duty; and therefore the only way to hurt and distress them would be, to tempt them to idolatry and disobedience, which he thought no means so proper to effect, as by enticing them to debaucheries with the *Moabitish* and *Midianitish* women. And therefore he advised them to send the most beautiful virgins they could find, to the *Israelitish* camp, with proper instructions [l].

THIS was put in execution; the chief men among them making no scruple to prostitute their daughters on this occasion [m]: and the stratagem succeeded but too well. For the *Israelites* were immediately taken with the charms of these fair idolatresses; and, abandoning themselves to them, were easily seduced to worship their false gods. This occasioned a dreadful plague, which destroyed 24,000 of them, besides those who were put to death by the order of *Moses* [n].

THEIR hiring of *Balaam* to curse *Israel* was the reason why the *Moabites* were not to be admitted to mix or intermarry with that people, as has been observed [o]; but the *Midianites*, who seem to have been more particularly the instruments of seducing them to idolatry, were more severely punished soon after, as will be related in a more proper place: and *Balaam* himself had his due reward, being slain by the *Israelites* when they took their revenge on *Midian* [p].

THE next action which is recorded of the *Moabites*, is, that they were the instruments of the second oppression of the *Israelites* after their settlement in the land of *Canaan*. For that people, on the death of *Othniel* the son of *Kenaz*, being without an head, returned again to idolatry; whereupon GOD raised up *Eglon* king of *Moab* to punish them. This prince, entering into an alliance with the *Ammonites* and *Amalekites*, invaded *Israel*; and, having made himself master of *the city of palm-trees*, that is, as interpreters generally understand it, of *Jericho* (P), kept the *Israelites* in subjection Year of the flood 1005. Bef. Chr. 1343.

[l] JOSEPH. antiq. l. iv. c. 6. [m] Numb. xxv. 15. [n] Ibid. ver. 1 — 5. [o] See before, p. 125. [p] Numb. xxxi. 8. JOSEPH. antiq. l. v. c. 5.

(P) *Jericho* was famous among other things for the great numbers of palm-trees of different kinds, which grew in its neighbourhood (62). *Josephus* says (63), that *Eglon* removed

(62) *Deut.* xxxiv. 3. *Joseph. de bello Jud. l.* v. *c.* 4. (63) *Idem, antiq. l.* v. c. 5.

ſubjection eighteen years. But God, upon their recurring to him, raiſed them up a deliverer, a *Benjamite*, named *Ehud*; who, being appointed by his countrymen to carry a preſent to *Eglon*, reſolved to lay hold of that opportunity, to deliver his people from the oppreſſion they had ſo long groaned under. Accordingly, having delivered the preſent to the king, and accompanied thoſe who had brought it, as far as the quarries near *Gilgal* (Q), on their way home, he returned from thence, pretending he had ſomething to impart to *Eglon* in private. Being thereupon admitted to the king's preſence, and the reſt all ordered to withdraw, he told him, that he had a meſſage to him from God; which *Eglon* riſing from his ſeat to receive, *Ehud* ſtabbed him in the belly with a dagger, which he had prepared, and concealed under his garment for that purpoſe (R). The wound was given with ſuch violence, that the haft went in after the blade; ſo that the fat cloſing upon it, for *Eglon* was very corpulent, *Ehud* was obliged to leave the dagger in his body. The ſervants, after *Ehud* was gone, having waited a long time at the door, which they found locked, opened it at laſt, and ſaw their maſter lying breathleſs on the floor. *Ehud* in the mean time eſcaped beyond *Jordan*, and, gathering together what forces he could, attacked the *Moabites* that were gariſoned on the weſt of the river within the land of *Canaan*, and ſlew ten thouſand of their beſt men; which utterly broke the power

his court to this city: but he ſeems to have been miſtaken: for after it had been burnt by *Joſhua* (64), who curſed the perſon that ſhould rebuild it (65), it lay in ruins till the days of *Ahab* (66). However, the place might ſerve for a gariſon to keep the country in awe, for which uſe it was very well ſituated.

(Q) The word *peſilim*, which in our verſion is rendered the *quarries*, is by the *Septuagint* tranſlated τὰ γλυπτὰ, and in the vulgate, *the idols*, *the ſculptures*, which ſome ſuppoſe to have been ſet up there by *Eglon* (67).

(R) This action of *Ehud* ſome juſtify, by ſuppoſing he had God's expreſs command for it (68). But as the Scripture intimates no ſuch thing, others think he might lawfully rid his country of a tyrant, who had unjuſtly enſlaved it, by any means (69). A poſition which may encourage aſſaſſinations in every caſe, where the actor judges the cauſe he engages in to be righteous.

(64) *Joſh.* vi. 24. (65) *Idem, ver.* 26. (66) 1 *Kings* xvi. 34. (67) *Chytræus, &c. See vol.* i. *p.* 170. *in the notes, in loc.* (68) *Vid. Patrick, in loc.* (69) *Cleric. in loc.*

of

of *Moab*, and freed the *Iſraelites* from the yoke of that nation [q].

We hear no more of the *Moabites* after this diſaſter, till the time of *Saul*, who warred againſt them with ſucceſs [r]. The enmity which ſubſiſted between him and this nation, probably induced *David*, when perſecuted by that prince, to ask the king of *Moab*'s protection for his parents, till his affairs ſhould be in a better poſture [s]; which the *Moabite* readily granted, and treated them with great hoſpitality, while *David* lay in the cave of *Adullam*. However, when he came to the crown, the *Moabites* entered into a confederacy againſt him with ſeveral of the neighbouring nations [t]: whereupon he declared war againſt them; and, having obtained a ſignal victory, put two thirds of them to the ſword (S), and made the reſt his vaſſals and tributaries [u].

From this time they continued ſubject to *Solomon* and *Rehoboam*, till the revolt of the ten tribes; upon which, it ſeems, they became tributaries to the kings of *Iſrael*, though they had all along kings of their own, who were little better than viceroys. *Meſha*, one of them, paid *Ahab* a yearly tribute of 100,000 lambs, and as many wethers, with the wool; his riches conſiſting chiefly in ſheep [w]. But, when *Ahab* was dead, he rebelled againſt his ſon *Ahaziah* [x], whoſe ſhort reign not permitting any attempt to reduce him, his brother and ſucceſſor *Jehoram*,

Year of the flood 1451. Bef. Chriſt 897.

[q] Judges iii. 12—30. [r] 1 Sam. xiv. 47. [s] 1 Sam. xxii. 3, 4. Joseph. antiq. l. vi. c. 14. [t] Pſal. lxxxiii. 5, 6, &c. [u] 2 Sam. viii. 2. 1 Chron. xviii. 2. Joseph. antiq. l. vii. c. 5. [w] 2 Kings iii. 4. [x] 2 Kings i. 1. and iii. 5.

(S) This is the meaning of the ſacred hiſtorian, when he ſays, *That David meaſured them with a line, caſting them down to the ground; even with two lines meaſured he, to put to death; and with one full line to keep alive.* It ſeems to have been a cuſtom in the eaſt, to order the priſoners of war to lie down, and to meaſure by a line ſuch of them, as they deſigned to put to death. *Le Clerc* thinks this, probably, was a juſt retaliation for ſome cruelties of the ſame kind, which the *Moabites* had been guilty of. As the Scripture does not ſay, whether *David* put to death two thirds of the whole nation, or only of thoſe who appeared in arms againſt him; it is more for the honour of that prince to ſuppoſe the latter (70).

(70) *Idem, in* 2 *Sam.* viii. 2.

aſſiſted by *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, and the king of *Edom* his tributary, made an expedition for that purpoſe, and took a compaſs of ſeven days march through the deſert of *Edom*, in order to ſurpriſe the enemy. Having reached the land of *Moab*, the army was diſtreſſed for want of water, and muſt have periſhed, had not the prophet *Eliſha* obtained a ſudden and large ſupply for them by a land-flood. The *Moabites*, being by this time alarmed, got together all that were able to bear arms; and, early in the morning, ſeeing the water to the weſtward look red, like blood, by reaſon of the reflexion of the ſun, and never ſuſpecting it to be water in that dry deſert, and in ſo great a quantity, they immediately took it to be blood; and, ſuppoſing the confederated princes had fallen out, and turned their arms againſt one another, concluded, they had no more to do than to take the ſpoil. On this imagination they ran in confuſion to the camp of *Iſrael*, but ſoon found their miſtake; for, not being able to ſuſtain the firſt attack of the *Iſraelites*, they preſently turned their backs, and great numbers of them were ſlain by the enemy, who purſued them into the very heart of their country, waſted their lands, and demoliſhed their cities, except *Kir-haraſeth*, where the king of *Moab* ſhut himſelf up. *Meſha*, being beſieged, and cloſely preſſed, made a ſally with 700 choice men, and endeavoured to eſcape, by breaking through the quarters of the *Edomites*, which were the weakeſt; but, failing in the attempt, in the height of deſpair, he took his eldeſt ſon, who ſhould have ſucceeded him in the throne, and offered him for a burnt-ſacrifice on the wall (T). Which barbarous act

(T) Several writers (71) ſuppoſe *Meſha* did not ſacrifice his own ſon, but the ſon of the king of *Edom*, whom, they ſay, he took in the ſally; and, that this is the ſame action with that mentioned by the prophet *Amos*, who threateneth *Moab*, *becauſe he burnt the bones of the king of* Edom *into lime* (72). But they ſeem to be different actions; for, not to inſiſt on the ſtrict acceptation of the two paſſages, one ſpeaking of a king of *Edom*, and the other of a king's ſon, it was a known cuſtom in antient times, for princes, in extreme calamities of the public, to offer their moſt beloved child as an expiatory ſacrifice, to avert the impending vengeance of the gods (73).

(71) *See the argument to the* iii *chap. of* 2 *Kings in the Engliſh Bible; and Uſher's annals, ad annum mundi* 3109. (72) *Amos* ii. 1. (73) *See vol.* i. *p.* 314. *Vid etiam Porphyr. de abſtin. l.* ii. *Ælian. var. hiſt. l.* xii. *c.* 28. *Juſtin. l.* xviii. *c.* 6. *Plut. in Pelopida, &c.*

raiſed

raiſed ſuch horror and indignation in his enemies, that they immediately raiſed the ſiege, and returned home [y].

It was not long before the *Moabites*, entering into an alliance with the *Ammonites*, the *Edomites* of mount *Seir*, and other neighbouring nations (U), attempted to revenge the loſſes they had ſuſtained in this invaſion, on *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, by whoſe aſſiſtance, chiefly, *Jehoram* had been enabled to undertake it. But though they had got within thirty miles of his capital, before he had any advice of their motions, yet their attempt proved unſucceſsful, and ended in their total ruin. For, upon *Jehoſhaphat*'s recurring to God, the enemy, ſeized with a kind of panic phrenzy, fell upon one another, and continued the ſlaughter with incredible fury, till they were all cut off [z], as we ſhall relate more at length elſewere.

After this we do not find that the *Moabites* diſturbed *Iſrael* for many years; however, between this and the reign of *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, they had invaded their

[y] Ibid. ver. 6, 27. Joseph. antiq. l. ix. c. 1. [z] 2 Chron. xx. 1.—25. Joseph. ubi ſupr.

(U) Who theſe nations were, is uncertain. The original word *Mehaammonim* ſhould be tranſlated (as it is in the *Vulgate*) *with the Ammonites*, were it not that the children of *Ammon* are mentioned before. To avoid the abſurdity of which repetition, the *Septuagint*, if the copies they followed were not different from the preſent *Hebrew* in this place, render it, *ſome of the* Minæans; of which name, *Bochart* ſuppoſes, there were two people, one of the race of *Shem*, dwelling in *Arabia felix*, and the other of the race of *Ham*, who ſettled in *Arabia Petræa*, and are meant in this place, being, as he thinks, by the *Jews* called *Meonim*, which word occurs in two places of the book of *Chronicles* (74) (tho' the *Engliſh* tranſlation in the firſt place takes it for an appellative, and renders it the *habitations*), and is in both by the *Septuagint* tranſlated *Minæans*. Wherefore *Bochart* prefers the *Greek* reading in the paſſage before us, to the *Hebrew*; being of opinion, that there is a tranſpoſition of the letters *mim* and *ain* (75). The *Chaldee* paraphraſt has it, *with the* Edomites. But there ſeems to be no occaſion for any change, ſince the particle prefixed may, agreeably to its force elſewhere, be rendered *beyond* or *beſides* (76); for which reaſon the *Engliſh* verſion is judged to have rightly interpreted the words, *and others beſides the* Ammonites.

[f] (74) 1 *Chron.* iv. 41. 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 7. (75) *Bochart, phaleg, l.* ii. c. 23. (76) *Vide Cleric. in loc.*

neighbours

neighbours of *Edom*; and, having overcome them, inhumanly burnt their king (whether alive or dead, is not ſaid), and reduced his bones to aſhes: for which piece of cruelty God denounced ſevere judgments againſt them by the prophet *Amos* [a]. And, on the declenſion of the kingdom of *Iſrael*, they alſo ſeem to have retaken from the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad* great part of the land, which had formerly belonged to them before the invaſion of *Sihon*; for, in the prophecies of *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah* againſt *Moab*, ſeveral cities in thoſe territories are mentioned, as then in the poſſeſſion of that nation, or of the *Ammonites* [b], who were probably their confederates in oppreſſing the *Iſraelites*. Theſe ſucceſſes elated the *Moabites* ſo much, that, for their pride and inſolence, God threatened them with utter deſtruction, by ſeveral of his prophets [c]: and *Iſaiah*, in particular, foretold, that within three years, *Ar* and *Kir-Haraſheth*, two of their principal cities, ſhould be deſtroyed, and the reſt of their country brought to contempt and deſolation [d]. This prophecy, as it is dated in the firſt year of king *Hezekiah* [e], muſt have been executed the very year that *Samaria* was firſt beſieged by *Shalmaneſer* king of *Aſſyria*, who probably ſubjected *Moab*, and placed gariſons in thoſe towns, to ſtop the incurſions, which the *Arabs* might that way make, before he began the ſiege [f].

AFTER the dreadful deſtruction of the army of *Sennacherib* the ſon of *Shalmaneſer*, the *Moabites* often revolted from his ſucceſſors, and were as often reduced, till they were intirely ſubdued by *Nebuchadnezzar*, into whoſe hands their king was given, according to a prediction of *Jeremiah* [g], the fifth year after his taking *Jeruſalem* [h]. For the *Babyloniſh* yoke ſat ſo uneaſy on them, that tho' they took advantage of the low condition of *Judah*, and miſſed few or no opportunities of haraſſing that nation [i], yet, on *Nebuchadnezzar*'s departure from *Judea* and *Syria*, after his ſecond expedition into thoſe parts, they, with the other neighbouring nations, propoſed to *Zedekiah* to enter into a league with him againſt the *Chaldeans*; which that prince [k], notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of *Jeremiah* to the contrary, conſenting to,

[a] Amos ii. 1, 2, 3. [b] Iſaiah xv. & xvi. Jerem. lxviii. [c] Ibid. & Ezek. xxv. 8, and 9. Zeph. ii. 8, 9, 10, 11. [d] Iſai. xv. 1. xvi. 7. [e] Ibid. c. xiv. 28. [f] Vide PRID. connect. part i. b. i. p. 18. [g] Jerem. xxvii. 3—6. xxv. 21. [h] JOSEPH. antiq. l. x. c. 11. [i] 2 Kings xxiv. 2. [k] Jerem. xxvii. 12, &c.

on the acceſſion of the *Egyptians* to their confederacy, it became the occaſion of his utter ruin; his new allies deſerting him in his diſtreſs.

FROM this time hiſtory makes very little mention of the *Moabites*, who were henceforward ſubject to the great empires; and, at length, became one people with the neighbouring nations which inhabit the deſerts of *Syria*: ſo that though *Joſephus* mentions the *Moabites* as a diſtinct nation long after, ſaying, they were ſubdued by *Alexander Jannæus* king of the *Jews*[l], and tells us, they were a numerous nation, even in his time[m]; yet, in the third century after CHRIST, they had loſt their antient name, and were comprehended under the more general denomination of *Arabians*[n].

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of Ammon.

THIS people were the poſterity of *Ammon*, otherwiſe called *Ben Ammi* (tho' that is not poſitively known), ſignifying *the ſon of my people* our kindred, the offspring of *Lot* and his younger daughter[o]. We have taken notice of this inceſtuous birth, in ſpeaking of *Moab*, the ſon of the elder ſiſter by her father[p].

THE children of *Ammon* poſſeſſed themſelves of the country, called, after their own name, *Ammonitis*, bordering on the northern part of *Moabitis*, after having driven out the *Zamzummims*, as they called them, who were giants, and the antient inhabitants of the land[q]. This country[r], as well as *Moabitis*, is, by ſome, reckoned a part of *Cœleſyria*[s], and, by others, of *Arabia*. But we ſhall ſpeak of it at length in our deſcription of *Judea*. *Of the country poſſeſſed by the Ammonites.*

WE are almoſt utterly unacquainted with the manners and cuſtoms of this people. They had kings, and were circumciſed[t], and ſeem to have been principally addicted to husbandry. They, as well as the *Moabites*, were among the nations, whoſe peace or proſperity the *Iſraelites* were not to diſturb. Neither the one nor the other were to be admitted into the congregation to the tenth generation; ſo wide was the diſtance between the *Iſraelites* and them! The reaſon, becauſe they did not come out to relieve

[l] JOSEPH. de bello Jud. l. i. c. 4. [m] Idem ant. l. i. c. 10.
[n] ORIGEN. in Job. l. i. [o] Gen. xix. 38. [p] See before, p. 125.
[q] Deuter. ii. 20. [r] JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 16.
[s] Steph. de urb. in Ἀμμων. [t] Jerem. ix. 25, 26.

lieve them in the wilderneſs; and becauſe they jointly hired *Balaam* to curſe them [i]. However, we find there was afterwards a very good underſtanding between their king *Nahaſh* and *David* [k].

Their religion.

THE religion of the *Ammonites*, as we have already obſerved concerning that of the *Moabites*, was originally as pure as it could flow from ſo clear a ſtream as the inſtruction of *Lot*; but they alſo ſwerved from it by degrees, and at length degenerated into the moſt ſtupid, and, as is generally ſuppoſed, the moſt cruel idolatry.

THEIR chief and peculiar deity is, in the Scripture, called *Molech*, or *Moloch*. He is alſo thought to be underſtood under the names of *Baal*, *Milcom*, *Melech*, *Adramelech*, *Anamelech*, and the like. Theſe names, or titles, ſignify no more than lord, or king; and ſometimes have an epithet prefixed to them, as in the two laſt, where he is ſtiled the *mighty* and *rich Melech*, *Moloch*, or king: theſe two were the gods of the *Sepharvites*. We ſhall only ſpeak of the *Ammonitiſh Moloch* in this place. The learned are not poſitively agreed in what relates to him. It is on all hands allowed, that they addreſſed him under the title of king, or *Moloch* [l]. His image is ſaid to have been hollow, and divided into ſeven receptacles. The firſt was opened for an offering of fine flour; the ſecond for an offering of turtles; the third for a ſheep; the fourth for a ram; the fifth for a calf; the ſixth for an ox; the ſeventh for a child. It had the head of an ox, and the arms of a man ſtretched out in act to receive [m] (A). Theſe

[i] Deut. xxxiii. 4. [k] 2 Sam. x. 2. [l] Vide Voss. de idololat. & SELDEN. de diis Syr. ſyntag. i. c. 6. [m] PAUL. FAGIUS apud eund. ubi ſupr.

(A) An antient *Jewiſh* traveller ſays, "that when he "was in theſe parts, there were "yet ſtanding remains of the "antient temple of the *Am-* "*monites*, and therein their "idol ſeated upon a throne. "This idol was of ſtone, gilt "over with gold, and had on "each hand the image of a "woman in a ſitting poſture "(77): before the idol was "the altar, on which the *Am-* "*monites* offered their ſacri- "fices and incenſe." *Selden* thinks this idol, and this temple cannot be thought to have been erected to *Moloch*, that moſt antient deity of the *Ammonites* (78). And, indeed, we think this traveller muſt have been ſome way or other impoſed on, or miſtaken. However, we muſt not apprehend

(77) *Benjamin itinerar.* (78) *In ſyntag. prim. de diis Syr.*

Theſe ſeven receptacles are alſo called ſeven chapels; and, inſtead of being within the image itſelf, are placed orderly before it [n]. Whatever was the diſpoſition of theſe ſeven places, their number correſponding with that of the ſun, moon, and five other planets, has given room to ſuppoſe, that they worſhiped the ſun [o]; and the rather, as the oblations ſeem to riſe in ſuch proportion, as might beſt anſwer the degree of each of theſe heavenly bodies. But it were endleſs to expatiate in conjectures upon ſo obſcure a ſubject, as the learned have done. Some accounts there are farther concerning this idol, but they are very doubtful (B). *Chemoſh* alſo was a god of the *Ammonites*, concerning whom we have ſaid already all we can [p].

As to the ſuperſtitions paid to *Moloch*, there is great diſagreement among authors. By the Scripture it is often ſaid, that the *Ammonites paſſed their ſeed thro' fire to* Moloch. This expreſſion is taken in a literal ſenſe by ſome, in a figurative ſenſe by others. The firſt ſentiment is embraced by the *Jewiſh* writers (C), who, for the moſt part hold, that the children were barely carried or led between two fires, by way of purification: the latter is adopted by

[n] See BEDFORD's Script. chronol. p. 259. [o] Vide Voss. ubi ſupra. [p] See before, p. 125—127.

that the images of *Moloch* were always large and fixed: they were likewiſe ſmall and portable, and carried up and down in ſhrines, according to appearance, and as the cuſtom was with other idolaters, as will be obſerved in due times (79).

(B) To give the reader the various opinions of ſome learned men, *Moloch* has been taken for *Priapus*, for *Mercury*, for *Saturn*, and for *Venus*, or the morning ſtar (80). But, as fancy chiefly rules over theſe conjectures, it is enough, that we barely mention them.

(C) Some of the *Jewiſh* writers hold, That the children were ſolemnly delivered to the prieſts; who, upon their returning them, were carried by their parents upon their ſhoulders, between two fires. According to others, the prieſts carried them. A very eminent *Jewiſh* writer ſays, "That "the prieſts, or ſervants of "fire, perſuaded men, that "their children would die, if "they did not paſs them thro' "fire: wherefore, parents be"ing anxious for the lives of "their children, and perceiving "there was neither danger nor "difficulty in performing the "ceremony, no one neglected "it, conſidering, that the chil"dren were not to be con"ſumed by fire, but only to

(79) *Vide eund. ibid.* (80) *Vide Voſſ. de idolatria, lib.* ii. *c.* 5.

"paſs

by the Chriſtian writers chiefly who think, that they actually burnt their children, by way of ſacrifice to this grim idol. There was a place near *Jeruſalem*, where this horrid cuſtom was obſerved. It was called the *valley of the ſons of Hinnom* [p] (D), ſo named from the ſhrieks of the children ſacrificed: as alſo *Topheth* [q], from a *Hebrew* word, *toph*, ſignifying a drum or tabret, which they uſed among other inſtruments to drown the dreadful outcries of the unhappy victims.

They drive out the Zamzummims. As the *Moabites* drove out the *Emims*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of their country, ſo the *Ammonites* forced the *Zuzims* or *Zamzummims*, as they called them, from their habitations, and ſettled there. Theſe *Zamzummims*, as well as the *Emims*, are ſtiled giants [r], and were, doubtleſs, both derived from the ſame ſtock [s]. This gigantic race had been invaded by *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam* [t]; and, perhaps, his having deſtroyed great numbers of them, rendered it the more eaſy for the children of *Ammon* to diſlodge the reſt. When this expulſion was effected, or in what manner, we know not. However, the *Ammonites* them-

[p] 2 Chron. xxviii. 3. [q] 2 Kings xxiii. 10. [r] Deut. ii. 20, 21. [s] See before, p. 128. [t] Gen. xiv. 5.

" paſs through it (81)." This alſo is the opinion of *Solomon Yarhi*, *Joſeph Karo*, and others; but *Aben Ezra*, diſſenting from them, affirms, that *paſſing thro' fire* muſt be here underſtood of *burning*. *Voſſius* inſiſts on it, that where-ever the expreſſion of *paſſing through fire* is met with, it muſt be taken in the ſtrictneſs of the letter; but allows, that in caſes of great calamity, and upon other particular occaſions, they gave up their offspring as an expiatory ſacrifice to their god (82). *Selden* is of a quite different ſentiment, and will have it, that they not only led their children through fire, but burnt them alſo at the ſame time. This he proves, as far as a matter of this nature can be aſcertained (83). Upon the whole, remembering how common a practice it was to offer up theſe unnatural oblations among ſome of the neighbouring nations, the ſame may probably have prevailed among the *Ammonites*.

(D) This valley was a delightful place, watered by the ſprings of *Siloah*. It was ſhady, and beautified with gardens. And, indeed, it is remarkable, that the heathens commonly choſe fountain-heads and ſolemn groves for the ſcenes of the homage they paid their deities. This cuſtom our author ſuppoſes they borrowed from the *Ammonites* (84).

(81) *Moſes Maim. more nevoch. lib.* iii. *c.* 38. (82) *Vid. Voſſ. ubi ſupr.* (83) *Vide Seld. ubi ſupr.* (84) *Hieron. in Jerem. c.* vii. 32.

ſelves

ſelves underwent the ſame fate in the days of *Moſes*, being diſpoſſeſſed by *Sihon* the *Amorite*, who drove them into the mountains.

THE names of their firſt kings do not occur. They joined *Eglon* king of *Moab* againſt *Iſrael*[u], and ſhared in the ſucceſſes of that war; but who was their leader, at that time, is not ſaid. *Their hiſtory.*

ABOUT 150 years after, we find the *Ammonites* engaged as principals in a war, under an anonymous king, againſt the *Iſraelites*. This prince reſolved to attempt the recovery of the antient country of the *Ammonites*, made a ſudden irruption into it; and, bearing all down before him, reduced the land, and kept the inhabitants 18 years in ſubjection[w]. Encouraged by his firſt ſucceſs, he croſſed the *Jordan* (E), in order to fall upon the tribes of *Judah*, *Benjamin*, and *Ephraim*[x]. But, in the mean time, the *Iſraelites*, turning to GOD, were inſpired with courage to oppoſe the inſulting invader. Accordingly, they aſſembled at *Mizpeh*, whence *Jephthah*, whom they had choſen for their general, ſent an expoſtulatory meſſage to the king of the *Ammonites*. The king anſwered, that thoſe lands belonged to the *Ammonites*, who had been unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed of them by the *Iſraelites*, when they came out of *Egypt*; and therefore exhorted him to reſtore them peaceably to the lawful owners. Hereupon *Jephthah* ſent him a ſecond meſſage, endeavouring to convince him of the injuſtice of his claim by an hiſtorical account of what had paſſed on the occaſion the *Ammonite* had mentioned. But, finding him bent, at all events, upon war, he fell upon him near *Aroer*; and, having put his army to flight, purſued the fugitives with great ſlaughter, as far as *the plain of the vineyards*[y]. The *Ammonites* loſt on this occaſion twenty cities. And thus, after eighteen years bondage, an end was put to the tyranny of *Ammon* over the *Iſraelites* beyond the *Jordan*. *They war with the* Iſraelites *under an anonymous king.* Year of the flood 1160. Bef. Chriſt 1188.

THE next of their kings we find mentioned, is called NAHASH. He flouriſhed in the days of *Saul*, from whom Nahaſh *king.*

[u] See before, p. 133. [w] Judg. x. 8. [x] JOSEPH. antiq. lib. v. c. 9. [y] Judg. xi. 33.

(E) There is a very conſiderable difference here between the Scripture and *Joſephus*. He ſays, the *Ammonites* and the *Philiſtines* had only prepared to croſs the river *Jordan*. The Scripture ſays, the *Ammonites* did actually croſs over to fight with *Judah*, and *Benjamin*, and *Ephraim*; ſo that the *Iſraelites* were in great diſtreſs.

he

Year of the flood 1253. Bef Chriſt 1095.

he received the juſt reward of his great inſolence and barbarity. For, reviving the old claim upon the territory inhabited by the *Iſraelites* on the other ſide *Jordan*, he waged war with them; and, being at firſt attended with great ſucceſs, he even laid ſiege to the city of *Jabeſh*. The terror of his arms was ſo great, that the inhabitants were at once for throwing themſelves at his feet, and acknowleging him for their lord and king. This ſubmiſſion, which would have mollified a generous heart, ſerved only to harden his. He would hearken to them upon no other condition, than their conſenting every one to the loſs of his right eye, that in them he might ſtigmatize the whole body of *Iſrael*. The inhabitants anſwered, That if he would allow them but ſeven days to endeavour a deliverance from him, they would ſubmit to his terms after the expiration of that time, if none was found to deliver them. This he granted them, and, ſecure within himſelf, waited for the cruel ſatisfaction he propoſed ſhortly to enjoy. But he was aſſaulted in three ſeveral parts of his camp by *Saul*, very early on the eighth morning, when he expected to ſee the inhabitants marching out to him, as they deceitfully told him they ſhould the night before; and his army was thrown into ſuch confuſion, that the *Iſraelites* had little elſe to do but to put them to the ſword. Inſtead of a battle, it is termed a ſlaughter, which laſted till the heat of the day; at which time the ſurviving remnant of *Nahaſh*'s army was ſo diſperſed, that no-where two of them were to be ſeen together [z]. Thus ended this war. We are informed, that *Nahaſh* did ſome kindneſſes to king *David*. *Joſephus* differs from Scripture in his account of this war (F).

Hanun *king.*

HANUN ſucceeded his father *Nahaſh* (G) in the kingdom; but whether this *Nahaſh* be the very ſame who was defeated by *Saul* at *Jabeſh*, we are not told. However this

[z] 1 Sam. xi. 11.

(F) *Joſephus* writes, that *Nahaſh* began this war, and carried it on, for ſome time, with the violences uſual in the like caſes, and with this political addition, of plucking out the right eyes of all thoſe he took, that they might loſe the uſe of their bucklers, which covered the left eye, or the uſe of that eye too; and ſo reduce them to a ſlavery for life, ſeeing they would be unable to defend themſelves. This hiſtorian ſeems here to be quite wide of the ſenſe of the ſacred text.

(G) Notwithſtanding *Joſephus* informs us, that *Nahaſh* was killed upon the breaking-up

this was, we are informed, that *Nahaſh*, the father of *Hanun*, lived in friendſhip with *David*; who no ſooner heard, that *Nahaſh* was dead, and that his ſon had ſucceeded him, than, for his father's ſake, he ſent embaſſadors to the young king, to condole with him for his loſs, to congratulate him upon his acceſſion, and to offer a continuance of the friendſhip which had been cultivated between the late king and him. *Hanun* ſeems to have been a weak prince, and had very ignorant counſellors about him. For when he received theſe compliments from king *David* by the mouth of his embaſſadors, inſtead of improving them to advantage, he took a falſe ſtep, which he never could recover. He was ſo far from entertaining theſe embaſſadors with the hoſpitality and decency which became him, that he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, they were no better than ſpies; and accordingly, forgetting the ſacredneſs of their character, he ſhaved off half of their beards, cut away their garments ſhort, and, in that ſhameful diſguiſe, ſent them back to their king. This amazing defect in policy, and contempt of *David*, in open defiance of the laws of nature, hoſpitality, and gratitude, occaſioned a war [z], which brought deſtruction upon him and his kingdom.

Year of the flood 1313. Bef. Chriſt 1035.

He was ſoon informed, how grievouſly *David* reſented the affront, and what preparations he was making to chaſtize him for it. *Hanun*, therefore, perceiving himſelf on the brink of a war, to which he, ſingly, was unequal, diſpatched embaſſadors to the neigbouring princes, to hire and ſolicit the aſſiſtance of troops from them, to enable him to withſtand the invaſion which threatened his kingdom. What the troops he procured were, either in quality or number, is not certainly known, ſince the Scripture ſeems to vary concerning them (H). *Firſt*, we are told,

[z] 2 Sam. x. 2--4. 1 Chron. xix. 2--4. Joseph. antiq. l. vii. c. 6.

up of the ſiege of *Jabeſh* (85), we cannot forbear thinking, that he lived many years afterwards, and was the father of this *Hanun*. His behaviour at *Jabeſh* ſpeaks him to have been a raſh, hot-headed young man at that time, and he might naturally enough have lived fifty or threeſcore years afterwards. We are ſeemingly ſupported in our opinion by the Scripture itſelf.

(H) This we cannot pretend to account for, nor do we know that it was ever cleared by any

(85) *Joſeph. antiq. lib.* vii. *c.* 6.

told, that *Hanun* ſent to the *Syrians* of *Beth-rehob*, and to the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, from whom he had twenty thouſand footmen; to the king of *Maachah*, who furniſhed one thouſand men; and to the king of *Iſhtob*, who ſent twelve thouſand men [a]. With this *Joſephus* agrees pretty well in reſpect to number, retrenching only the one thouſand men ſupplied by the king of *Maachah*, and allowing him and the king of *Iſhtob* to have contributed twelve thouſand men between them [b]. Whence, inſtead of making the number of theſe mercenaries to have amounted to thirty-three thouſand, as the Scripture does, he gives them at thirty-two thouſand. *Again*, we are told, that *Hanun* ſent a thouſand talents of ſilver, therewith to hire chariots and horſemen out of *Meſopotamia*, and out of *Syria Maachah*, and out of *Zobah*; and that he actually hired thirty-two thouſand chariots, beſides the king of *Maachah*'s men [c]. Between *Joſephus* and this paſſage of Scripture there is a more material difference than before: he ſays, thoſe who came out of *Meſopotamia* were footmen [d]. Here alſo we ſee the Scripture keeps to the number of thirty-three thouſand. However, though the number be the ſame as before, the difference is very great. But let us proceed to the actions and event of this war.

HANUN, having thus drawn a conſiderable force from the neighbouring countries, and raiſed an army of his own ſubjects, marched out of *Rabbah* to fight *Joab*, whom *David* had ſent at the head of his army. The *Ammonites* and their auxiliaries drew up in two diſtinct bodies; *(viz.)* the *Ammonites* under the walls of their city, and the auxiliaries at ſome diſtance on the plain. By this diſpoſition they thought to have charged *Joab*'s front, and, at the ſame time, to have fallen upon his rear; but their deſign was fruſtrated. For the *Ammonites* were attacked by *Abiſhai*, *Joab*'s brother, whilſt *Joab* himſelf charged the *Syrians*. The *Ammonites* (E) ſuſtained *Abiſhai*'s charge with

[a] 2 Sam. ubi ſupr. ver. 6.
[b] JOSEPH. antiq. ubi ſup.
[c] 1 Chron. ubi ſupr. ver. 6, 7.
[d] Ubi ſupra.

one in a ſatisfactory manner. *Haderezer* is in Scripture mentioned as the chief prince of the *Syrian* nations. *Joſephus* ſpeaks of one *Syrus* as chief, and calls him king of *Meſopotamia* (86).

(86) *Ibid. lib.* vii. *b.*

(E) In what concerns this battle, we reject *Joſephus* (1), and chuſe to interpret the Scripture according to reaſon, and the nature of things. He ſays, the *Ammonites*, perceiving their allies to be routed, hurried into

(1) *Antiq. lib.* vii. *c.* 7.

with great reſolution and intrepidity, till, perceiving their *Syrian* friends to give ground, they thought it adviſeable to return into their city.

THE next year their *Syrian* allies, aſhamed of their laſt defeat, made head again (F); but, being utterly routed by *David* in perſon, the *Ammonites* were left to defend themſelves againſt the violent but juſt reſentment of their injured enemy[d]; which fell heavy upon them; for the very next year, the third of this war, the country was entered by *Joab*, who haraſſed and waſted it far and wide; and at length beſieged *Hanun* in *Rabbah*, the capital of his kingdom: the place held out about two years, during which, *Hanun* made one deſperate ſally, and cut off many of the beſiegers, and, among the reſt, *Uriah* the huſband of *Bathſheba*. At length the city was reduced to the utmoſt extremities of famine, and ſtormed by *David* in perſon, who came to have the honour of completing the work. In the

[d] Sam. ubi ſupra. JOSEPH. antiq. ubi ſupra.

their city without ſtriking a ſtroke. Partiality for his forefathers might perhaps have tempted him to repreſent them ſo very formidable to their enemies. But can it be ſuppoſed, that when *Joab* divided his army between his brother and himſelf, they did not advance with an equal pace each againſt his oppoſite? and eſpecially, as *Joſephus* allows, that the *Syrians* ſtood their ground till a conſiderable ſlaughter was made among them, which could not be the work of a minute: *Abiſhai* muſt have moved on very ſlowly, if, before the *Syrians* were broken, he did not charge the *Ammonites*. On the other ſide, the *Ammonites*, who were principals in this war, if they had perceived *Abiſhai* afraid to give them battle, or ſeemingly ſo, and at the ſame time beheld their auxiliaries in a furious and doubtful conflict with *Joab*, they muſt have had ſenſe and courage enough to march up to *Abiſhai*, and force him to battle, before the *Syrians* began to fly. If the whole ſtory be well conſidered, it is not to be imagined that *Abiſhai* and the *Ammonites* kept looking at one another, or, what is next of kin to it, made very ſlow advances towards each other.

(F) Thus it appears by Scripture, which turning the tables makes the *Syrians* principals in this war, rather avenging their laſt overthrow than eſpouſing the cauſe of the *Ammonites*. *Joſephus* ſtrays here again very unaccountably. He makes the *Ammonites* ſend to one *Balama*, a king of the *Syrians*, beyond the *Euphrates*, for another army thrice as big as that they hired before (z).

(z) *Ubi ſupra.*

aſſault *Hanun* was ſlain; and his crown, which weighed a talent of gold (113 pounds 10 ounces one peny-weight 10⅞ grains of our troy-weight [e]), and was adorned with precious ſtones, a ſardonyx, *Joſephus* ſays, was taken from off his head by *David*. What other ſpoil was found in this metropolis is no-where ſpecified. The inhabitants were treated with extraordinary ſeverity, being led out and put to death with the moſt exquiſite torments; harrowed, ſawn, hacked with axes, and paſſed through the brick-kiln. This dreadful uſage extended to the reſt of the cities of *Ammon* (G), which held out againſt the conqueror; all ſuch ſharing in the fate of the city of *Rabbah*, which was deſtroyed, and laid level with the ground [f].

AFTER this dreadful vengeance and execution, it is no wonder we hear nothing of a king of *Ammon*, nor indeed of the nation itſelf, till the reign of *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*. At this time we find them united with their brethren the *Moabites*, and the inhabitants of mount *Seir*, againſt the ſaid king of *Judah*. The particulars of this war, and how it ended, we have given in the hiſtory of *Moab* [g].

AFTER this they were overthrown by, and made tributary to, *Uzziah* king of *Judah* [h].

THE *Ammonites* bore this yoke as long as *Uzziah* lived, but in the reign of his ſon *Jotham* they had an anonymous king over them, who ſtirred them up to rebellion againſt him. The nation at this time muſt have been pretty well recovered, and having a martial prince at their head, they reſolved to free themſelves from the oppreſſions of their old enemies in *Judah*. The event was unhappy; they were overthrown in battle, and were reduced to compound for their peace with *Jotham*, by paying a tribute of 100 talents of ſilver, 10,000 meaſures of wheat, and as many of barley [i]; in all, about 160,000 of our buſhels: and this ſame tribute did they pay for three ſucceſſive years [k].

AT length, when the *Babylonians* grew mighty, and threatened all the kingdoms of this part of *Aſia* with ſub-

[e] See ARBUTH. tab. of an. coins, weights, and meaſures, tab. xx. [f] See 2 Sam. xii. 29, 31. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra, c. 7. 1 Chron. xx. [g] See before, p. 136, 137. [h] 2 Chron. xxvi. 8. JOSEPH. antiq. l. ix. c. 11. [i] Vid. ARBUTH. ubi ſupra. [k] Idem ubi ſupra.

(G) The Scripture ſays it extended to all the cities of *Ammon*; but we cannot forbear thinking that this expreſſion means only all ſuch as held out obſtinately, and defied the king of *Iſrael*; and herein we are ſupported by *Joſephus*.

jection,

jection, they perhaps entertained thoughts of withſtanding the common enemy with their joint force; and hence might ariſe a good underſtanding between *Baalis* the laſt king of *Ammon*, and *Zedekiah* the laſt king of *Judah* [l]. But when deſtruction came upon *Zedekiah* and *Jeruſalem*, the *Ammonites* exulted over the ruins of that unhappy city [m], for which they were ſeverely threatened by the prophet [n]. It was not eaſy for them to forbear it, conſidering the inveterate enmity which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the nations. However, *Baalis* received all the *Jews* that fled into his dominions to avoid the captivity, and, among thoſe, one *Iſhmael*, of the royal blood, whoſe intereſt he pretended to have much at heart. And to give him an inſtance of his readineſs to aſſiſt him, with his counſel at leaſt, he adviſed him to go back again into his own country, and aſſaſſinate *Gedaliah*, whom the *Babylonians* had ſet over the poor remnant of the *Jews*. By thus ſtirring up a pretender, he ſeems to have aimed at the utter extirpation of the nation, either out of a pure deſire of revenge, or with ſome view to his own advantage. His counſel was put in execution; but the aſſaſſin was obliged to fly back again to *Baalis*, who received him into his protection [o]. *Baalis* lived not long unpuniſhed for having been acceſſary to the murder of the innocent *Gedaliah*: for, a ſhort time after, he was attacked by *Nebuzaradan* the *Babylonian* general, who put his country to fire and ſword, deſtroyed his chief city *Rabbah*, and carried away him and moſt of the nobles of *Ammon* into captivity, as had been propheſied by *Amos*: *I will kindle a fire in the wall of* Rabbah, *and it ſhall devour the palaces thereof*; *and their* king *ſhall go into captivity, he and his* princes *together, ſaith the* LORD [p]: and *Ezekiel*: *And I will deliver thee for a ſpoil unto the men of the eaſt, and will give them the* Ammonites *in poſſeſſion, that the* Ammonites *may not be remembred among the nations* [q].

THIS laſt prophecy was in due time completed, their name being, in the end, blotted out from the book of nations. But, in the mean time, they are mentioned as conjoined with the *Arabians*, *Moabites*, and *Samaritans*, in giving all the diſturbance they were able to the rebuilding of the temple of *Jeruſalem*; which they endeavoured

[l] 2 Chron. xxvii. 5. [m] See Jerem. xxvii. 3. [n] See Ezek. xxv. [o] See Jerem. c. xl. xli. [p] Amos i. 14, 15. [q] Ezek. xxv. 7—10.

to prevent as much as in them lay. One *Tobiah*, called the ſervant, is ſaid to have been then at their head [q].

As they lived in peace and quietneſs under the great monarchies, in proceſs of time they grew to be more conſiderable; and in the days of *Judas Maccabeus*, were aſſembled againſt that general in a very great army, under their governor *Timotheus*. They came to a battle, wherein *Timotheus* and the *Ammonites* were worſted, and the ſame ill-fortune attended them in other ſubſequent conflicts under the ſame leader, and againſt the ſame enemy. In the end their city *Jaſer* (it was not antiently reckoned a city of theirs), and the neighbouring towns, fell a prey to the *Jews*, who ſmote the men, carried their wives and children into captivity, and plundered and burnt the city of *Jaſer*; and thus ended this, as it ſeems, their laſt warfare with the deſcendants of *Iſrael* [r].

NEVERTHELESS, towards the beginning of the ſecond century of the chriſtian *æra*, they were thought worthy of being called a numerous nation [s]; but, towards the latter end of the ſame, their name vaniſhed, and they themſelves were blended with the *Arabians* [t]; as were alſo the *Moabites*, *Edomites*, and others.

SECT. III.

The hiſtory of Midian, *or* Madian.

Their deſcent.

IT is generally agreed that this people drew their origin from *Midian*, the fourth ſon of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, from whom they were called *Midianites*. He received large gifts from his father, as did the reſt of his brethren; and was, as well as they, ſent into the eaſt country, to be at a proper diſtance from *Iſaac* [a]. The ſons of *Midian* were *Ephah*, and *Epher*, and *Henoch*, and *Abidah*, and *Eldaah* [b].

THE *Midianites* were, in their moſt early times, evidently confounded with the *Iſhmaelites* [c]; and, many ages afterwards, they are mentioned in conjunction with the

[q] See Nehem. ii. iv. vi. xiii. See 1 Macc. v. 6—8. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xii. c. 11, 12. PRIDEAUX connect. part ii. book iv. p. 212. [s] Vide JUST. MART. in dial. cum Tryph. p. 272. [t] ORIG. l. i. in Job. [a] Gen. xx. 2, 6. 1 Chron. i. 32. [b] Ibid. ver. 33. Gen. xxv. 4. [c] See Gen. xxxvii. 25—28. Judg. viii. 24.

Nabateans

Nabateans and *Kedarenes*, the poſterity of *Näbaïoth* and *Kedar*, the ſons of *Iſhmael*[d]. Doubtleſs, remembring their kindred, they adhered to each other, and were blended together. On the other hand, we find them to have been ſo incorporated, as it were, with the *Moabites*, that *Moſes* almoſt conſidered them as but one nation[e]. Their religion was the ſame, and they acted in the ſtricteſt concert together againſt him and the *Iſraelites*. The ties of blood united them likewiſe, as on the one ſide they were deſcended from *Abraham*, and on the other from *Lot*. So, juſt as they happened to live in the northern or ſouthern parts of their country, they joined either the *Moabites* or the *Iſhmaelites*.

THE *Midianites* were a very numerous race, and may be diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts, ſhepherds and merchants. The ſhepherds moved up and down in tents, and drove their cattle before them, even when they went to war[n]. The merchants alſo travelled from place to place in companies[o], or caravans, as the merchants of thoſe parts do at this day, and left the care of their cattle to the women, as appears by the ſtory of *Jethro*'s daughters (A). The ſhepherds, it is likely, had few or no fixed habitations, except ſome ſtrongholds near their borders: the merchants probably had few or none but marts and ſtations, in places convenient for their trade. Theſe grew to be exceeding rich; and, by exchanging their gold and jewels with their brethren for their cattle, the ſhepherds became rich in precious ornaments[p]. Their manners muſt have been in many reſpects as different as their way of life: however, *Their manners.*

[d] Iſa. lx. 6, 7. [e] See Gen. xxxvi. 35. 1 Chron. i. 46. [n] See Judg. vi. 5. [o] See Gen. xxxvii. 28. [p] See Numb. xxxi. 50, 51, 52. Judg. viii. 24.

(A) That ſtory ſeems to inform us, that the men in the ſouth part of *Midian* were not ſhepherds; and therefore we imagine they were merchants. *Joſephus* expreſly tells us, that it was the cuſtom of the women in this part (which he, by miſtake, calls *Troglodytica*) to overlook the cattle; though indeed in this he ſeemingly contradicts what he ſays but a line or two before, *viz.* that the ſhepherds of the country were continually at ſtrife which ſhould get firſt ſerved with water; and from thence infers the irregularity committed upon *Jethro*'s daughters (1).

(1) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* ii. *c.* 11.

they are in general repreſented to have been very ſumptuous in their apparel. We read of their *jewels of gold, chains, bracelets, rings, ear-rings, tablets*[q], *the purple raiment of their kings, and the gold chains or collars round the neck of their camels*[r].

Their learning. IT appears very plain from *Job*, that the uſe of writing was very early known in theſe parts[s], among the deſcendants of *Abraham*; and the *Midianites* being alſo of the number, we cannot ſuppoſe them to have been unacquainted with it. Sir *Iſaac Newton* allows them the honour of inſtructing *Moſes* in writing[t]. The merchants muſt alſo have been verſed in ſome kind of arithmetic; and there being ſhips on the *Mediterranean* ſo early as the days of the patriarch *Jacob*[u], and theſe being themſelves traders, and ſituated on the *Red Sea*, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they could refrain from ſhip-building, and viewing the ſhores of their own ſea, and the contiguous coaſts. From hence we may naturally enough extend the circle of their ſciences beyond bare writing and arithmetic, and allow them a competent ſkill in geography, geometry, and aſtronomy.

Their religion. IT is plain that the *Midianites* varied as much from each other in matter of religion, as in their manner of life. At firſt they were, no doubt, pure and right in their way; how long they perſevered in it is not ſaid. But in the days of *Moſes* they wallowed in all the abominations of the *Moabites*[w]; thoſe we mean who were neareſt to that idolatrous nation; nay, they exceeded them in their endeavours to pervert the children of *Iſrael* when they lay in the plains of *Moab*, in perſuading them to bow down to *Peor*[x]; but we are indeed told, that *Peor* was worſhiped by the *Midianitiſh* women chiefly[y]. Thus ſtood religion in the north of *Midian*. Now in the ſouth we find them enlightened by a rational and ſublime ſyſtem, long after their brethren had fallen into the fouleſt corruption. As a proof of this, we need only mention *Jethro*, who is commonly ſtiled the prieſt of *Midian*, and is ſaid to have lived among[z], and by ſome thought to have preſided[a] over the *Amalekites*,

[q] Numb ubi ſup. [r] Judg. ubi ſup. ver. 26. [s] See Job xix 23, 24. [t] Chron. of antient kingd. amended, p. 210. [u] See Gen. xlix. 13. [w] See before, p. 125. [x] See Numb. xxv. 18. JOSEPH. antiq. l. iv. c. 6. [y] HIERON. in Num. hom. 20. [z] JOSEPH. antiq. l. ii. c. 11. [a] Vide TREMELLII Bibl. Lat. Exod. iii.

near

near the *Red Sea*. His behaviour [b] in the camp of *Iſrael* is a ſufficient argument in favour of them; yet, though their religion was otherwiſe very pure, it is remarkable they could not bear circumciſion [c]. They offered up praiſes, thankſgivings, and ſacrifices, to GOD; but their religious rites or ceremonies are not ſpoken of.

WE know not whether they were divided as much from each other in form of government as in occupation and religion: excepting the caſe of *Jethro*, their government is repreſented rather as ariſtocratical than monarchical. Their chiefs however are ſtiled kings; and therefore we ſhall dignify them with the ſame title.

THE moſt antient record we find concerning this nation, after what has been already ſaid, is their war with *Hadad* the *Horite*, when *Midian* was ſmitten by him in the field of *Moab* [d]. *Their hiſtory.*

THE next is their purchaſing of *Joſeph* from his brethren for twenty pieces of ſilver, and carrying him away with them into *Egypt*, where they ſold him to *Potiphar*, one of *Pharaoh*'s chief officers [e].

MANY years after lived in *Madian*, by the *Red Sea* [f], a prieſt, or prince (E), of the ſouthern *Midianites*, called *Ruel*, or *Jethro* (F), or the *Kenite*, the father-in-law of *Moſes* [g]. In his time *Moſes*, flying from *Pharaoh*, arrived in *Midian*; and, upon his arrival, met with much ſuch another adventure as *Jacob* had in *Padan-Aram*. For, while he was taking ſome reſt near a well, the daughters of *Jethro*, ſeven in number, coming thither to draw water for their father's flocks (G), were inſulted and driven away by Jethro.

[b] Exod. xviii. 10—12. [c] See ibid. iv. 25, 26. [d] Gen. xxxvi. 35. [e] Ibid. xxxvii. 28, 36. [f] JOSEPH. ubi ſupr. [g] Exod. iii. 1. Judg. i. 16.

(E) The *Hebrew* word is כֹּהֵן *choheh*, which ſignifies a prince, or a prieſt, and is promiſcuouſly tranſlated both.

(F) This is by ſome held to have been the ſurname of the family (5). The *Seventy* call him Ῥαγουήλ, *Raguel*, and ſo does the *Vulgate*, and even our own verſion in another place: however, this name is by ſome thought to have been the name of *Jethro*'s father (6): but with what foundation, may be curſorily conſidered hereafter.

(G) This inſult has given birth to a ſuſpicion, that their father was ſo far from being chief, either as prince or prieſt, that he was only an inferior in the ſacred order; and then no wonder they were abuſed, ſays our commentator. Indeed, if we do not ſuppoſe theſe ſhep-

(5) *Vide Cleric. in Exod.* ii. (6) *Vide eund. ibid.*

herds

by ſome ſhepherds; but *Moſes*, taking their part, obliged the ſhepherds to retire, and aſſiſted the damſels in watering the flocks. On their return home, their father, ſurpriſed to ſee them come back ſooner than uſual, inquired into the cauſe of their diſpatch; when they acquainted him with what had happened. Hereupon *Jethro*, upbraiding them for not bringing home with them the kind *Egyptian* (for ſo they called *Moſes*), ſent them back to invite him. *Moſes* complied with the invitation; and *Jethro*, highly pleaſed with his behaviour and conduct, committed the care of his flocks to him, gave him, in proceſs of time, his daughter *Zipporah* in marriage, and kept him with him 40 years. At length, underſtanding that his ſon-in-law was commiſſioned by GOD to lead out the children of *Iſrael* from bondage, he conſented to part with him, and his daughter, and his grandchildren; who ſet out for *Egypt*: but a diſpute ariſing between *Moſes* and his wife, about circumciſing a child upon the road [h], ſhe came, or was ſent back (H) by her huſband, who purſued his journey without her [i].

WHEN *Jethro* heard of the mighty things which the LORD had done through *Moſes*, and how he had delivered his people, and brought them out of *Egypt*, he took his daughter *Zipporah*, and her two ſons, and his own ſon

[h] Exod. ii. iii. iv. [i] Ibid. xviii. 2.

herds to have been ſtrangers in this part, it muſt be acknowleged, that it does not look as if *Jethro* was a man in any great repute or authority.

(H) In caſes of doubt like this, we can only take what ſeems to us the moſt rational ſide of the queſtion. Divines have explained this matter many ways (7), and ſome ſeem unwilling to allow there was any jar between *Moſes* and his wife, apprehending, perhaps, that it cannot ſuit with the dignity of that lawgiver's character. But, for our parts, we do not perceive how it can reflect any diſhonour upon him, eſpecially when the ſubject of the diſpute was ſo very important. Farthermore, if the cuſtom had been that *Jethro*'s family was circumciſed, *Zipporah* his daughter would certainly have made no words about the execution of a practice which ſhe muſt have thought to have been eſſential. That there was ſome ſort of miſunderſtanding in this matter muſt be allowed, and therefore we have urged it as an inſtance to prove that theſe *Midianites* did not uſe circumciſion; and have alſo made it the cauſe of *Zipporah*'s returning back to her father.

(7) *Vide Lightfoot, ubi ſupr.* §. 8, 9. *Cleric. in Exod.* iv.

Hobab;

ab; and ſet out with them towards his ſon-in-law *s*, to congratulate him, and reconcile him with his ;hter *Zipporah*. They were all received very af-onately by *Moſes*; and *Jethro* hearing from him the drous works which had been done for *Iſrael*, he bleſſed) for the ſame, acknowleged him to be far ſuperior ll other gods, and took a burnt-offering and ſacrifices GOD: and *Aaron* and all the elders of *Iſrael* came to : at the ſolemnity, and to pay him the reſpect due to ſo rable a perſon.

HE next day *Jethro* had an opportunity of diſplaying reat wiſdom and ſkill in the due regulation of govern-t. He obſerved that the people crouded about *Moſes* he day long; and aſking him the meaning of it, *Moſes* vered him, that he had been ſitting in judgment. Upon , *Jethro* told him, he was quite wrong to charge him-with ſo grievous a burden, too much for any one man ear; that it would be enough for him to attend upon ſublimer concerns only, to conſult with GOD, to de-e his holy laws and ordinances, to inſtruct the peo-in the right way, *&c.* and commit the judging and l-ordering of the people to a ſelect number of the t righteous men among the multitude, who ſhould, ac-ling to their abilities, be appointed over thouſands, dreds, fifties, and tens; abſtaining from every buſineſs ſelf that was not of the higheſt moment. *Jethro* gave this counſel in vain, and thereby adminiſtred great eaſe is ſon-in-law *Moſes* [k] (I).

THIS

[k] Ibid. ver. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, & ſeq.

I) A very eminent divine tends, that this whole ſtory iſplaced, and ought to ſtand veen the tenth and eleventh es of the tenth chapter of *mbers* (8): Firſt, becauſe *bro* is ſaid to have taken nt-offerings and ſacrifices for D. Secondly, becauſe *Mo-*is ſaid to have ſat to judge people, and to have made wn to them the ſtatutes of D, and his laws. As this y now ſtands, it refers, ſays our author, to a time when as yet the tabernacle was not erected, nor any altar built; *Moſes* had not yet received any laws from GOD; nor had they reached mount *Sinai*. But it is nevertheleſs poſſible, that *Jethro* might have offered a ſacrifice in his way, particularly as he was a prieſt; nor is it unlikely that *Moſes* acted as judge and arbitrator, before he received any particular ſyſtem of laws from GOD. But thirdly, be-

(8) *Lightfoot, ubi ſupr.* §. 23.

cauſe

THIS is all that we know concerning *Jethro*, except that *Moſes* diſmiſſed him; that he left his ſon *Hobab* (K) behind him, with a friendly intent that he ſhould ſerve as a guide through the wilderneſs: but it was with reluctance

cauſe *Moſes* puts off the inſtitution of the judges and elders over the people, which he was adviſed to by *Jethro*, till after they moved from mount *Sinai*. This third proof ſeems to be more valid than the two former, but yet, not quite ſo plain and deciſive as might be wiſhed. The putting of *Jethro*'s advice in execution effectually and orderly, muſt have been certainly the work of time. But were we to enlarge upon theſe obſcurities ſo far as we might, there would be no end to our work.

(K) It is very ſtrange, that thoſe who know not how to think that *Raguel* and *Jethro* were both names belonging to one man, will yet have it that *Hobab* and *Jethro* mean one and the ſame perſon; and, contrary to the apparent reaſon of things, that it was *Jethro* himſelf, under the name of *Hobab*, who is here intreated to ſerve as a guide to the *Iſraelites* (9). *Joſephus* frequently calls him by the name of *Raguel*, and ſays he was *Moſes*'s father; ſo ſays the Scripture, under the name of *Raguel*, in the place where *Hobab* is mentioned. In Scripture he is conſtantly called *Ruel*, or *Jethro*, till he departed from the camp. Shall we ſuppoſe, that he came back again, and was thenceforward called *Hobab*? That *Jethro* returned to his own country, is expreſly ſaid (10). That *Hobab* did ſerve the *Iſraelites* as a guide, is plainly enough inſinuated (11). What ſettlement could *Jethro* want? how, as father of a family, could he deſert them? how, as he was a prieſt or a magiſtrate, could he be abſent from his charge? On the other ſide, how can it be ſuppoſed that a man, who expreſſed ſo much good-will towards the children of *Iſrael*, who was ſo thankful to GOD for their deliverance, who owned his conviction, that they were under the protection and care of the LORD GOD; how can it be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a perſon would have made the leaſt ſcruple of doing any thing that could have been requeſted by *Moſes*, whom he looked on as the immediate miniſter of the ALMIGHTY? It is more rational to ſuppoſe that it was a ſon of his, called *Hobab*, who is here ſpoken of, and was left behind by his father, as one who, being well acquainted with the deſert, might be of good uſe to *Moſes*; but who, not having the ſame faith and confidence in GOD which his father had, wanted to return home; but that he was prevailed upon to ſtay, and go through with them, is clearly enough ſaid.

(9) *Vide Cleric. in Exod.* xi. & *Num.* x. (10) *Exod.* xviii. 27. *Judg.* i. 16. (11) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* v. *c.* 2.

he

he went through with them; nor was he prevailed on to do it without very large promiſes [l]. We read farther concerning the deſcendants of *Jethro*, that they were called *Kenites*; and that they joined the children of *Judah*, and marched with them from the city of *palm-trees* [*Jericho* [m]] into the wilderneſs of *Judah* [n]: that, upon the taking of *Hebron*, they were rewarded with a large portion of ground, in conſideration of their having forſaken their native place, and ſuffered with the *Iſraelites* all the toils of their wars, and all the diſtreſſes in the wilderneſs [o]: that *Heber*, the huſband of *Jael*, who killed *Siſera*, was of this family [p]: that, on the aforeſaid conſideration alſo, the *Kenites* were many years afterwards warned by *Saul* to move off from the *Amalekites*, when he had it in charge to extirpate that nation, that they might be no way prejudiced thereby. Thus were they preſerved, and fixing their ſeat upon a rock, and there poſſeſſing a ſtronghold, they grew wanton and preſumptuous; but were in the end carried away into captivity by the *Aſſyrians*, together with the ten tribes of *Iſrael*, as *Balaam* had propheſied long before: *And he* [Balaam] *looked on the* Kenites . . . *and ſaid, Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou putteſt thy neſt on a rock. Nevertheleſs the* Kenite *ſhall be waſted, until* Aſhur *ſhall carry thee away captive* [q].

The Kenites.

THE *Midianites*, whom we ſhall have now occaſion to mention as at enmity with *Iſrael*, we apprehend to have been chiefly thoſe who bordered upon, or lived, as it were, in common with the *Moabites*. *Evi*, *Rekem* (L), *Hur*, *Zur*, and *Rebah*, were all kings or dukes of *Midian* (M), when *Moſes* overcame *Sihon* the *Amorite*; and greatly fearing for themſelves, they conſulted with *Balak* king of *Moab*, what meaſures they ſhould take to avoid the dangers which they thought threatened them. We ſhall not repeat here what we have already ſaid on this ſubject in the hiſtory of *Moab* [r].

Evi, Rekem, Hur, Zur, and Rebah.

[l] Numb. x. 29—32. [m] See before, in the notes, p. 133.
[n] Judg. i. 16. [o] JOSEPH. antiq. lib. v. c. 2. [p] Judg. iv. 11.
[q] Numb. xxiv. 21, 22. [r] See before, p. 128—133.

(L) *Joſephus* calls theſe five kings *Oeus*, *Sures*, *Robeas*, *Ures*, and *Recem*; and ſays, that this laſt built and gave name to the city of *Rekem*, the capital of *Arabia*, by the *Greeks* called *Petra* (13).

(M) They are alſo ſtiled princes of *Midian*, and dukes under *Sihon* king of the *Amorites* (14). Perhaps they might have paid ſome homage or tribute to *Sihon*, or ſome other way might have been deemed as feudatories under him.

(13) *Joſeph. antiq. lib.* iv. *c.* 7. (14) *Joſh.* xiii. 21.

Only

Only it will be neceſſary to remark once more, that the *Midianites* ſeem to have ſignalized themſelves in a moſt extraordinary manner, in their endeavours to turn the children of *Iſrael* from GOD. For it muſt be remembred, that *Balaam* had ſent them word either upon, or after, his return home, that it was in vain they hoped to hurt the darlings of heaven by any other way than enticing them to ſin, the ſole means whereby GOD could be brought to forſake them: and that, purſuant to his advice, they ſent the moſt beautiful of their young women to the *Iſraelites* [s], who played their parts ſo well, as to bring many of them to bow down before *Baal-peor*, which was attended with great calamities on the whole nation (N). It is obſervable, that *Zur*, one of the kings of *Midian*, did not ſcruple to proſtitute his daughter *Cozbi* on this occaſion [t]. But it proved fatal to her; for ſhe and her paramour *Zimri* were killed with the ſame weapon, and the ſame wound.

THE *Midianites* herein enjoyed but a ſhort-lived ſatisfaction; their forwardneſs upon this occaſion, and treacherous practices, kindled the wrath of GOD againſt them, and *Moſes* had poſitive orders to ſmite them in particular. When they heard that the divine command was on the point of being executed by twelve thouſand *Iſraelites*, under the conduct of *Phinehas*, they made the beſt preparations they could to withſtand the invaſion, by arming their caſtles, and muſtering their ſtrength. But their caſtles, and the ſtrength they muſtered, availed them little. They were defeated, and all their cities, and goodly caſtles, laid in aſhes. Not one male of any age or degree was ſpared; they were all put to the ſword; and, among the reſt, *Balaam* [u] (O), as were all the females likewiſe that were not pure virgins. The country was laid waſte, and all the cattle driven off before the conqueror, to the number of ſix hundred ſeventy-

[s] See p. 133. [t] Numb. xxv. 15—18. JOSEPH. antiq. l. iv. c. 6. See before, p. 133. [u] Numb. xxxi. 1—8.

(N) *Joſephus* ſpeaks of a plague upon this occaſion, which carried off fourteen thouſand ſouls (15).

(O) *Balaam* is poſitively ſaid to have gone to his place (16), to have returned home; but whether he came back again in compliance with a ſecond meſſage, or whether of his own accord, to ſee the iſſue of his wicked counſel, or to forward it, is not ſaid.

(15) *Joſeph. ubi ſupra.* (16) *Numb.* xxiv. 25.

five

five thouſand ſheep, ſeventy-two thouſand oxen, and ſixty-one thouſand aſſes. The virgins which were carried away captive were thirty-two thouſand in number; and there is mention made of great riches in gold, and ſilver, and iron, and other metals, which were carried off in this general devaſtation [w].

THUS was a branch of the *Midianites* utterly cut off; but in proceſs of time this loſs was ſupplied, and it pleaſed GOD, for the puniſhment of *Iſrael*, that they roſe up in war againſt that ſinful nation, and in their turn were very near deſtroying the whole generation of them by fire, ſword, and famine, for ſeven ſucceſſive years. For, about one hundred and fifty years after this ſlaughter of the *Midianites*, two kings appeared at their head, leading with them the *Amalekites* and *Arabians*.

THESE two kings, called *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, waged ſo cruel a war againſt the *Iſraelites*, that, not daring to ſtay in the low country, they betook them to the mountains, and there made caves and fortreſſes for their ſhelter. The *Midianites*, having therefore no enemy that withſtood them, waſted the fruits of the earth, and drove off all the cattle. This deſtruction they continued for ſeven years together, marching every ſummer-ſeaſon in vaſt multitudes, with numberleſs camels, and herds of cattle, about the time the fruits were far advanced, all which they reaped for themſelves; ſo that between them, and their infinite flocks, there was ſcarce any ſuſtenance left for the *Iſraelites*, who continually fled up to the mountains upon their approach [x].

Zebah and Zalmunna. Year of the flood 1103. Bef. Chr. 1245.

BUT GOD, at length, put a ſtop to theſe mercileſs incurſions of *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, who meant nothing leſs than to ſtarve the inhabitants, and poſſeſs themſelves of the land [y]. *Gideon* was choſen by heaven for the delivery of his country on this occaſion, and he did it ſo effectually, that the *Midianites* never dared afterwards to contend with *Iſrael*. *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, and their confederates, marching into the country, according to their annual cuſtom, pitched their tents in the valley of *Jezreel*, on this ſide *Jordan*. Here as they lay, covering a vaſt tract of ground, their camp was explored by *Gideon* in the night, who, overhearing one of the camp telling his dream to another, who interpreted it in favour of *Gideon*, was more than ever en-

[w] Ibid. ver. 9, 10, 11. & ſeqq. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra, c. 7. [x] Judg. vi. 1—6. JOSEPH. antiq. l. v. c. 7. [y] Pſalm lxxxiii. 11, 12.

couraged

couraged to put in execution a ſtratagem which he had formed for their deſtruction, with only three hundred men, armed with no other weapons than a ram's horn in one hand, and a light concealed in a pitcher in the other. Accordingly, about midnight, the *Midianites* were alarmed in three ſeveral quarters of their camp, by the ſound of one hundred horns or trumpets in each; and, ſtarting from their ſleep, perceived alſo as many lights breaking in upon them on three ſeveral ſides. The ſound of the horns, the glare of the lights, the gloom of the night, and the loud ſhouts they heard, ſtruck them with horror and amazement; and, having no time to recover from their firſt conſternation, they fell into confuſion; and, being of different languages, attacking each other, a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. The kings *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, however, found means to make their eſcape, with a body of about fifteen thouſand men; as did *Oreb* and *Zeb*, two princes of *Midian* (P); but the latter immediately fell into the hands of the *Ephraimites*, who put them to death; and, by the ſlaughter which happened on this occaſion, and had happened before in the camp, there fell one hundred and twenty thouſand men. The kings *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* (Q), with their party, got over the river, to *Karkor*, where they thought themſelves ſafe; but were ſoon obliged to abandon that place, and continue their flight, being cloſely purſued by *Gideon*; who overtook them at laſt, diſperſed their party, conſiſting of 15000 men[z], and took them both priſoners[a]. Having brought *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* home with him, he asked them what kind of men they were whom they had formerly ſlain at *Tabor*; and they anſwering, they were juſt ſuch as himſelf, of majeſtic deportment, he replied, they were his brethren, and therefore he would not ſpare their lives. Accordingly he ordered his ſon to kill them; but they, perceiving the youth to be but weak and fearful, requeſted it of *Gideon*, as a favour, that he would diſpatch them himſelf,

[z] Judges ubi ſup. 10, 12, 13. & ſeqq. vii. viii. 1—18. [a] Vid. JOSEPH. ubi ſup. c. 8.

(P) According to *Joſephus*, *Oreb* and *Zeb* were kings of *Midian* (17).

(Q) *Joſephus* ſays they were brethren, and calls them *Zebin* and *Hexarbon* (18). He ſays alſo, that theſe fifteen thouſand men were all ſlain (19); but the Scripture only ſays, they were diſcomfited or terrified.

(17) *Joſeph. antiq. lib.* v. *c.* 8. *ubi ſupra.* (18) *Idem ubi ſup.* (19) *Idem.*

ſelf; which he did; and they were no ſooner diſpatched, than the ornaments were taken from the necks of their camels. Thus were the *Midianites* ſlaughtered a ſecond time, and plundered of immenſe wealth in cattle, gold, jewels, rich attire, &c. The very ear-rings only, taken from them, weighed 1700 ſhekels [b]. This downfal is, by the prophet, termed, *the day of* Midian [c], *and the ſlaughter of* Midian *at the rock of* Oreb [d]. Henceforward they gave over the trade of war [e].

THEY were, however, a famous nation many ages after, and are mentioned for their induſtry, riches [f], and the magnificence of their tents [g]: but in the firſt century their name was diſuſed, and ſwallowed up by the more famous of *Arabia*. Between three and four hundred years ago, there was a ruined city which bore the antient name (R); in the neighbourhood of which they pretend to ſhew the place where *Moſes* watered his father-in-law's cattle.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of Edom.

Their anceſtor.

ESAU, called alſo *Edom*, was the progenitor of this people. He was the ſon of *Iſaac*, the ſon of *Abraham*, by *Rebekah*, and born at a birth with *Jacob*, being his twin-brother, and the elder of the two (A). Theſe twins contended while yet in their mother's womb; an early preſage of the ſtrife which was to take birth between 'em, and be tranſmitted to their deſcendants, as GOD himſelf explained it to their mother. *Eſau* was born with red hair all over him (B); and, as he grew up, he proved to be a very

[b] Judges viii. 18, 26. [c] Iſa. ix. 4. [d] Iſa. x. 26. [e] Judges ubi ſup. ver. 28. [f] Iſa. lx. 6. [g] Habak. iii. 7.

(R) *Abu'lfeda*, from whom we have authority to ſay this, calls it *Madyan*, and *Moſes*'s father-in-law, *Shoaib* (20); and the place is ſtill one of the ſtations in the pilgrimage from *Egypt* to *Mecca*, under the name of *Shoaib*'s cave (21).

(A) It is remarkable, that, as he came into the world, his brother *Jacob* had him faſt hold by the heel, to intimate that he would ſupplant him, as he afterwards did, ſays a learned commentator (1).

(B) Much is ſaid concerning

(20) *Deſcrip. Arab. p.* 42. *inter geo. vet. ſcript. Grec. min.* (21) *See Ray's collect. of curious travels and voyages, tom.* ii. *p.* 158. (1) *Patrick's comment. upon Gen.* xxv. 26.

a very ſtrong and active perſon, and, delighting in the chace, became a *man of the field*; by which means providing plentifully and deliciouſly for his father's table, he won his particular affection. On the other hand, being of a very maſculine turn of mind, and much abſent from home, he retained not the kind inclinations of his mother *Rebekah*, who prided herſelf wholly in *Jacob*, a gentle-ſpirited man, and more frequently in her eye. It happened that *Eſau* came home one day quite ſpent with faſting and exerciſe; and perceiving that his brother *Jacob* had cooked ſome pottage, begged he would ſhare it with him. *Jacob*, taking advantage of his brother's diſtreſs, offered to relieve him, provided he made over his birth-right to him. To this ungenerous motion *Eſau* conſented, thinking himſelf at the point of death; and thus he is ſaid to have *deſpiſed his birth-right*. Upon this occaſion he was called *Edom*, which ſignifies red; for ſuch was the colour of the pottage which *Jacob* ſo dearly ſold him [a] (C). At the age of forty

[a] Gen. xxv. 24—34.

this extraordinary hairineſs of the new-born *Eſau*: but, not to enter into the little uncertain niceties of a ſubject of this kind, it is in general thought, that he had not only hair on his head, but all over his body; and that this hair was as ſtrong as briſtles; in ſhort, that he was as rough and ſhaggy as a ſatyr (2): and this, indeed, ſeems to be the meaning of the text, which ſays he was *red all over, like an hairy garment*. This expreſſion has given birth to a conjecture, that the hair-garments they wore in thoſe days, were of a reddiſh colour, like the hair of *Eſau* (3). Inſtead of *garment* the LXX render it δορὰ δασὺς, a briſtly, ſhaggy ſkin; and the *Vulgate* has the ſame interpretation. It is thought, that each interpretation has an eye to the faſhion among the *Arabs* of wearing ſkins (4), as ſome of them do at this day; but they are ſheeps-ſkins, warm and ſoft, ſown together, the wool being worn innermoſt (5).

(C) We are well appriſed of all that has been ſaid by commentators and others upon this great tranſaction between theſe brethren; but it will hardly be expected we ſhould run the ſame lengths they have, or enter into a detail of what they have ſaid on this ſubject; and therefore we ſhall briefly touch upon ſome general points only. The pottage, it ſeems, was red, or yellowiſh, and made of lentils (6) from *Egypt* (7); of which there were two ſorts, one darker than the other (8), and each

(2) *Idem ubi ſupra, ver.* 2c. (3) *Cleric. in Gen. loc. ſupra cit.* (4) *Idem ibid.* (5) *Thevenot, part* i. *lib.* ii. *c.* 32. (6) *Gen.* xxv. 30, 34. (7) *St. Auguſt. in Pſal.* xlvi. (8) *Plin. hiſt. nat. l.* xviii. *c.* 31.

highly

r years, he gave great trouble and ſorrow to his pa- Year of
s by marrying among the daughters of *Heth*; he took flood 552.
of them, *Judith* the daughter of *Beeri*, and *Baſhe-* Bef. Chr.
the daughter of *Elon* [b]; but this wore off in time, and 1796.

[b] Gen. xxvi. 34, 35.

ly prized by the antients, of the eaſt and weſt. *Pliny* s from others, that equa- y is the uſual effect of feed- upon lentils: and another r ſays they inſpire joy. that they had no ſuch ef- is plain from the ſtrife kindled between *Eſau* *Jacob*. To this ſome r, that *Eſau* had never any before (10); and is pretended from *Eſau*'s g only, *Give me ſome of red, red*, as it is in the ori- ; but this is, at firſt ſight, unlikely to be true; for, leſs, theſe lentils muſt been a food he and the reſt e family were well ac- ted with; ſo that what tients held concerning the onious effects lentils have the mind, can have no ation. But, to leave this , let us take a view of rth-right which was ex- ed for theſe lentils. The privilege of the birth- ſay ſome, was the inhe- a double portion of the 's eſtate (11): others an- e prieſthood thereto, and e that *Eſau*'s cloaths, which *Rebekah* clad *Jacob*, his ſacerdotal veſtments (12). Thirdly, a ſuperiority over the reſt of the children, is thought, by ſome, to have been the principal prerogative of the birth-right; and the challenging a particular bleſſing of the dying parent, by others. To conclude, the prerogatives of the primogeniture were not confined to the perſon of the ſon, on whom the bleſſing was conferred, ſo as to die with him, but deſcended to his poſterity. So the promiſes made to *Jacob* in his bleſſing were not fulfilled in him, but in his children after him. Such was the pottage, and ſuch the birth-right, which were ſet in oppoſition to each other. The *Hebrew* word הלעיטני *halbiteni*, which *Eſau* uſes in addreſſing *Jacob*, occurs no-where but in this place, and therefore has been variouſly interpreted. Some, with the LXX, expound it, as if he aſked but for a bare taſte; others, countenanced by the *Samaritan* reading, pretend that he aſked for the whole, or the largeſt ſhare. But, not to dwell on ſuch idle inquiries, we ſhall only add here, that reaſon can neither juſtify *Jacob*'s inſiſting, nor *Eſau*'s parting with a birth-right on ſuch terms (13).

See Patrick's comment. ubi ſup. ver. 30.
Lightfoot obſervat. in Geneſin, c. xxvii.
ſ. ubi ſupra.

(11) *Ver.* 31.
(13) *Vide Cleric.*

his father received him into favour again. *Iſaac*, now grown old and dim-ſighted, called *Eſau* to him; and told him, that he knew not how near he might be to his end; and therefore ſhould be glad if he would take his weapons, his quiver, and his bow, get him veniſon, and dreſs it for him in a ſavoury manner, as he had often done, that *his ſoul might bleſs him before he died* (D). *Eſau* obeyed; but while he was abſent, his mother, who heard the words which paſſed between his father and him, dreſſed her ſon *Jacob* in *Eſau*'s cloaths (E), and, preparing a diſh of ſavoury meat, ſent him in with it to his father, who pro-

Year of ſtood 589. Bef. Chr. 1759.

(D) It is thought, that *Iſaac* only ſent out *Eſau* by way of probation; that is, to try whether he had good ſucceſs or not, thereby to ſatisfy himſelf in a ſcruple he had whether he ſhould bleſs him or no. For, as by his former ill ſucceſs he was reduced to the neceſſity of making over his birth-right; ſo now, if the ſame ill luck attended him, he ſhould take it for a ſign, that the bleſſing was to depart from him: and tho' he had pronounced the great bleſſing over *Jacob*, yet when he perceived, that *Eſau* had brought home the veniſon he ſent him for, he deemed it a tacit expreſſion of the will of GOD that *Eſau* ſhould have his bleſſing alſo; and he bleſſed him accordingly (15).

(E) Concerning theſe cloaths, it is ſaid they had been worn by *Adam* in his miniſtry, and that they retained the ineffable fragrancy of paradiſe (16). Others only ſuppoſe, that they were laid up in aromatic flowers, or other perfumes, to preſerve them from moths, and to refreſh the brain, when put on; and conſequently, that it is equally abſurd and ridiculous in the *Jews* to imagine they deſcended from *Adam* to *Noah*, and ſo downwards to *Abraham*'s family (17). Beſides, it may be aſked, how it came to paſs, that *Iſaac* could part with ſo precious a relique to his ſon, during his own life-time? By the *ſmell of the field* it is natural to underſtand a ſcent more manly than the ſteams of a perfume, eſpecially as *Eſau* was ſo great a hunter, and perpetually in the field. However, that expreſſion is ſuppoſed to have a different import, and to mean, that his cloaths were exquiſitely ſcented; and this ſeems to be confirmed from the *Samaritan* reading, which, after the word שדה *ſhadeh*, a field, has מלא full; and ſo the LXX have rendered it ὡς ὀσμὴ ἀγροῦ πλήρους· and ſo the *Vulgate* has it, *Sicut odor agri pleni*; as the ſmell of a full field, or, as it it is ſupplied, *as the ſmell of a field full of ſweet herbs and flowers.*

(15) *Vide Lightfoot obſerv. in Gen. c.* xxvii. (16) *Vide Braun. de veſtib. Heb. ſacerd. c.* 4. (17) *See Patrick's comment. upon Geneſ. c.* xxvii. 15.

nounced

nounced the irrevocable bleſſing over *Jacob*. Thus was *Iſaac* deceived, and *Eſau* ſupplanted, who coming in with his veniſon juſt after *Jacob* was gone, *Iſaac* in a great agony told him, he had been circumvented by his brother, and that he neither could nor would recal the bleſſing. When *Eſau* heard this, he wept bitterly, and upbraided his brother with thus deceitfully extorting firſt his birthright from him, and now robbing him of his bleſſing. However, *Eſau* did ſo far prevail with his tears, and preſſing intreaties, that his father bleſſed him alſo to this effect; that *his dwelling ſhould be the fatneſs of the earth, and of the dew of heaven from above* (F); *that he ſhould live by the ſword, and ſerve his brother; but that he ſhould ſhake off the yoke at laſt.* It was with a diſcontented mind that he heard his lot, and his reſentment wrought ſo ſtrongly upon him, that at firſt he determined to kill *Jacob* as ſoon as their father ſhould die; which coming to the knowlege of *Rebekah*, ſhe ſent *Jacob* away to *Padan-Aram*, under pre-

(F) Some give this part of *Eſau*'s bleſſing a quite contrary turn, and will have it, that his lot was to be in a barren land; and that his living ſhould be by rapine and violence; and accordingly that *Edom* was an ungrateful ſoil, not refreſhed with timely rains (19). The interpretation of the LXX, with a ſmall variation of ἀπὸ, by making it either a prepoſition, or an adverb, may be taken both ways. But, on the other hand, it is obſerved, that if we follow our own tranſlation, which is directly in the ſenſe of the *Vulgate*, and in the ſenſe St. *Jerom* took it, there will be ſtill a wide difference between *Jacob*'s bleſſing and *Eſau*'s; that in the latter there is no mention made of corn and wine; no ſuch dominion promiſed as in *Jacob*'s; and that, laſtly, whatſoever fatneſs was in the ſoil of his country, it did not laſt long (20). Nevertheleſs, *Moſes* ſeems to tell us, that the land of *Edom* was not ſo deſtitute as ſome may imagine; when he promiſes the king of *Edom*, that, if he would permit the children of *Iſrael* to paſs through his country, they ſhould hurt neither the fields, nor the vineyards (21): the fields may, perhaps, have been rather corn-fields than paſture; and, if this be true, the *Edomites* had their corn and wine too. As to what *Malachi* ſays of the barrenneſs and deſolation of the kingdom of *Edom* (22), that muſt, we think, be rather attributed to the cruel effects of their unfortunate wars, than to any failure in the uſual product of the ſoil.

(19) *Idem ubi ſupr. ver.* 39. (20) *Patrick's comment. ubi ſupra. ver.* 39. (21) *Numb.* xx. 17——20. (22) *Malachi* i. 3.

tence of getting him a wife there from among her own kindred [c]. But *Esau* cooled again, generously forgot all that had past, and, finding that *Isaac* and *Rebekah* had a great aversion to the daughters of *Canaan*, he went over to *Ishmael*, and took his daughter *Mahaleth* the sister of *Nebaioth* (G), adding her to the wives he had before [d], and removed with his family to mount *Seir*, not so much with a design to settle there, perhaps, as to serve a present conveniency. The spot he occupied in this country took his name, and was called the field of *Edom* [e], and in a few years he became a very considerable person.

Year of flood 609. Bef. Chr. 1739.

FOR, when news was brought him, that his brother *Jacob* was on his return from *Padan-Aram*, he went out to meet him with a train of four hundred followers, in order to honour and assist his brother, and not frighten him as he did. The interview was very tender on both sides: *Esau* especially, unmindful of what most men would ever have remembred, accosted *Jacob* with tears of joy, and the most tender and brotherly affection: he nobly refused the presents wherewith his brother would needlessly have bribed him to a reconciliation, and pressed him to hold on his way to mount *Seir*, that they might be neighbours, and live together; and when *Jacob* artfully waved this invitation, under pretence of his short marches for the sake of the children and cattle, and promised to follow him, *Esau* desired he would let him at least leave some of his followers behind, to assist and conduct him on his way; but this being rejected, he with reluctance left *Jacob* behind him, and took the presents which had been forced upon him by his timorous brother (H); who, being now no less afraid to follow him, than he had been before to give him a positive denial,

[c] Gen. xxvii. 41—46. [d] Gen. xxviii. 6—9. [e] Gen. xxxii. 8, in the marg.

(G) It is manifestly from hence that *Esau* paid no regard to the divine revelation, or he would not have taken the descendant of a bond-woman [*Hagar*], who could not inherit the promises made to *Abraham* and *Isaac* (23).

(H) It appears very plain from what now passed between *Esau* and *Jacob* at this meeting, that the former was not so great a reprobate, or naturally so bad a man, as some have unreasonably represented him. We had resolved to touch upon this matter in the behalf of *Esau*; but, finding it generously done to our hands by a very worthy divine, we shall

(23) *See Patrick upon Gen.* xxviii. 9.

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denial [f], went and dwelt in *Shechem*. As for *Eſau*, he remained in *Seir*, till he heard, that his father *Iſaac* was either dead, or at the point of death, when he went to *Mamre*, aſſiſted there *Jacob* at the funeral of their deceaſed parent, and took poſſeſſion of his inheritance; for *Jacob*'s birth-right was a ſpiritual prerogative, and no ways related to his father's temporal eſtate; ſo that by this addition to his former ſtore, and *Jacob* being alſo very rich, and maſter of much cattle, they perceived it would be next to impoſſible to enjoy ſuch large poſſeſſions together in a country where they were both ſtrangers; and therefore, as *Abraham* and *Lot* had done before, they parted. *Eſau*, returning to the country of *Seir*, being an hundred and twenty years old, married *Aholibamah*, a daughter of the country, but ori-

[f] Ibid. & xxxiii.

content ourſelves with the ſubſtance of what he ſays: *Eſau* was a plain, generous, and honeſt man; nor does he ſeem to have been more wicked than the other men of his age and times. His generous and good temper appears by his affectionate deportment towards his brother, and his ſpeedy and utter oblivion of the injuries and ſlights he received from him: and though St. *Paul* calls him the profane *Eſau*, and ſays he was hated by GOD, it cannot thence be gathered, that he was a wicked man, or that GOD puniſhed him for an immoral life. 1. This ſentence could not extend to his poſterity, and is not ſaid to be founded upon his actions. 2. GOD's hatred of *Eſau* was not an hatred which induced him to puniſh him with an evil; for he was as happy in the bleſſings of this life as *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, or *Jacob*, if not more. His children became maſters of the land of their poſſeſſion much ſooner than the *Iſraelites*; and GOD was pleaſed to command the *Iſraelites* not to diſturb 'em in their rights. And if his earthly felicity was ſuch, why ſhould we deſpair of his being a partaker of the heavenly? 3. If he was excluded from being the heir of the bleſſing, ſo was *Lot* and *Job*, and other good and virtuous men. 4. St. *Paul* means no more than to ſhew the *Jews*, that GOD had all along beſtowed the favours which led to the MESSIAH on whom he pleaſed; to *Abraham*, not to *Lot*; to *Jacob*, not to *Eſau*; to the Gentiles, not to the Jews. 5. Though *Eſau* be called βέβηλος or profane, he is never called ἀσεβὴς or ἁμαρτωλὸς, wicked or immoral. So that the only defect in his character is, that he does not ſeem to have been ſo mindful of the promiſes made to his family as *Jacob* was; from whence, and from his temper, it appears that he was not quite ſo fit to be the heir of the mercies peculiar to his family (24).

(24) *Shuckford's connect. of the ſacr. and prof. hiſtory of the world, vol.* ii. *p.* 198, *& ſeqq.*

ginally of *Canaan* [g]; and henceforward took ſuch meaſures as might be moſt conducive to the good and peaceable ſettlement of his deſcendants in this country, which was deſigned by GOD for the inheritance of his line [h], as that of *Canaan* was for the line of *Jacob*. But the deſcription of this land we reſerve to the general deſcription of *Paleſtine*.

f THIS country, ſo far as we know, was originally inhabited by a people called *Horites* [p], who were firſt, in all likelihood, governed by patriarchs or heads of families, that being the moſt antient form of government. They were afterwards ruled by kings, who were elected into that office. In proceſs of time the antient form of government took place again, the governors being ſtyled dukes, and ſucceeding, it ſeems, in right of birth. As to the *Edomites*, or deſcendants of *Eſau*, they were firſt governed, like the *Horites*, by dukes, and afterwards by kings, as will be ſeen in the courſe of this ſection.

a- THE character we have of the *Edomites*, is, that they were a bold and daring people, fond of broils and tumults, which they as much delighted in, as others did in the ſoftening pleaſures of luxury [q]. But this was more peculiarly the character of the latter *Edomites*, who migrated into *Judea*; nor ſhould we have inſerted it here, but that it ſeems to be agreeable to the genius of the whole people, as their great anceſtor *Iſaac* foretold it. However, though courage was to be one of their characteriſtics, and, perhaps, the chief, yet we are under no neceſſity to believe it to have been of ſo brutal a ſort as *Joſephus* repreſents it above; for as they were, doubtleſs, a trading nation, we cannot well ſuppoſe they were a neſt of robbers and incendiaries, fewer ſuch being found among thoſe who are addicted to commerce, and conſequently enjoy all the world can afford them, than among lazy and ſlothful nations, and ſuch as condemn induſtry out of a vain and ridiculous notion of honour. For the latter are, for the moſt part, mean, beggarly, and baſe; the former quite the reverſe, as they flouriſh in plenty and eaſe. What therefore their anceſtor foretold of them, that they ſhould live by the ſword, perhaps, imports no more than that they ſhould maintain their rights, whether natural or uſurped, with an high hand; as all thoſe who have claimed the empire of the ſea, have ever done. Thus, for want of due authority, have we attempted the character of the *Edomites*, by

[g] Ubi ſup. xxxv. xxxvi.
[h] Deut. ii. 5. Joſh. xxiv. 4.
[p] Gen. xxxvi. 22, 30.
[q] JOSEPH. antiq. lib. xiii.

draw-

drawing a parallel between them and others of later and our own times. And, abating the difference of climates, which is attended with a difference of tempers, we cannot be much out of the way in comparing them with other trading ſtates that flouriſh within our knowlege, and are far from living upon plunder and rapine. In this we ſhall be more confirmed when we come to view their behaviour towards *Moſes*; to whom tho' they refuſed admittance into their territories, yet they were ready to traffick with him, and ſupply him with neceſſaries, as we ſhall ſee anon. The *Edomites*, whoſe character *Joſephus* draws above, were a degenerate race, quite ſtrangers to the liberties and noble ſpirit of their forefathers, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

THEIR arts and ſciences were doubtleſs great, conſidering the time; many, and well perfected; and though, perhaps, there may be no neceſſity to ſuppoſe, as the excellent Sir *Iſaac Newton* has done, that they were the parents of thoſe amiable ſiſters; yet we may ſafely pronounce, that they were not much, if at all, behindhand with the moſt antient learned nations. The invention and uſe of conſtellations appear by the book of *Job*[r] to have been known to the *Edomites*, among whom he dwelt[s]; a rare inſtance of the early progreſs of aſtronomy, if we ſuppoſe his book to be of ſuch antient date as many think. Writing is there mentioned[t] alſo, and ſhips[u], and many hints given, ſufficient to confirm us in a belief, that the ſecrets and beauties of nature, morality, and much ſublime and truly-uſeful knowlege, were cultivated among them. Nor is there wanting very ample evidence from profane authors to make this appear, as we ſhall take proper opportunities of ſhewing: and, indeed, it has been a common opinion of the learned, that great veneration is due to their memory on that account. *Arts and ſciences.*

CONCERNING their religion we are much in the dark. They at firſt were right in their belief and practice, as they were deſcended from *Iſaac*, and uſed circumciſion; but they by degrees forgot all, erred into idolatry (for idols it ſeems they had[x]), and had quite laid aſide circumciſion till *Hyrcan* incorporated them with the *Jews*, from which time they were conſidered as but one nation with them in divine matters, as will be ſeen at the decay of their ſtate. *Religion.*

[r] Chap. ix. 9. [s] St. AUGUST. de civitat. DEI ubi ſupr. Lamentat. ubi ſupr. [t] See before, p. 152. [u] Job 9. ix. 26. [x] See 2 Chron. xxv. in the argument.

Hiſtory. WE now reſume the hiſtory of *Eſau* the father of this people. The number of his family and domeſtics, when he fixed his dwelling here, is uncertain; though, probably, very numerous. According to the hypotheſis [w], which in this very obſcure caſe we think ourſelves obliged to adopt, he ſettled here under one of the *Horite* kings; and therefore he lived in a private manner, and was never conſidered any more than as the chief of his own houſe; and thence is dignified with no particular title by *Moſes*. Concerning this matter we cannot but think, with biſhop *Cumberland*, that the *Horites* were at firſt ruled by ſeveral independent chiefs or patriarchs, till they were overpowered by *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam*, who ſwept them before him, with the neighbouring nations. To ſecure themſelves, therefore, from ſo great an evil for the time to come, they united under a more ſtable and perfect kind of government, and formed themſelves into an elective kingdom; and their kings were,

BELA, the ſon of *Beor*: the name of his city was *Dinhabah*.

JOBAB, the ſon of *Zerah* of *Bozrah*. From a ſimilitude of names he has been taken for the holy and patient *Job*, whoſe hiſtory we ſhall find a more proper place to enlarge upon, when we come to that of the *Jews*.

HUSHAM of the land of *Temani*.

HADAD, the ſon of *Bedad*: he ſmote *Midian* in the field of *Moab*, and the name of his city was *Avith*.

SAMLAH of *Mareſkah*: in his reign, or in that of his ſucceſſor, came *Eſau*, as we think, into this country.

SAUL of *Rehoboth*.

BAAL-HANAN, the ſon of *Achbor*.

HADAR: the name of his city was *Pau*, and his wife's name was *Mehetabel*.

UNDER the three laſt, or four laſt of theſe kings, did *Eſau* and his family live, as ſojourners in a ſtrange land, as *Abraham* and *Iſaac*, their forefathers, had done before them, in other parts. This monarchy, which was plainly elective, came, we know not how, to be interrupted and broken into ſeveral petty and independent principalities or dukedoms; and, ſeeing that the poſterity of *Eſau* exceed in the number of their dukes, it cannot be very incongruous to ſuppoſe, that they had the largeſt ſhare in bringing about this revolution. It is very accurately obſerved by a late and learned writer, that the firſt dukes of the *Edomites* are

[w] See biſhop *Cumberland*'s orig. gent. antiq.

are not ſtiled dukes *of Edom*, but dukes *in the land of Edom* [x]. From whence we gather, that the grandchildren of *Eſau*, grown ſtrong and potent, could no longer brook ſubjection to a ſtrange line; ſo that now the whole country became divided into ſeveral diſtinct juriſdictions, and under ſeveral petty princes, called dukes, both of the poſterity of *Eſau*, and of that of *Seir*, who were all collateral. The dukes in the land of *Edom* were, 1. duke *Teman*; 2. duke *Omar*; 3. duke *Zepho*; 4. duke *Kenaz*; 5. duke *Korah*; 6. duke *Gatam*; 7. duke *Amalek*. Theſe ſeven were the ſons of *Eliphaz* the firſt-born of *Eſau*. 8. Duke *Nahath*; 9. duke *Zerah*; 10. duke *Hammah*; 11. duke *Mizzah*: theſe four were the ſons of *Reuel*, the ſecond ſon of *Eſau*; 12. duke *Ieuſh*; 13. duke *Jaalam*; duke *Korah*: theſe three were the ſons of *Eſau* himſelf, begot by him after he was an hundred and twenty years old, on *Aholibamah* his laſt wife. All theſe were the dukes in the land of *Edom*; that is, in that part poſſeſſed by the *Edomites*, and thence called after them. At the ſame time were ſeven dukes over the poſſeſſion of the deſcendants of *Seir*: 1. Duke *Lotan*; 2. duke *Shobal*; 3. duke *Zibeon*; 4. duke *Anah*: he found mules (O) in the wilder-

[x] Shuckford's connect. of the ſacred and profane hiſt. book viii. p. 192.

(O) Concerning this remarkable event there is ſome variety of judgment and interpretation. The *Hebrew* word is יְמִים, *hayyemim*, which the LXX not knowing how to render, have retained, and accordingly have ιαμ ειμ, and ſo have *Theodotion*, *Aquila*, and *Symmachus*. From St. *Jerom* we have ſeveral traditions of the *Jews* concerning this matter. Some thought, that by the above word muſt be underſtood ſeas, or large waters; for the ſame letters are uſed for the word which bears that import: and will have it, that while he fed his father's aſſes in the wilderneſs, he found a collection of waters, or ſeas, according to the *Hebrew* idiom, an uncommon diſcovery in a deſert, and therefore worthy of notice. Some will have it to mean *hot waters* in the *Phœnician* tongue. Some again, that he ſuffered wild aſſes to cover his tame ones, and that the ſwifteſt breed of thoſe creatures, called *jamim*, ſprang from thence. And moſt of the *rabbins* teach, that he, firſt of all men, ſuffered aſſes to cover the mares in the wilderneſs; whence the unnatural breed of mules were ſhewn to the world. Now theſe interpretations, or ſuppoſitions, are thus combated. 1. To make the *Hebrew* word mean *ſeas*, it muſt be altered in the reading contrary to all authority and likelihood: and beſides,

wilderneſs, as he fed the aſſes of *Zibeon* his father; 5. duke *Diſhon*; 6. duke *Ezer*; 7. duke *Diſhan*[x]. Now, ſeeing that the dukes of *Eſau*'s line, in the land of *Edom*, being more in number, may have been greater in might, than thoſe of the *Horites* in the land of *Seir*, it ſeems not unnatural to ſuppoſe, that the latter were now expelled by the former, who ſeized on the land by the preordained diſtribution of GOD[y]. At the ſame time, *Amalek*, or his ſpurious offspring, may have been driven out alſo.

ACCORDINGLY, the next generation of theſe princes are ſtiled dukes of *Edom*, and had no rivals of any other family in any other part of the country, which now we ſuppoſe to have been all called *Edom*. The dukes of this ſecond race were, 1. duke *Timnah*; 2. duke *Alvah*; 3. duke *Jetheth*; 4. duke *Aholibamah*; 5. duke *Elah*; 6.

[x] Gen. xxxvi. 20, 21. [y] Deut. ii. 12.

beſides, as the *Hebrews* call great ponds, or lakes, ſeas, it is no wonder, that he found out ſuch congregations of water; but there is nothing of that kind in thoſe parts, except the lake *Aſphaltites*, which was made afterwards. 2. Thoſe who render the word *hot-baths*, as the *Vulgate*, according to the *Phœnician* ſignification, ſeem to have read חמים, *hhemim*, and to have believed, that it is ſynonymous with חמים, *hhammim*, which ſignifies *hot-baths*; but this is countenanced by no reading or interpretation. 3. Thoſe who will have him to have firſt found out the breed of mules, are confuted by *Bochart*, with the following arguments; 1. Becauſe mules were never called by that name; 2. Becauſe the word מצא, *matza*, which *Moſes* uſes, imports the finding what exiſts already, and not the invention of what never had been before; 3. Becauſe they were aſſes which *Anah* fed, and not horſes; 4. Becauſe in Scripture there is no mention made of mules to the time of *David*. But, to conclude, it is thought by a learned interpreter to be the proper name of a people, the אימים, *Emim*, whom *Moſes* mentions as a famous people, dwelling in the neighbourhood of *Seir* (39). And this is further confirmed by the *Samaritan* reading, which has it, that he *found them ſuddenly*; that is, fell on them by ſurprize, and diſcomfited them; and this is the moſt likely meaning of the *Hebrew* text in this place, it having the very ſame ſignification in ſeveral other places (40). However, the word is alſo thought to have been the name of ſome uſeful plant or herb (41), which *Anah* firſt diſcovered.

(39) *Gen.* xiv. 5. *& Deut.* xi. 10. (40) *Vid. Cleric. comm. in Gen.* c. xxxvi. 24. (41) *Vid. Wagen. annot. in tit. Talm.* Sot.

duke

duke *Pinon*; 7. duke *Kenaz*; 8. duke *Teman*; 9. duke *Mibzar*; 10. duke *Magdiel*; 11. duke *Iram* [z] (P). Theſe eleven were dukes of *Edom* when the children of *Iſrael* came into the wilderneſs; and, being diſmayed at the approach of ſo formidable a body, as yet unprovided with a ſeat, dreaded an invaſion, not knowing that the *Iſraelites* were under a ſtrict injunction, by no means to moleſt them. Wherefore, ſenſible of the imperfection of their preſent conſtitution, they united under one head, or king, and prepared to maintain their ground againſt all foreign attempts.

To this nameleſs king, or, perhaps, his ſucceſſor, came meſſengers from *Moſes*, then drawing near the end of his days, to intreat a paſſage through his country for him and his people. And though it was remonſtrated to him, that the *Iſraelites* were his brethren; and as he could not but know how they and their fathers had wandered from place to place, without any fixed habitation; how they had been oppreſſed in *Egypt*; how GOD had now led them out from under their bondage; and that they had reached his borders,

[z] Gen. ubi ſup.

(P) In Scripture the names of theſe kings and dukes run in a ſeemingly-confuſed order; and ſome are unwilling to think that they ſucceeded in the order we have, from biſhop *Cumberland*, placed them in (42). This difference in opinion proceeds from theſe words of the text prefixed to the liſt of the kings; *And theſe are the kings that reigned in the land of* Edom, *before there reigned any king over the land of* Iſrael. This is ſuppoſed to be an interpolation; and if we do not allow all the kings of the liſt to have been elder than *Moſes*, we muſt ſuppoſe the whole to be interpolated too; and, accordingly, ſome take *Moſes* to have been the firſt king of *Iſrael*, and to be meant here. It cannot be proved, that any of the ſaid kings were of the line of *Eſau*; and this firſt monarchy, ſet up by the *Horites*, was plainly elective; whereas that monarchy, erected by the children of *Eſau*, was, by the very little we know of it, at leaſt ſeemingly, hereditary: for *Hadad* was a minor when *David* conquered *Edom*. But we are afraid of treſpaſſing too much on our reader's patience, by running into the many particulars of this debate; and ſhall only ſay, that we have embraced that opinion, which, upon mature deliberation, ſeems to us to be the beſt founded.

(42) *See Shuckford's connect. of the ſacr. and prof. hiſt. book* vii. *p.* 192, *&* *ſeq.*

being

being in, or near the town of *Kadeſh*; it was to be hoped, he would let them paſs freely through his country, in their way to the land of *Canaan*: that, if he was willing to befriend them, they would keep the highway, and not offer to turn to the right or the left, to hurt the fields, or the vineyards, or drain the wells of water, until they had quite croſſed his territories. To this the jealous king of *Edom* anſwered, that he would by no means grant them a paſſage; and adviſed them not to make the leaſt attempt towards it: that, if they did, they might expect to be oppoſed by the whole ſtrength of his kingdom. And when theſe embaſſadors, or, perhaps, thoſe of a ſecond embaſſy, urged him ſtill farther upon this important buſineſs, and made a renewal of promiſes, and aſſurances of the moſt peaceable behaviour, if they might have the paſſage they ſolicited; proteſting, that they would pay for every thing they might have occaſion for on the way; and that they would be as expeditious in their marches as their feet would permit; he was highly provoked at their reiterated inſtances; and, fearing the *Iſraelites* might make ſome deſperate attempt to force the paſſage he denied them, took the field, and marched towards them, to intimidate them, and ſhew that he was not to be prevailed on [z]. However, his enmity did not run to the pitch of diſtreſſing them in matters wherein he could relieve them without danger to himſelf; and, perhaps, to prevent their growing deſperate, he furniſhed them, for money, with what his country afforded [a].

AFTER this, there is ſcarce any hiſtory ſo obſcure and interrupted, as this of *Edom*: and, particularly, we find no mention made of them from theſe days to thoſe of king *David*: however, we will ſupply this chaſm, in part, by obſerving, that, in the mean time, the *Edomites* extended their dominion, and applied themſelves to trade and navigation, and ſeized on the empire of the ſea, we mean of the *Arabian* gulph, at leaſt, and the trade thereof. They dealt, it ſeems, in very rich commodities; pure gold, gold of *Ophir*, the topaz of *Ethiopia*, coral, pearls, and the like [b]; and became a very conſiderable kingdom, as the moſt common opinion is.

Year of the flood 1308. Bef. Chr. 1040.

BUT in the height of their proſperity their country was invaded by the conquering arms of *Iſrael*, and *Edom* began to feel the effects of *Iſaac*'s prophecy, that *the elder ſhould ſerve the younger*. For *David*, having gained very conſiderable victories over the *Syrians*, *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*,

[z] Num. xx. 14, 21. [a] Deut. ii. 28, 29. [b] Job xxviii. 15—20. &c.

&c. finiſhed his conqueſts with *Idumea*. What drew upon them ſo dreadful a war, is hard to gueſs, the ſacred hiſtorians being quite ſilent about it (Q): but this they tell us, in the whole, that 18000 of them were cut off in the *Valley of ſalt* [c]; and that the reſt were either brought under the yoke by *Joab*, or forced to retire into foreign countries (R). *Hadad* their king, as yet a minor, and a party with him, took the way of *Midian* (S), thinking, perhaps, to croſs the *Red Sea*; but, underſtanding that they and their young king would be favourably received by *Pharaoh*, they carried him thither; and *Hadad* was accordingly received, and ſupported by *Pharaoh* with all the dignity becoming his royal rank; and, to complete all the favours and kindneſſes which were unſparingly heaped on him, he had the queen's [*Taphenes*'s] ſiſter given to him in marriage [d]. But at the ſame time that *Hadad* made his way towards *Egypt*, others took different routes: ſome, flying to the *Philiſtines*, fortified *Azoth*, or *Azotus*, for them (T); and proved a conſiderable acceſſion of power, and

[c] 2 Sam. viii. 13. 1 Chron. xviii. 12. [d] 1 Kings xi. 15, 20.

(Q) Indeed there is but very little room to gueſs at what might poſitively be the cauſe of this ruin executed upon the *Edomites*; but, probably, *David*, treating with them for ſome of the advantages of *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, they refuſed to hearken to him, and thereby provoked him to wreſt thoſe important places, the only marts of the very rich commodities he wanted, out of their hands.

(R) Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes this diſperſion to have been of very beneficial conſequence to the ſeveral nations they went to, ſuppoſing they carried their arts, ſciences, and induſtry, with them where-ever they went (44): and herein he is, in part, ſupported by very ample authority, as we ſhall immediately obſerve.

(S) From hence we have, after *Reland*, ſuppoſed, that *Midian* was partly bounded on the north by *Edom* (45), as if they were obliged to fly through *Midian* to go to *Egypt*; but it is more likely, that they ſtruck into *Midian*, as the ſhorteſt cut to get away from the enemy, with deſign to imbark for *Egypt*, at *Madian*, or ſome other ſea-port of that country, as the ſafeſt way to go into *Egypt*.

(T) According to Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s hypotheſis, *Hadad* and his followers were the more kindly received by the king of *Egypt*, as he foreſaw the advan-

(44) *Chron. of ant. kingd. amended, p.* 209. (45) *See before, p.* 151.

and of very ſingular benefit, to that people (U): and others, that dealt in ſhipping, taking a longer way to eſcape the rage of the conqueror, went towards, or into, the *Perſian* gulph [d]: in a word, they were diſperſed into all parts, there being no ſafety for them in their native country (W).

HADAD,

[d] See Sir ISAAC NEWTON's chronol. of ant. kingd. amended, p. 104, 105.

tage they would be of to him, by bringing with them their ſkill in letters, aſtronomy, navigation, and the like; in which the *Egyptians* were, till then, ignorant.

(U) The aforeſaid chronologer holds, among other things, that ſome of them, flying to the *Philiſtines* and the ſea-ports, improved the inhabitants there in the arts of navigation and commerce: and, indeed, it is more than once ſaid, that the *Phœnicians* came from the *Red Sea*. *Herodotus* (47) tells us ſo; and *Stephanus* (48) relates, that *Azotus* was built by the fugitives which fled from the *Red Sea*. "The *Phœnicians*, therefore, "came from the *Red Sea*, in the "days of *Io*, and her brother "*Phoroneus*, king of *Argos*; "and, by conſequence, at that "time, when *David* conquered "the *Edomites*, and made them "fly every way from the *Red* "*Sea*... And this flight gave "occaſion to the *Philiſtines* to "call many places *Erythra*, in "memory of their being *Ery-*"*threans* or *Edomites*, and of "their coming from the *Ery-*"*threan Sea*: for *Erythra* was "the name of a city in *Ionia*; "of another in *Libya*; of another in *Locris*; of another "in *Bœotia*; of another in "*Cyprus*; of another in *Æto-*"*lia*; of another in *Aſia*, near "*Chius*: and *Erythia Acra* was "a promontory in *Libya*, and "*Erythreum* a promontory in "*Crete*, and *Erythros* a place "near *Tibur*, and *Erythini* a "city or country in *Paphlago-*"*nia*; and the name *Erythea*, "or *Erythræ*, was given to the "iſland of *Gades*, peopled by "*Phœnicians*.... *Edom*, *E-*"*rythra*, and *Phœnicia*, are "names of the ſame ſignifica-"tion, the words denoting *a* "*red colour*; which makes it "probable, that the *Erythreans* "who fled from *David* ſettled "in great numbers in *Phœni-*"*cia*; that is, in all the ſea-"coaſts of *Syria*, from *Egypt* to "*Zidon*; and by calling them-"ſelves *Phœnicians* in the lan-"guage of *Syria*, inſtead of *E-*"*rythreans*, gave the name of "*Phœnicia* to all that ſea-"coaſt, and to that only (49)."

(W) The ſame chronologer holds, that the *Oes* of *Helladius*, the *Oannes* of *Beroſus* (50), and the *Euhadnes* of *Hyginus* (51), are ſeveral names given to an

(47) L. i. c. 1. l. vii. c. 89. (48) *In voce* Ἄζωτος. (49) See his chronol. of ant. kingd. amended, p. 108, 109. (50) See vol. i. p. 190, 191. (51) *Fab.* 274.

HADAD, though he lived in great eaſe and ſplendor in the *Egyptian* court, yet, being conſcious of his birth, unwilling to live in dependence, and thirſting after his kingdom, waited only a favourable opportunity to recover it, eſpecially when it was told him, that *David* and the terrible *Joab* were both dead. At length the time came, when *Solomon* wallowed in all kinds of impurity; and, thinking this a proper ſeaſon to take his revenge, he diſcloſed his mind to his brother-in-law *Pharaoh*, begging he would diſmiſs him. The wiſe king of *Egypt*, perceiving the great troubles and dangers which he muſt be expoſed to in executing his deſign, endeavoured to divert him from ſo dangerous an undertaking; but *Hadad*, in the end, obtained a diſmiſſion, and, returning to *Idumea*, made ſeveral attempts to recover his dominions, but without ſucceſs, his ſubjects being over-awed by the gariſons, which *David* had ſet over them[d]. He had a ſon by his *Egyptian* wife, named *Genubath*, who had a princely education in the palace of *Pharaoh*; but *Hadad*, failing in his view upon his own kingdom, probably eſtabliſhed himſelf in *Syria*, where we find the royal family bore the name of *Hadad*.

IN the mean time, the kingdom of *Edom* continued under the houſe of *David* till the days of *Jehoſhaphat*, being governed by deputies, or viceroys, appointed by the kings of *Judah*. And though we have, in the hiſtory of *Moab*, made mention of a king of *Edom*, who aſſiſted *Jehoram* king of *Iſrael*, and *Jehoſhaphat* king of *Judah*, in the reduction of *Meſha* king of *Moab*; we there ſpeak only in the freedom of Scripture phraſe: for that king, as he is called, attended upon *Jehoſhaphat* as a vaſſal, and not as an auxiliary[e]. However, though the hiſtory of that war does peculiarly belong to the reigns of *Jehoſhaphat* and *Jehoram*, kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, who were the principals in it; yet we have here occaſion to repeat, that this chief of *Edom*'s ſon is thought to have been the perſon ſacrificed by *Meſha*, the king of *Moab*, upon the walls of the city, where he was blocked up; though he is believed, by others, to have been the *Moabite*'s own ſon[f].

WE have ſeen the time wherein *Eſau* was to be a ſervant to his brother; and now we come to that wherein he

[d] JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. [e] See 1 Kings xxii. 47.
[f] See before, p. 136.

Edomite commander, who now fled to the *Perſian* gulph, and firſt introduced the uſeful arts into *Chaldea*: but this, we apprehend, is allowing a little too much.

was to ſhake off the yoke, and be ſubject to him no more. For, finding a fair opportunity to recover their antient liberty, the *Edomites* embraced it, and ſucceeded. They had already ſhewn how ill they were diſpoſed, even towards *Jehoſhaphat*, when part of them joined the *Moabites* and *Ammonites* in an attempt to ſurpriſe him when he was unprepared for the aſſault; but they fell into ſuch a confuſion, that they were all cut off by the *Ammonites* and *Moabites*, who afterwards butchered each other[f]. But in the days of *Jehoram*, the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat*, the whole nation of *Edom* aroſe, and, aſſaſſinating or expelling their viceroy, made themſelves a king after their own liking; and, upon advice that *Jehoram* was coming, with a formidable power, to reduce them, they marched towards him, and found means to ſurround him on all ſides in the night; but, in the end, they were defeated, with great ſlaughter, and forced to take ſhelter in their retrenchments. Though this was but an indifferent beginning, yet they could never after be annexed again to the houſe of *David*[g].

Year of flood 1459. Bef. Chr. 889.

THUS was the long-wiſh'd-for revolution brought about after one hundred and fifty years of oppreſſion; but who was their chief upon this occaſion, or what he did farther, or who ſucceeded him, we are no-where told.

AFTER this, they had no attempts made upon them by the kings of *Judah* for upwards of ſixty years; in which time they muſt, in all likelihood, have recovered their antient ſplendor: notwithſtanding which, they ſuffered a ſignal overthrow from *Amaziah*, king of *Judah*, in the *Valley of ſalt*, where ten thouſand of them fell in battle, and as many were taken priſoners: after which, their capital, *Selah*, was taken by ſtorm, and the ten thouſand captives were, by *Amaziah*'s order, thrown down from the ragged precipices which ſtood about that city, and daſhed to pieces. *Selah* was now by the conqueror called *Joktheel*[h].

WHETHER after or before this, we cannot diſcover, the *Edomites* engaged in a war with their neighbours the *Moabites*, which proved unſucceſsful; for their king fell into the hands of the enemy, who burnt him, whether dead or alive, we know not, till his bones were reduced to aſhes (X).

Thus

[f] See before, p. 136. [g] 2 Chron. xxi. 8. [h] 2 Kings xiv. 7.

(X) It is doubted whether this be not the ſame war wherein *Meſha*, king of *Moab*, ſacrificed his own ſon, or the ſon of the

Thus have we hitherto joined together the incoherent parts of this history, in the best manner we have been able: in the mean time, they became subject to the king of *Babylon*, to fulfil what several prophets had threatened them with[i]. And when utter destruction fell upon the *Jews*, and they were carried away captive, then did their fury blaze out, so far as to cut off such of them as attempted to make their escape; and, as if they designed now to take a full revenge for what they had suffered in the days of king *David*, they vented their rage on the sad remains of the temple, which they consumed with fire, as soon as the *Chaldees* or *Babylonians* were withdrawn. They even attempted to level the whole city with the ground, insulting the GOD of *Israel* with horrid blasphemies, butchering the few remains, who, by his favour, had escaped the hands of the *Babylonians*; and, flattering themselves with the pleasure of seeing, shortly, an utter end of the *Jewish* nation. For this they were threatened, by the prophets, with a severe retaliation; *viz.* that, for the devastations they had forwarded in *Judah*, they should behold their land become desolate, when those of their now-oppressed enemies should flourish[k].

ACCORDINGLY, they fell, soon after, into dreadful confusion, and violent intestine commotions and persecutions; insomuch that a great part of them left their own country, and settled in the empty land of *Judea*, and, particularly, in the south-western parts[l]; and it was, perhaps, at this time they made an end of the temple of *Jerusalem*. Those who stayed behind in *Edom*, joined the children of *Nebaioth*, and were called *Nabateans* ever afterwards: so that the antient kingdom of *Edom* now lost its name, which was transferred to that part of the land of *Judea* which the refugees had pitched in, and which had never been any part of their old kingdom, but the lot of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*. And this is the *Idumea*, and these the *Idumeans*, mentioned by *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and other antient writers. For, because of their wicked dealing with their oppressed brethren, their kingdom was

[i] See Isa. xxi, xxxiv. Jer. ix, xxv, xxvii, xlix. Lam. iv. Ezek. xxv, xxxii, xxxv, xxxvi. Joel iii. Amos i, ix. [k] See Ezek. xxv. Joel iii. Amos i. Obad. i. See Psal. cxxxvii. [l] STRABO, l. xvi. p. 760.

the king or chief of *Edom* (50). Our translators of the Bible take them to be one and the same event.

(50) *See before, p.* 136.

to loſe all its glory, and become a deſert; *ſtrangers from the ſouth* [o] *were to poſſeſs it*; it was never to riſe, but thenceforward to be called *the border of wickedneſs* [p]; though it pleaſed GOD to ſpare a remnant of this people, by permitting them to ſeize on a part of their brethrens portion; by which means, they came to be united into one family with them, as they were deſcended from the loins of one man.

WE have now pointed out the downfal of the antient kingdom of *Edom*, and ſhall proceed to the interrupted affairs of thoſe *Edomites* who ſettled in *Judea*; concerning which we only know, that a decree was iſſued out againſt them from *Darius Hyſtaſpes*, commanding them to deliver up all they had belonging to the *Jews* [q]; but what effect this had, we find no-where recorded. Upon the decline of the *Perſian* monarchy, and after the days of *Alexander*, they were under the power of the *Seleucidæ*, when the antient averſion they had to the *Jews* being revived, they warred againſt that nation, under the conduct of *Gorgias*, their governor for *Antiochus Epiphanes*: but they got nothing thereby, but ruin, being conſtantly worſted by *Judas Maccabeus*; who, at laſt, took and ſacked their chief city *Hebron* [r]. Their ſtrongholds, wherewith they awed the *Jews*, were forced, by that valorous commander, who cut off twenty thouſand of them, in ſeveral aſſaults; but a reſidue of nine thouſand fled to two ſtrong towers [s], where they were well prepared to ſuſtain a ſiege; whence, by a bribe of 70,000 *drachms*, a good part of them were ſuffered to eſcape: but, when the treachery was diſcovered by the *Jewiſh* general, a ſtop was put to this outlet. Theſe two ſtrong caſtles were alſo forced, and no leſs than twenty thouſand *Idumeans* again [t] put to the ſword. Thus was their zeal againſt their brethren rewarded as it deſerved, as ſhall be more minutely related in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory.

AFTER theſe very troubleſome times, we know not how it fared with the *Edomites* in *Idumea*, except that they ſeem to have been continually agitated by broils and wars, till they were conquered by *John Hyrcanus*, who reduced them to the ſore neceſſity of embracing the *Jewiſh* religion, or of quitting their country. They choſe the former, and, ſubmitting to be circumciſed, became incorpo-

[o] Obad. ubi ſup. [p] Malach. i. [q] 1 Eſdr. iv. ver. 50. [r] 1 Maccab. v. 65, 68. [s] Ver. 4. 5. 2 Maccab. x. 18, 23. [t] Ibid. ver. 21, 23.

rated

rated with the *Jews* [u]; and, conſidering their deſcent, as well as their converſion, they were, upon a double account, reckoned as natural *Jews*: and, accordingly, in the firſt century after *Chriſt*, the name of *Idumean* was loſt, and quite diſuſed [w] (Y). We therefore here break off, reſerving, what farther relates to this people, to the *Jewiſh* hiſtory.

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of Amalek.

AMALEK was the father of this people, and from him were they called *Amalekites*, and their country *Amalekitis*. He was the ſon of *Eſau*'s firſtborn *Eliphaz* (A), by his concubine *Timna*. Notwithſtanding the ſpuri- *Their anceſtor.*

[u] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. [w] PRIDEAUX's connect. of the old and new teſt. book v. p. 307, 308.

(Y) The name of *Edomite* is not ſo wholly loſt, but the *Jews* make uſe of it ſtill. "The "rabbins ſpeak of *Edom* and "*Edomites* long after this; "but thereby they do not mean "*Idumea*, or the ſons of *Edom*, "but *Rome*, and the Chriſtians "of the *Roman* empire. For, "fearing the diſpleaſure of the "Chriſtians, among whom they "live, for avoiding it, when- "ever they ſpeak any reproach- "ful thing of Chriſtians, or of "their religion, they uſually "blend it under feigned names; "ſometimes calling us *Cuthe-* "*ans*, i. e. *Samaritans*, and "ſometimes *Epicureans*, and "ſometimes *Edomites*: and this "laſt is the civileſt appellation "they give us (51)."

(A) The *Arabians* deduce his genealogy in a different manner, and make him ſome generations older than *Abraham*, as follows:

Noah,	*Uz*,
Ham,	*Ad*,
Aram,	*Amalek* (1).

They ſay, alſo, that the *Amalekites*, in antient times, poſſeſſed the country about *Mecca*, whence they were expelled by the *Jorhamite* kings (2). Some hold, that *Ad* was the ſon of *Aws*, or *Uz*, the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Shem*, the ſon of *Noah*. Others, that *Ad* was the ſon of *Amalek*, the ſon of *Ham* (3); but the contrary is the received opinion. Some commentators on the *Koran* (4) tell us, that the old *Adites* were of prodigious ſtature, the largeſt being an hundred cubits, and the

(51) *Prideaux's connect. of the Old and New Teſt. part* ii. *book* v. *p.* 308. & *Buxtorfii lexic. rabbin. p.* 30, 31, 14. (1) *Vide Reland. Palæſt. illuſt. c.* 310. (2) *Pocock. ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p.* 173. (3) *D'Herbelot, p.* 51, (4) *Jallalo'ddin & Zamakſhari.*

ſpuriouſneſs of his birth, he is reckoned among the dukes in the land of *Edom*, and is ſaid to have ſucceeded *Gatam* [a], which is all we know, for certain, concerning him. The early ſeparation of this family from that of *Edom* is not without ſome great difficulties. It might, indeed, be reaſonably enough aſcribed either to the ſpuriouſneſs of his birth, or to ſome other inteſtine broils: but, when we call to mind the previous wars of the *Amalekites* with *Chedorlaomer*, hinted at in the laſt note; when we conſider *Balaam* calling them the *firſt*, or *beginning* of nations, as we ſhall ſee anon; when we reflect, that *Moſes* never ſtiles them the brethren of *Iſrael* or *Edom*; that the latter never held any confederacy or friendly harmony with them in all their wars, but ſuffered them to be invaded and butchered by *Saul*, without lending them any aſſiſtance; laſtly, when we find them always mentioned with the *Amorites*, *Philiſtines*, and other *Canaanitiſh* nations, and with them involved in the ſame curſe; we can ſcarcely forbear looking upon them rather as a tribe of thoſe nations, than as the deſcendants of *Eſau*, contrary to the received opinion. Of the country they inhabited, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

Their cuſtoms and religion.

OF their religion, and civil cuſtoms, we can know nothing, for certain, ſince we are in the dark about their deſcent. If from *Eſau*, we may ſuppoſe they uſed circumciſion; and that the decree of their total exciſion was owing to the outrages they committed on the diſtreſſed *Iſraelites* [b]: but if of a *Canaanitiſh* race, their horrid idolatries ſubjected them, without all doubt, to one common doom with the *Canaanitiſh* nation: if the former, they had, at leaſt,

[a] Gen. xxxvi. 12. 1 Chron. i. 36. [b] Exod. xvii. 8, 14, 16.

leaſt ſixty; which they pretend to prove by the authority of the *Koran* (5). In fine, it is alſo ſaid, by the *Arabian* writers, that *Amalek* was the ſon of *Aad*, the ſon of *Shem* (6). *Le Clerc* (7) is willing to adopt this notion ſo far as to think, that the *Amalekites* were a great nation before the days of *Abraham* or *Lot*; becauſe he finds, that *Chedorlaomer* made war on them under that name, which he ſuppoſes muſt be proleptically taken at firſt. But, conſidering that the *Amalek* here ſpoken of was of the houſe of *Eſau*, with whom the *Iſraelites* were commanded to be at peace, he changes his mind, and imagines they had no relation to this *Amalek*, but ſprang from ſome other.

(5) *Koran*, c. 7, *Num.* xxiv. 20. (6) *Ebn Shohnah.* (7) *In Gen.* xiv. 7. &

for

for some time, the same religion with their progenitors, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, &c. if the latter, they gave, probably, into all the abominations of their neighbours. *Josephus* [i] mentions their idols; but the Scripture terms them the idols of mount *Seir*; so that they seem to have more properly belonged to the *Edomites*, than to the *Amalekites*.

THEIR arts, sciences, and trade, we can only guess at from their situation: for it is probable, they had the knowlege and commerce of those times pretty much in common with their neighbours the *Edomites* [k], the *Egyptians*, and those of the sea-coasts of *Judea*. And this is the less disputable, as their king is placed in so high a sphere of majesty, and themselves stiled the first of the nations, as we shall see anon. Much the same may be said of their manners, genius, and policy. *Their arts, &c.*

CONCERNING their government, thus much appears, that it was monarchical; and that the first, or, at least, one of the first of their kings, was called *Agag* [l]; as was, also, their last [m]; from whence it has been imagined, that all their intermediate kings bore the same appellation. *Their government.*

THE *Amalekites* reduced very early the country which they seized on, when driven out of the land of *Edom* by the descendants of *Esau*: and very remarkable it is, that they suddenly grew up to such a height of power and splendor, that their king is spoken of as far above all others: for *Balaam*, foretelling the future majesty of the *Jewish* state, expresses himself, that their king *shall be higher than* Agag; and stiles them, *the first of the nations* [n] (E); which seems to countenance the extraordinary things *Their history.*

[i] Antiq. l. ix. c. 10. [k] See before, p. 169. [l] Num. xxiv. 7. [m] 1 Sam. xv. 8. [n] Num. ubi sup. & ver. 20.

(E) Their rise must have been sudden; for their kingdom was not so old as that of the *Edomites*, by whom they were driven out of the land of *Edom*. The kingdom of *Edomites* commenced at the *exodus*, as we have shewn, in the history of that people (16); and therefore when *Balaam* expressed himself in so high a strain concerning *Agag*, and his monarchy, it could not have been of much above forty years standing. The expression of *Amalek*'s being *the first of the nations*, our version turns otherwise, in the margin, *the first of the nations that warred against* Israel. Much the same turn does *Onkelos* give it; but if we compare what is said of *Agag* himself but thirteen verses before, we shall not be at a loss for the right,

(16) *See before*, p. 173.

things the *Arabian* hiſtorians have concerning the *Amalekites*: as that they conquered *Egypt*, and poſſeſſed the throne of that kingdom for ſeveral generations [p] (F).

But, not to deviate from the authority we muſt rely on, it appears that this kingdom was haughty and inſolent in its very cradle: they no ſooner heard, that the *Iſraelites* had croſſed the *Red Sea*, than they reſolved to cut them off. The Scripture mentions none but *Amalek* [q] upon this occaſion; which, whether it is ſpoken of the king alone, or of the whole nation, is not agreed. *Joſephus* relates that they had no leſs than five kings, who, conſulting together, joined forces with this view [r] (G): be that as it will, the *Amalekites* fell on the rear of the *Iſraelites* as they were on full march from *Rephidim* to mount *Horeb*. Some havock they made; but it returned ſeverely upon themſelves, as ſoon as *Joſhua* could get the fighting men into order; by whom, being, in their turn, aſſaulted, a long and bloody battle enſued; but, in the end, the *Amalekites* were put to a precipitate flight, with the heavy doom on their head, that,

[p] See before, p. 116—119. [q] Exod. xvii. 8. [r] Joseph. antiq. l. iii. c. 2.

right, or, at leaſt, natural explication of the paſſage before us; which, doubtleſs, means, that they were the greateſt, and moſt noble nation of that time: and this is the moſt generally approved opinion. In *Le Clerc*'s verſion they are ſtiled the *firſt-fruits of the nations*; by which, in his commentary, he underſtands them to have been the moſt antient and potent nation, and to have been before any of thoſe which proceeded from the loins of *Abraham* and *Lot*.

(F) What the *Arabic* hiſtory ſays of theſe *Amalekites*, bears an affinity with what the *Egyptian* records report of the *Phœnician* ſhepherds; for they were at length expelled by the natives (17), and are ſuppoſed, as is ſaid by us of the *Canaanites*, to have fled into *Africa* (18); and that the *Amalekites* were ſometimes comprehended under the general denomination of *Phœnicians*, may be obſerved hereafter.

(G) What *Joſephus* here ſays, need not be ſuppoſed to imply, that the *Amalekites* were divided into many kingdoms. It is poſſible, and very probable, that ſome of the petty kings of *Canaan* joined the king of *Amalekitis* now, as he did ſome of the *Canaanites* afterwards, to prevent the *Iſraelites* from entering their borders. This junction may have been paſſed over by *Moſes*, who thought it enough, that he mentioned the principal and ring-leader of the aſſault.

(17) *Ex libro Mirat. Cainat dicto.* p. 82.

(18) *Vid. Reland. Palæſt. illuſt.*

for

for this outrage, *their* name *ſhould be put out from under heaven* [s].

In the mean time, however, it pleaſed God to make uſe of them, in conjunction with ſome of the *Canaanites*, as his inſtruments to puniſh the diſobedience of the *Iſraelites*, attempting to enter the *Land of promiſe*, in contradiction to the expreſs decree of God, that not one of them, from twenty years and upwards, ſhould ſet foot in it [t]. The ſlaughter the *Amalekites* helped to make of the *Iſraelites*, upon this occaſion, will be told in the hiſtory of *Canaan*.

After this, they ſeem to have miſſed no opportunity of haraſſing the *Jewiſh* nation, till they were ripe for the exciſion denounced againſt them. They confederated with *Eglon* king of *Moab*, and the *Ammonites* [u], and afterwards with the *Midianites* under *Zebah* and *Zalmunna*, to root out the *Iſraelites*, and poſſeſs themſelves of the land, as they had vainly projected: but what ſucceſs they had in the attempt, and how they, in the end, fell by their own ſwords, and thoſe of their friends and allies, we have already related at large [w].

After this, there is a very wide gap in the hiſtory of this people, which reaches even to the days of *Saul*. At this time, their king was a very graceful perſon, and of noble preſence and addreſs, which ſtood him in good ſtead: for, on account of theſe perſonal accompliſhments, was his life ſpared, it ſeems, in the general maſſacre of his ſubjects [x]. But, with all this ſpecious outſide, he is upbraided as an inſolent and mercileſs tyrant; and in his reign the nation was grown ripe for the exciſion they had been threatened with about four hundred years before: and, as a forerunner of it, the *Kenites* were warned to leave their country, and ſeek ſome other ſeat, leſt they ſhould be involved in the impending calamity [y]. As ſoon as the *Kenites* had obeyed the ſummons, the *Amalekites* were invaded by *Saul*, at the head of two hundred and ten thouſand men (H). Not being

Year of flood 1253. Bef. Chr. 1095.

[s] Exod. ubi ſup. 8—16. [t] Num. xiv. 29, 30. [u] See before, p. 123. [w] See p. 156—161. [x] Joseph. antiq. l. vi. c. 8. [y] See before, p. 157.

(H) *Joſephus* makes this army to have conſiſted of no more than 70,000 men, and tells us, that the country was ſo poſſeſſed by them, that the *Amalekites* could hardly eſcape, if they attempted to fly any-where (19). But this is ſaid at random, as we think.

(19) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* vi. *c.* 8.

able

able to make head againſt ſo numerous an army, they were all cut off, except *Agag*, and ſome who had the good luck to make their eſcape, or conceal themſelves in places where they were not diſcovered: neither mother nor ſucking child were ſpared, and the whole country was laid waſte. *Agag*, and the beſt of the cattle, only were ſuffered to live. However, *Agag* did not long enjoy this favour; for *Samuel* no ſooner heard, that he was alive, than he ſent for him, and, notwithſtanding his inſinuating addreſs, and the vain hopes with which he flattered himſelf, that *the bitterneſs of death was paſſed*, he hewed him to pieces, or cauſed him to be hewed by others, in *Gilgal*, before the LORD [z].

THE poor remnant of the *Amalekites*, who eſcaped the ſword of *Saul*, returned to their deſolate country, and lived there in peace, it ſeems, till ſuch time as *David*, obliged to ſue for protection to *Achiſh*, king of the *Philiſtines*, againſt the hatred and jealouſy of *Saul*, had *Ziklag* allotted to him. At this time the *Amalekites* are mentioned as aſſociated with the *Geſhurites* and *Gezerites* (I). The *Amalekites*, thus recovering ſtrength, were ſlaughtered, once more, by their new and near neighbour *David*, who thought it, perhaps, a duty incumbent on him to complete the work which *Saul* had left unfiniſhed. Thus once more were the *Amalekites*, men and women, butchered and diſperſed, their country laid waſte, and all the cattle that came in the enemy's way driven off [a].

THE *Amalekites* meditated revenge for this cruel injury, as they, doubtleſs, called it; and, muſtering their ſtrength, went up to *Ziklag*, the abode of *David*, who happened then to be abſent with his ſmall party, ſo that the town was left defenceleſs: wherefore they eaſily made themſelves maſters of the place, and conſumed it with fire; but ſpared the inhabitants; which, conſidering what they had ſuffered ſo lately from *David*, might paſs for a great piece of moderation, if they had not ſome farther views in preſerving

Year of flood 1293. Bef. Chr. 1055.

[z] 1 Sam. xv. 32, 33. JOSEPH. l. vi. c. 9. [a] 1 Sam. xxvii. 9.

(I) Who theſe *Geſhurites* and *Gezerites* were, is uncertain. They are taken for reliques of the *Canaanites* (20); but, by the words of the text, it might be imagined, they were originally of this country; for *thoſe nations were, of old, the inhabitants of the land, as thou goeſt to* Shur, *even unto the land of* Egypt (21).

(20) *Vide Cleric. & Patrick, upon* 1 *Sam.* xxvii. (21) 1 *Sam.* xxvii. 8.

them.

them (K). Among their captives were *David*'s two wives, *Ahinoam* the *Jezreelite*, and *Abigail*, who had been wife to *Nabal* the *Carmelite*. Having thus ſucceeded to their wiſh, they reſolved to ſecure what they had got, by an expeditious return homewards, determined not to ſtop by the way till they ſhould reach ſome place equally ſafe and agreeable. Hurrying on with this precipitation, they left behind one of their number, an *Egyptian* by birth, who could not keep pace with them. *David*, in the mean time, having notice of the revenge the *Amalekites* had taken on him, purſued them very eagerly; and, in his way, took this *Egyptian*, who informed him of the place where they intended to halt. The *Amalekites* arrived at the appointed place, and gave a looſe to mirth and jollity, recreating themſelves ſeveral days together: as they were in this careleſs poſture, they were diſcovered by *David* from the neighbouring hills, towards the cloſe of day; and, after they had ſpent the whole night in debauchery, they were ſet upon by him and his men, and ſlaughtered from break of day till ſunſet; ſo that not a ſoul of them eſcaped the edge of the ſword, except four hundred young men, who rode upon dromedaries, and who, leaving all their companions and booty behind them, were burdened with nothing but the doleful news of ſo dreadful a misfortune, after ſuch uncommon ſucceſs in their attempt upon *Ziklag* [a].

THUS by degrees were the *Amalekites* reduced; and at laſt the fatal blow was given them in the days of *Hezekiah*, by the *Simeonites* [b], who, having utterly deſtroyed and diſperſed them, poſſeſſed themſelves of their country: ſuch is the imperfect account we have of the deſtruction of the *Amalekites*: as *Balaam* had propheſied long before, *Amalek was the firſt of the nations; but his latter end* ſhall be, *that he periſh for ever* [c].

[a] Sam. xxx. [b] See 1 Chron. iv. 40—43. [c] Num. xxiv. 20.

(K) It is ſaid, they were a poor covetous people, who intended to ſell them for ſlaves, and make money of them (22); or wanted ſervants for their own uſe, and therefore ſhewed this mercy. But if we may be allowed a conjecture of our own, they kept their priſoners alive to ſupply the loſs of thoſe who had lately periſhed by the hand of *David*; and this does not ſeem to be a very unnatural ſuppoſition.

(22) *See Patrick on* 1 *Sam.* xxx. 2. *& Cleric.*

BUT

BUT afterwards a man of *Amalekitiſh* blood had taken ample revenge on the *Jews*, had not GOD interpoſed, as it were, by a miracle; for *Haman* is called an *Agagite* or *Amalekite*; and it is well known how near he was having the pleaſure of ſeeing his bloody deſigns againſt the *Jews* put in execution; but this fact, being tranſacted in another country and period, muſt be related elſewhere. However, it may be called the laſt act of the *Amalekites*; and therefore we ſhall cloſe with it this ſection.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of Canaan.

WE have already [a] given the hiſtory of the anceſtors of this nation, and of their origin; and therefore ſhall not repeat it here.

CANAAN the ſon of *Ham*, the ſon of *Noah*, had eleven ſons, *Sidon* or *Zidon*, *Heth*, *Jebuſi*, *Emori* or *Amori*, *Gergaſi* or *Gergaſhi*, *Hivi* or *Hevi*, *Archi* or *Arki*, *Sini*, *Arvadi*, *Zemari*, and *Hamathi*. Theſe were the fathers of the following tribes or nations; the *Sidonians* or *Zidonians*, the *Hettites* or *Hittites*, the *Jebuſites*, the *Emorites* or *Amorites*, the *Gergaſites* or *Gergaſhites*, the *Hivites* or *Hevites*, the *Arkites* or *Archites*, the *Sinites*, the *Arvadites*, the *Zemarites* and the *Hamathites* [b]. Five of theſe are known to have dwelt in the land of *Canaan*, the *Hettites*, the *Jebuſites*, the *Emorites*, the *Gergaſites*, and the *Hivites*. To theſe are added two others, the *Perizzites* and *Canaanites*; and theſe make up the ſeven primary nations of the *Canaanites*: but how the *Perizzites* came to be a diſtinct body, or whence the *Canaanites* are peculiarly ſo called, is a difficulty that can, at beſt, be only gueſſed at. Theſe ſeven nations laboured in particular under the evil influences of the curſe denounced by *Noah* againſt their ungodly anceſtor *Ham*, being doomed in the end to expulſion, exciſion, or ſubjection. Whether the ſix other nations we have mentioned are to be reckoned among the inhabitants of the land of *Canaan*, by us commonly ſo called, is affirmed by ſome, and denied by others, who think they were exempt from the ruin which was to light on the other ſeven; being countenanced by the ſilence which is obſerved concerning them in the wars the other

[a] See vol. i. p. 268, 274, 275. [b] Gen. x. 15.

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Canaanites had with *Joſhua* and his ſucceſſors. For therein is no mention made of the *Sidonians*, the *Arkites*, the *Sinites*, the *Arvadites*, the *Zemarites*, or the *Hamathites*; which is very remarkable, ſeeing they were primary nations or families. We therefore are of opinion, that they were not included; elſe ſo many petty ſtates or kingdoms could never have been particularized, and they paſſed over. We muſt therefore ſeek for theſe ſix original tribes elſewhere. It cannot well be doubted but the ſeven nations, as they are called, were ſubdivided into many little kingdoms; we ſay little, ſince we muſt look for them all within the narrow limits of *Joſhua*'s conqueſts. Within that ſmall compaſs we have no fewer than the following number of *Canaanitiſh* kings, ſaid to be ſubdued by him; the king of *Jericho*, the king of *Ai*, the king of *Jeruſalem*, the king of *Hebron*, the king of *Jarmuth*, the king of *Lachiſh*, the king of *Eglon*, the king of *Gezer*, the king of *Debir*, the king of *Geder*, the king of *Hormah*, the king of *Arad*, the king of *Libnah*, the king of *Adullam*, the king of *Makkedah*, the king of *Beth-el*, the king of *Jappuah*, the king of *Hepher*, the king of *Aphek*, the king of *Laſharon* or *Sharon*, the king of *Madon*, the king of *Hazor*, the king of *Shimron-meron*, the king of *Achſhaph*, the king of *Taanach*, the king of *Megiddo*, the king of *Kedeſh*, the king of *Jonkneam* of *Carmel*, the king of *Dor*, the king of the nations of *Gilgal*, and the king of *Tirzah*, thirty-one in all [c] (A); who were either all, or moſt of them, comprehended under the primary denominations of the ſeven nations, the *Hittites*, the *Jebuſites*, the *Amorites*, the *Girgaſhites*, *Hivites*, *Perizzites*, or *Canaanites* (B) properly or peculiarly ſo cal-

[c] Joſhua xii. 9—24.

(A) But we muſt not for this ſuppoſe there were no more than thirty-one in the whole country who bore the royal title. Thoſe are only mentioned who were conquered by *Joſhua*. The Scripture hiſtory acknowleges, that the *Canaanites* were never wholly ſubdued by him; whence we may infer, that many had the title of king, who never received much hurt from *Joſhua*.

(B) In theſe ſeven we may ſuppoſe the ten nations compriſed that were promiſed to *Abraham*, the *Kenites*, the *Kenizzites*, the *Kadmonites*, the *Hittites*, the *Perizzites*, the *Rephaim*, the *Amorites*, the *Canaanites*, the *Girgaſhites*, and the *Jebuſites* (1). We may touch on this matter anon.

(1) *Geneſ.* xv. 19—21.

led.

led. Nor were theſe all the branches of the *Canaanites*, who were poſſeſſed of the *Land of promiſe*. But the deſcription of this country, and its ſeveral diviſions or cantons, we reſerve to the general deſcription of *Paleſtine*, where we ſhall aſſign a peculiar place to each, at leaſt, of the primary nations.

Their cuſtoms, &c. To ſpeak here of the cuſtoms, manners, arts, ſciences, and language of theſe ſeveral nations, we may ſuppoſe, that in ſome points they differed widely from each other, according as their ſituation led them into different courſes of life. We need not ſay, that the *Canaanites* on the ſea-ſide were merchants, in which capacity we ſhall conſider them at large, when we come to ſpeak of them as *Phœnicians*; for by that name, it is commonly agreed, they were afterwards known to the *Greeks*: accordingly the *Seventy*, inſtead of *the kings of the* Canaanites, *which were by the ſea*, have rendered it, *the kings of the* Phœnicians, *on the ſea-coaſt*. And, by the ſame, the whole *land of Canaan* is called the *country of the Phœnicians* [y], though thoſe only were properly ſo called who inhabited the ſea-coaſt: and theſe we ſhall dwell upon more particularly under the head of *antient Phœnicians*. The other *Canaanites*, who had an inland ſituation, were employed in paſturage partly, and partly in tillage, and in the exerciſe of arms, in which they will be ſeen to have been well verſed. Thoſe who dwelt in the walled cities, and fixed abodes, cultivated the land, as we may ſuppoſe; and thoſe who wandered about, as particularly the *Perizzites* ſeem to have done, grazed cattle, or carried arms. So that it is eaſy to diſcern among them the ſeveral diſtinct claſſes of merchants, and conſequently ſeamen, of artificers, ſoldiers, ſhepherds, and huſbandmen, if not ſtudents. As much as they were divided in intereſt and ways of life, we ſhall perceive by their hiſtory, that they were ready to join in the common cauſe; that they were very well appointed for war, whether offenſive or defenſive; that their towns were well fortified, and themſelves well furniſhed with weapons to fight in the field; that they particularly had warlike chariots, ſo dreadful among the antients, and which they are thought to have borrowed from the *Egyptians* (F); that they were daring,

[y] Jos. cap. v. com. 1, 12.

(F) This is biſhop *Cumberland*'s thought, who ſuppoſes a part of them to have abode two hundred years in *Egypt*; and

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daring, obſtinate, and almoſt invincible; and, in the example of the *Gibeonites* beneath, we ſhall ſee they wanted not craft and policy. The language they ſpoke was, it ſeems, well underſtood by *Abraham*; for, by what appears, he converſed very readily with them, upon all occaſions; but, for their manner of writing, whether they had any originally of their own, which, conſidering all things, cannot well be doubted, or whether they had it in common with the other nations then ſubſiſting in that part of the world, who all ſpoke the ſame tongue, or very nearly the ſame, or whether they borrowed it at firſt from the *Iſraelites*, may be conſidered when we come to ſpeak of the *Hebrew* language [z].

THEY retained the pure religion quite down to the days of *Abraham*, who acknowleged *Melchiſedek* to be prieſt of the moſt high GOD; and *Melchiſedek* was indiſputably a *Canaanite*, or, at leaſt, dwelt there at that time in high eſteem and veneration (G). They never offered to moleſt *Abraham*; on the contrary, they were ready to oblige him in every thing, a noble example of which we have in the behaviour and good intentions of *Ephron* towards him in the affair of the cave of *Machpelah*. To dwell no longer on this ſubject, we muſt hence allow, that there was not a general corruption of religion among the *Canaanites* at this day; but it muſt be granted, that the very *Hittites*, ſo ſeemingly commendable in the days of *Abraham*, degenerated apace, *Their religion.*

[z] See SHUCKFORD's connect. of the ſacr. and prof. hiſt. vol. i. book 2. p. 100. See alſo univ. hiſt. vol. i. p. 356.

and that the *Canaanites* and *Perizzites*, when named together, muſt be underſtood of thoſe mingled tribes of all the *Canaanites*, who had been engaged in fierce wars with the *Egyptians*; and further, that theſe two bodies are particularly marked down for deſtruction, as they were the moſt warlike and skilful in martial affairs, training up their children to the ſame diſcipline, and the moſt likely to give the *Iſraelites* trouble (10).

(G) Sir *Iſaac Newton* (11) concludes, that they perſevered in the true religion till the death of *Melchiſedek*; but that afterwards they fell from it, and began to embrace idolatry, now ſpreading, as he thinks, from *Chaldea*. They are ſaid to have been given to the ſuperſtitions of the antient *Perſians* (12).

(10) *See Cumberland origin. gent. antiqu. p.* 132, 133. (11) *Chronol. of ant. kingdoms amended, p.* 188. (12) *See Shuckford's connect. of ſacr. and prof. hiſt. vol. i. book v. p.* 335.

ſince

ſince they were become the averſion of *Iſaac* and *Rebekah*, who could not endure the thoughts of their ſon *Jacob*'s marrying among the daughters of *Heth*, as their ſon *Eſau* had done, to their great grief [a]. So that about this time we muſt date the riſe of (H) thoſe abominations which ſubjected them to the wrath of GOD, and made them unworthy of the land which they poſſeſſed. In the days of *Moſes* they were become incorrigible idolaters; for he commands the *Iſraelites* to *deſtroy their altars*, and *break down their images*, ſtatues or pillars, *and cut down their groves* (I), *and burn their graven images with fire*. And, leſt they ſhould pervert the *Iſraelites*, the latter were ſtrictly injoined not to intermarry with them; but *to ſmite them, and utterly deſtroy them, nor ſhew mercy upon them* [b]. By this we may form an idea of their abominable errors. They are accuſed of the cruel cuſtom of ſacrificing men, and are ſaid to have paſſed their ſeed through fire to *Moloch* [c]. The cuſtom of ſacrificing men they are charged with, as being the anceſtors of the *Phœnicians*; and therefore we ſhall not repeat what we have already [d] ſaid on that ſubject, nor anticipate what we may have to add in our *Phœnician* hiſtory. Their morals were as corrupt as

[a] See before, p. 163. [b] Deut. vii. 1—5. [c] Levit. xviii. 21. See before, p. 140—142. [d] See vol. i. p. 314.

(H) It is the opinion, however, of biſhop *Cumberland* (13), that the *Canaanites* were idolaters before the congreſs of *Melchiſedek* and *Abraham*, which we know not how to allow.

(I) The original word *aſharim*, which we render *groves*, is by ſome underſtood to mean the wooden images of *Aſtarte*: they inſtance *Gideon*'s throwing down the altar, and cutting down the grove, that was by it, or, as the *Hebrew* and LXX have it, upon it; which they urge could not be the grove, but the image upon it (14). But, beſides that the original may as well be rendered, *over it*; *viz.* the grove that was over the altar; we ſhall ſhew in the ſequel, that thoſe groves were not only very common, but deſigned to conceal their impious rites. Sir *Iſaac Newton* remarks upon the whole paſſage, that the *Canaanites* had no temples. Moſes *commanded* Iſrael *to deſtroy the altars, images, high-places, and groves of the* Canaanites; *but made no mention of their temples, as he would have done, had there been any in thoſe days* (15).

(13) *Origin. gent. antiquiſſ. p.* 427. (14) *Selden de diis Syris ſyntagm.* ii. (15) *Chronol. of ant. kingd. amended, p.* 221.

their

their doctrine; adultery, beſtiality of all ſorts, profanation, inceſt, and all manner of uncleanneſs, are the ſins laid to their charge, and which brought on the calamities they were doomed to [d]: and this may ſerve as a ſupplement to the character of this people, after they erred from the right way.

Their government.

CONCERNING their government thus much may be ſaid, That they were comprehended under a great number of ſtates, and under ſubjection to limited chiefs or kings, as they are called; and tranſacted all their buſineſs in popular aſſemblies: ſo *Abraham* bowed not down to the king of the children of *Heth*, but to the children of *Heth*; ſo *Ephron* ſeems to have treated with *Abraham* with the participation of his whole tribe: ſo *Hamor* king of *Shechem*, would not conclude upon what anſwer he ſhould make to the propoſals of the ſons of *Jacob*, till he had conſulted his citizens; and throughout all their tranſactions the ſame tenor of conduct in their princes will be obſerved by every attentive reader: nor is it likely, that ſo many petty kingdoms ſhould have been ſtanding when *Joſhua* invaded them, had exorbitant ambition and luſt of rule been known among them; but as nature, perhaps, taught them, That every man as an individual, and every ſtate as a collective body, is free and independent, ſo they may thereby have been reſtrained from invading each other's rights, or elſe one or a few muſt have ſubdued the reſt; and, though this opinion may be combated by the ambitious cruelty of *Adonizebek* [e], that one example can have no more force againſt this argument than a ſingle exception has to a general rule: that the main body of them thought and acted upon different principles, appears pretty plain. This is as much as we need, or can well ſay concerning their government, laws, and policy.

Their hiſtory.

WE now come to their hiſtory, the beginnings of which are too dark and unſettled for us to dwell on them, and too much incumbered with the hypotheſes of the great men, who have turned their thoughts towards their antiquities. Wherefore, taking Scripture, and the natural lights reflected from it, for our principal guides, we ſhall juſt touch upon what the learned have advanced from their own ſtock. When we conſider the ſituation and diſtance of this country, we cannot but think it was at firſt peopled by *Canaan* and his deſcendants upon the firſt diſper-

[d] Levit. xviii. 21. [e] Judg. c. 1. ver. 7, & ſeq.

ſion after the flood (K). What concerns they originally had with *Egypt*, are rather gueſſed at than confirmed to us, in reſpect of the time when they were tranſacted; but, finding that there was a ſettled averſion among the *Egyptians*, in the days of *Jacob*, againſt ſuch as fed cattle, it is thought the *Phœnician* ſhepherds or *Canaanites* may have warred upon, and oppreſſed the *Egyptians*, before *Abraham* removed into *Canaan*; though this is liable to ſome objections (L): therefore we muſt here acknowlege, as we did formerly, our great ignorance in this matter, and diſſatisfaction with what the learned have advanced upon it. All we can pretend to in this matter, is to mark out the times in which the learned pretend to fix what *Manetho* tells us of the *Phœnician* ſtrangers in *Egypt*. In conformity to this, it is pretended [f], that ſome of them, upon the increaſe of their families, being ſtreightened for want of room, moved ſouthwards, as *Moſes* intimates, as others did northwards, ſuch as the *Hamathite* and *Arvadite*; and that the former penetrated far into *Egypt*, or at leaſt poſſeſſed themſelves of the *Arabian* ſide of that country, which they will have was *Goſhen*. Here, ſay they, did they ſettle, even under *Mizraim* himſelf; erected a ſeparate kingdom; and, differing from the pure *Egyptians* in religious matters, and in way of life, fierce contentions aroſe between them, which ended in their total expulſion in the manner we formerly related in the hiſtory of *Egypt*; and this, ſay they, happened in the days of *Abraham*.

THE vale of *Siddim*, where *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* ſtood, was within the bounds of the antient country of *Canaan*;

[f] See CUMBERLAND on Sanchoniatho, p. 351, 352, ſeqq. & BEDFORD's Scripture chronol. p. 201, 202, 250, 251, 252, 253, 337.

(K) There is an old tradition which ſays otherwiſe; for it tells us, that this country did originally belong to the children of *Shem*, by virtue of a diviſion made among the ſons of *Noah*; but that the children of *Canaan* diſpoſſeſſed them (15): whence it is argued, that GOD did but ſtrict juſtice in reſtoring the line of *Shem* to their rightful poſſeſſion (16).

(L) For we think it is pretty obvious, that the *Egyptians* muſt have looked on *Abraham* as a *Phœnician* or *Canaanitiſh* paſtor, when he was among them; but we do not find, that they had any averſion to him on that account: the contrary is certain (17).

(15) *Epiph. hæreſ.* 46. *n.* 84. *Gen.* xii. (16) *Vid. Allix. in pentat.* (17) So

the

the ſcene of the firſt action we find, for certain, of this people. The inhabitants of this vale were invaded by *Chedorlaomer*, king of *Elam*, and reduced to a tribute (M), which they paid for twelve years ſucceſſively; but in the thirteenth they rebelled, and this drew on them a ſecond war, which we ſhall ſpeak of anon.

In the mean time the other parts of the country received *Abraham* with great hoſpitality and veneration, two or three years after this invaſion; but, ſoon after his arrival, the whole land was oppreſſed by famine, and the *Canaanite* is now expreſly ſaid to have been in the land (N). The dearth drove *Abraham* into *Egypt*: whence we learn, that the whole country at this time was in great want [h]. The famine was of no long continuance, and *Abraham*, returning into this country, found that the *Perizzite* was alſo in the land; whence it is thought, they are ſpoken of as new comers, and that they had lately been expelled from *Egypt*, or, dreading an expulſion, had voluntarily forſaken that kingdom; and the rather becauſe *Abraham* and *Lot* ſeem now to have been ſtreightened for want of room, which cauſed their ſeparation, as if the country was now become more populous than they at firſt found it (O). It

Year of flood 427. Bef. Chr. 1921.

[h] Gen. xii. 10. Joseph. antiq. l. i. c. 9.

(M) By an old tradition we have already mentioned, this war upon the inhabitants of the vale of *Siddim* was a very juſt one; for if it be true, that the land of *Canaan*, of which this was undoubtedly a part, originally belonged to the children of *Shem*, from whom it was forcibly taken by the children of *Ham* (18), no wonder that the kings of the eaſt, who were of that deſcent, laid claim to this country in general, and to this moſt lovely ſpot in particular; for *Elam* deſcended from *Shem* (19).

(N) According to what you read in the preceding note, this means no more, than that the *Canaanites* had invaded the country before *Abraham* came thither. But we muſt remember, that this is building a ſuperſtructure upon a very weak foundation, a tradition: much the ſame may be ſaid upon the paſſage afterwards, that the *Perizzites* were alſo in the land.

(O) But upon this we may ſtart one queſtion, which in this caſe cannot be readily anſwered; How came ſuch a weak prince as *Hamor* king of *Shechem* to have ſo much ground to ſpare, as he afterwards talks of, when he hoped to make an union with *Jacob* (20)?

(18) *See the preceding page*, (K). *Gen.* xxxiv. 21.

(19) *Gen.* x. 22.

(20) *See*

was at this time that the whole land was promiſed to *Abraham* [i].

f THE five kings of the vale of *Siddim*, *Bera* king of
5. *Sodom*, *Birſha* king of *Gomorrah*, *Shinab* king of *Admah*,
. *Shemeber* king of *Zeboiim*, and the king of *Bela* or *Zoar*,
. rebelled in the thirteenth year after they had been ſubdued
J by *Chedorlaomer*, as we have already obſerved. Wherefore *Chedorlaomer* and his allies marched hither again in the fourteenth year, taking ſeveral other nations or tribes in his way; or rather he fetched a circuit to come at them, reducing, among others, the *Horites*, the *Amalekites*, and the *Amorites* of *Hazezontamar*. At laſt he fell on the five kings of *Siddim*, who were reſolved to diſpute their right with him; but they fell under the preſſure of the enemy once more; and all the inhabitants were either ſlain in battle, carried into captivity, or obliged to fly for ſhelter to their cities and mountains. *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the reſt, were pillaged with the utmoſt rigour. Among the priſoners was *Lot*; but he was ſoon reſcued by *Abraham* [k].

AT this time *Melchiſedek* (P) was king of *Salem*, and prieſt

[i] Gen. xiii. 14, & ſeq. [k] Gen. xiv. 16.

(P) The *Jews* will have him to have been *Shem*, unwilling to own, that their father ſhould have had any ſuperior among the *Canaanites*; and they are not without their advocates among the Chriſtian writers, and ſome of them very eminent: we will give the words of a very learned prelate of our own church upon this point.. "I am glad that I can cite "*Grotius* to abet my opinion "[That *Melchiſedek* was the "*Shem* of *Moſes*, and the juſt "judge of *Philo Byblius*] thus "far, that he ſaith in his notes "on *Hebr.* vii. 1. *Melchiſedek* "is the man meant by *Sydic* in "*Philo Byblius*. And that "*Shem* had this title of *Mel-* "*chiſedek*, or *the juſt king*, as "*Pompey* was ordinarily called "*Magnus*, and *Octavius* called "*Auguſtus*, is the judgment of "the eldeſt and learnedeſt "*Jews*, and of many modern "learned men in *Jewiſh* anti- "quity; to whoſe judgment "herein I ſubſcribe with great "ſatisfaction. And, whereas "others think him ſome ſmall "king of *Canaan*, I concur "thus far with them, that I "believe he neither had, nor "ſought, any large dominions "for himſelf (21) .... This then is a favourite opinion, we ſee; and no doubt the great man, whoſe words theſe are, had perfectly ſatisfied himſelf, that the thing muſt have been

(21) *Cumberland on Sanchoniatho, p.* 174.

ſo.

t alſo of the moſt high God (Q): and as *Abraham* returning from the war, he preſented him with bread and

But as eminent a prelate of our own differs ſo far the former, whoſe words ave given above, that he ers how any Chriſtian can tain ſuch a notion, ſo evi- y deſtroyed by the apoſtle e *Hebrews* (23), where it reſly ſaid, that *Melchiſedek* not γενεαλογέμενος ἐξ ν, *his deſcent* or *pedigree* ot *counted from them* [the]; which is not true of . " Nor could *Shem* be d to be *without father or ther*, whoſe genealogy is dent from *Adam*. Nor s *Shem*'s prieſthood, if he d any, of a different order m *Levi*'s, who was in his ns, as well as in the loins *Abraham*. And therefore cannot be ſaid, that *Levi* d him tythes in the loins *Abraham*; but it would as true, that he received hes in the loins of *Shem*. r, according to this inter- etation, he was in the loins h of him that received hes, and of him that paid m; and ſo the whole ar- mentation of the apoſtle s to the ground. But, ing aſide theſe, and other riſtian reaſons, there is cauſe, that we can diſcern, y *Moſes* ſhould call *Shem* hom he ſo often mentions) any other name than his n: nor is it likely, that m reigned in the land of " *Canaan*, which now was in " the poſſeſſion of his brother's " ſon. Nor could *Abram* be " ſaid to *ſojourn there as in a* " *ſtrange country*, if his noble " anceſtor *Shem* had been king " there (24). Theſe argu- ments muſt be allowed to be very ſtrong, and it is pretty clear, that the notion which ob- tains among the *Jewiſh* writers, is of no very antient date. *Jo- ſephus* expreſly calls *Melchiſedek* a *potentate of the Canaanites* (25). The *Arabians* deduce him from *Peleg* (26). To paſs over ſome notions of the church, and of ſome heretics concern- ing him, which are wide from our preſent purpoſe; he was both a king and a prieſt; which offices were antiently joined in one perſon, of which ſeveral inſtances are obſerved in antient writers, both *Greek* and *Ro- man*.

(Q) *Salem* is by *Joſephus* (27) called *Solyma*; who alſo ſays, that *Melchiſedek* was the firſt founder of it; that he erected a temple in it, and offi- ciated as a prieſt, calling it *Je- ruſalem*; whereas its former name was *Solyma*. But what he ſays in this caſe has no weight with the moſt accurate and learned of the Chriſtian writers, who, for the moſt part, have a different notion. There is a *Salem* mentioned in the New Teſtament (28); which is ſuppoſed to have been the

See Patrick upon Gen. xiv. 18. (23) *Heb.* vii. 6. (24) *Idem* (25) *De bell. Judaic. l.* vii. *c.* 18. (26) *Hotting. ſmeg. p.* 256, 260, 306. (27) *Idem ubi ſupr.* (28) *John* iii. 23.

and wine (R); that is, gave him an entertainment, and received from him tythes of all (S); having bleſſed him in the name of the moſt high GOD, poſſeſſor or creator of heaven and earth. The king of *Sodom* was at this remarkable interview, and ſeems to have acted a very generous and modeſt part, claiming nothing of all that *Abraham* had retaken from the enemy, except the perſons of his ſubjects, leaving the reſt to his diſcretion: but he met with as generous a return from *Abraham*, who, ſo far as in him lay, made him ample reſtitution of all that belonged to him, whether perſons or goods; but *Aner*, *Eſhcol*, and *Mamre*, his *Canaanitiſh* confederates, who were all three *Amorites*, were left to do as they pleaſed[1]; and how far they followed *Abraham*'s example, is not ſaid.

f FOR fifteen years there is an utter ſilence as to the affairs of this people; but ſome time after a ſevere judgment was executed on the inhabitants of the vale of *Siddim*. Living in great eaſe and affluence, they were grown to ſuch a height of impiety, that they left no room for mercy; which if it could have been obtained by the interceſſion of *Abraham*, they had been delivered from the wrath of GOD now, as they had been formerly reſcued by

[1] Gen. xiv. 21, & ſeq.

ſame where *Melchiſedek* reigned (29). The *Arabians* will have it, that *Jeruſalem* was built by twelve neighbouring kings, who, touched with a deep veneration for *Melchiſedek*, built it in honour of him, or for his convenience; which when they had done, he called it *Jeruſalem* (30).

(R) As he is generally acknowleged to have been a type of Chriſt, ſo ſome have diſcovered, in this bread and wine, a near relation to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper: but this is a pious miſtake; the words of *Moſes* mean what *Joſephus* (31) explains; it was no more than a refreſhment of meat and drink, which he offered to *Abraham*, according to the hoſpitality of thoſe times: *eating of bread*, in the Scripture phraſe, is feaſting.

(S) It is remarked (32), that the words of the text itſelf are ſo ambiguous, that there would have been no knowing whether it was *Abraham* that gave, or *Melchiſedek*, had not the apoſtle (33) explained it: whence *Eupolemus* thought *Melchiſedek* had beſtowed gifts upon *Abraham*. Of what kind the tythes were that *Melchiſedek* received from *Abram*, is not known; but we may enlarge on this in the life of *Abraham*.

(29) *See Patrick ubi ſupr.* (30) *Eutych. annal. p.* 67. (31) *Antiq. l.* i. *c.* 10. (32) *See Patrick ubi ſupr. ver.* 19. (33) *Hebrews* vii. *ver.* 2.

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his arm out of the hands of their enemies. The ſin they ſuffered for, already well known [m], has, from the chief city of that vale, *Sodom*, ever ſince borne the name of *Sodomy*. The particulars of this cataſtrophe we have already given [n] in ſpeaking of *Lot*; and ſhall now only ſay, that the four cities of this fertile and pleaſant ſpot, *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, *Admah*, and *Zeboiim*, were deſtroyed by a rain of brimſtone and fire, or by thunder and lightning, and the whole vale was conſumed [o]; and thenceforward became the *Dead* or *Salt-ſea*, or lake *Aſphaltites* (T). Thus periſhed a branch of the *Canaanites* with their whole territory; ſaving the city of *Bela*, henceforward called *Zoar* [p].

THE *Hittites* after this treated with *Abraham*, who deſired to purchaſe the cave of *Machpelah*, for a burial-place; and their behaviour towards that patriarch well deſerves a place here. In a public aſſembly they offered him the choiceſt of their ſepulchres to depoſit his dead in, and that in the moſt reſpectful terms. But, when he ſignified his deſire to have a ſeparate place for his family, and had caſt his eye upon the cave of *Machpelah*, belonging to one of their tribe, called *Ephron* the ſon of *Zohar*, with whom he deſired them to intercede in his behalf; *Ephron* himſelf, who is ſuppoſed to have preſided in this aſſembly, generouſly offered to make him a preſent, not only of the cave he wanted to purchaſe, but of the ground or field adjoining, and preſſed him much to accept of the offer: but, by the noble ſpirit of *Abraham*, he was diſappointed ſo far as to be obliged to ſell the field and the cave to him for four hundred ſhekels, which he looked upon as a trifle between *Abraham* and him; ſo great was his deſire of retaining the favour and friendſhip of that patriarch [q].

[m] Gen. xix. 4, & ſeq. [n] See before, p. 122. [o] Gen. ubi ſupr. Deut. xxix. 23. [p] See before, p. 122. [q] Gen. xxiii. 11, & ſeq.

(T) How this terrible ſubverſion was effected, is thus accounted for. The vale being full of ſlime-pits (34), or places whence *naphtha* and *bitumen* were extracted, it is ſuppoſed to have been univerſally impregnated with igneous matter; and the lightning, darting upon it, or flaſhing along the ſurface of it, kindled the combuſtible parts (35), which had the dreadful effect of turning this once inchanting paradiſe into a loathſome lake. But we ſhall ſpeak of this lake hereafter in the geography of this country, as it was under the *Jews*.

(34) *Gen.* xiv. 10.

(35) *Vide Cleric. diſſertat. de Sodomæ ſubverſione*, §. 4.

NOTHING occurs after this that we can take notice of here for the ſpace of about one hundred and twenty-eight years. At this time reigned *Hamor* in *Shechem*, a poor and weak kingdom; though *Hamor* himſelf ſeems to have been worthy of a better dominion, and a better chance, than befel him. He ſold a piece of ground to *Jacob* [r], and it happened that *Dinah* the daughter of *Jacob* coming to ſee and converſe with the daughters of the land, ſhe was obſerved by *Shechem* the ſon of *Hamor*, who, being taken with her charms, forced and deflowered her; but, having a real paſſion for her, and being ſenſibly affected with the wrong he had done her, he would have pacified and perſuaded her to conſent to marry him. And, ſpeaking alſo to his father *Hamor*, he intreated him to uſe his endeavours, that he might have *Dinah* for his wife. Accordingly *Hamor* went to *Jacob* to communicate the ardent inclinations his ſon had for *Dinah*, and to aſk his conſent. But the injury and affront were highly reſented by *Jacob*'s ſons, who were preſent, as was alſo *Shechem* himſelf. This laſt, finding that the others were greatly exaſperated at the violence he had committed on their ſiſter, offered all the ſatisfaction they could wiſh for, if they would but forgive him, and grant him her in marriage. *Shechem* thought he had gained his point upon the anſwer he received from them; which was, that if he and all of his tribe or city would conſent to be circumciſed, he ſhould have his ſuit granted. *Shechem* willingly ſubmitted to this painful propoſal, and ſo did his father *Hamor* for his ſake; for he had an eſpecial love for him above all his other children. Wherefore, returning to the city, they aſſembled the people in the gate, and beſpoke them to this effect; that ſeeing *Jacob* and his family dwelt with them in great harmony, and there was full room for all, it would be very prudent to unite with them by reciprocal marriages; that, indeed, there was an hard condition inſiſted on; which was, that they ſhould all be circumciſed; but that the pain thereof would be amply compenſated by ſuch an acceſſion of wealth as muſt flow in upon them by being one people with *Jacob*. The men of the city, partly out of affection to *Hamor* and *Shechem*, we may ſuppoſe, and partly upon the laſt conſideration, declared they were ready to be circumciſed; and were circumciſed accordingly; but while they laboured

[f] 4. [r] Gen. xxxiii. 19, & ſeqq.

under

under the inconveniencies of this compliance (U), upon the third day they were all ſuddenly cut off by two of *Jacob*'s ſons at the head of their ſervants; and their wives, children, cattle, houſhold-goods, and all belonging to them, fell a prey to the ſons of *Jacob*, *Simeon* and *Levi*, the authors of ſo cruel and bloody an attempt upon an helpleſs, and, to all appearance, innocent people [q].

HITHERTO we have been obliged to give the hiſtory of this people by incoherent pieces, and ſo we muſt continue to do: there is no connection, no ſucceſſive train of events to be expected here. When *Moſes* drew towards the borders of the *Promiſed land*, for the firſt time, the *Canaanites* in the ſouth-eaſtern parts of the country were joined by the *Amalekites* [r], who, we may ſuppoſe, were eager to take their revenge upon the *Iſraelites* [s]. Theſe, underſtanding that ſpies had been in the land from *Moſes*, drew towards the frontiers; and the *Iſraelites*, attempting to enter their territory againſt the expreſs decree of GOD, were by them repulſed with great ſlaughter, quite to *Hormah* [t].

WHETHER before or after this is not preciſely known, *Sihon*, king of the *Amorites*, invaded the children of *Moab* and *Ammon*, and diſpoſſeſſed them of their country on the other ſide *Jordan*, and the *Dead Sea* [u]: this conqueſt is celebrated by the moſt antient poem [w] that is extant among profane writers.

ARAD (W) was king in the ſouth-eaſt of *Canaan*, when *Moſes* had a ſecond time reached the borders of the *Promiſed* Arad.

[q] Gen. xxxiv. per tot. [r] Num. xiv. 43. [s] See before, p. 184. [t] Num. ubi ſupr. ver. 45. [u] See before, p. 128, 143. [w] Numb. xxi. 27.

(U) (36) "And began to be "a little feveriſh: for the "greateſt pain and anguiſh the "*Jews* obſerved was upon the "third day after circumciſion, "which very much indiſpoſed "them (37). And indeed, "*Hippocrates* ſays the ſame of "all wounds and ulcers, that "they are then moſt inflamed "by a conflux of ſharp hu-"mours to them."

(W) It is doubted, whether this be the name of the king himſelf, or of his city. There was a city of this name, and one of *Canaan*'s ſons was ſo called, according to the LXX, and the *Vulgat*, who ſo tranſlate the *Hebrew* of *Aruad*; who therefore may have given his name to this country, and the city may have been called after him (38).

(36) *Patrick upon Gen.* xxxiv. 25. *Vorſti. annotat. p.* 95. (37) *Eliez. Pirke, c.* 29. & (38) *Vide Patrick & Cleric. in Numb.* xxi. 1.

land;

land; and, being informed of their coming by the *way of ſpies* (X), he went out, attacked them, and took ſeveral of them priſoners; but, fortune changing, he was vanquiſh'd by them, and his country utterly deſtroyed [x].

SIHON the *Amorite* ſoon after this, reſiding in the antient country of the *Moabites* and *Ammonites*, was intreated by meſſengers from *Moſes* for a free paſſage through his country, in his way to *Canaan*: but this requeſt he arrogantly rejected; and, inſtead of complying, marched out againſt him; but it proved a very unfortunate expedition. He was defeated at *Jaazer* with a total overthrow, which was attended with the intire loſs of all he had, to *Moſes* and his people.

OG, king of *Baſhan*, is reckoned a king of the *Amorites* [y], and was of the race of the giants, or *Rephaim* [z], and the very laſt of them. His iron bedſtead, of nine cubits in length, we have already mentioned. He was a dreadful enemy [a]. His whole kingdom took its name from the hill of *Baſhan*, which is compared to GOD's hill [b], and has ſince been called *Batanea*. In it were no leſs than ſixty walled towns, beſides villages [c]. This country afforded an excellent breed of cattle [d], and ſtately oaks [e]. In ſhort, it was a plentiful and populous territory. *Og*'s reſidence was at *Aſhtaroth* [f] (Y) and at *Edrei*, at or near which place he was vanquiſhed, as he was eſpouſing the cauſe of *Sihon*, and attempting to ſtop the progreſs of *Moſes* and his peo-

[x] Ibid. ver. 1, 2, 3. [y] Deut. iii. 8, 11. [z] See before, p. 128. [a] Vid. JOSEPH. antiq. l. iv. c. 5. [b] Pſal. lxviii. 15. [c] Deut. iii. 4, 5. Joſh. xiii. 30. JOSEPH. antiq. ubi ſupra. [d] Deut. xxxii. 14. Pſal. xxii. 12. [e] Iſa. ii. 13. [f] Joſh. xii. 4.

(X) This is ſuppoſed to be a road, or a way, ſo called from the ſpies who entered the country formerly, 38 years before. Some underſtand it, that the king heard ſpies were coming into his country. The *Hebrew* word, here rendred ſpies, is האתרים *haatharim*; which the LXX have retained as the name of the place, and call it Ἀθαρείμ.

(Y) This city being elſewhere called *Aſhtaroth-karnaim* (39), or the *two-horned*, has given room to ſuppoſe it derived its name from the goddeſs *Aſtarte*. But, as is obſerved, it might as well be ſuppoſed, that the city was in the ſhape of an half-moon (40).

(39) *Gen.* xiv. 5. (40) *See Patrick on the above paſſage of Geneſis.*

ple. He fell in battle, and his whole kingdom was tranſferred to the *Iſraelites* under *Moſes* g.

THE news of what *Moſes* had done on the other ſide the river *Jordan*, to *Sihon* and *Og*, kings of the *Amorites*, was matter of great ſurprize, we may ſuppoſe, to the *Canaanites* of every denomination; but when they alſo heard how the waters of the river had been divided, to give the *Iſraelites* a paſſage, their ſurprize was changed into terror and conſternation. *Jericho* was the firſt place that felt the fury of the approaching ruin, being diſmantled by the ſhouts of the *Iſraelites*, the ſound of ſeven rams-horns, and the carrying the ark of the covenant round it; no ſoul was ſpared but the harlot *Rahab* and her family, who had been inſtrumental in ſaving the ſpies that had been ſent by *Joſhua* into this city, which was now reduced to aſhes; and the man curſed that ſhould ever attempt to rebuild it h.

THE news of this ſoon raiſed up the little ſtate of *Ai*, whoſe king, in the firſt ſkirmiſh, gained ſome ſmall advantage againſt *Joſhua*; the occaſion of which ſhall be related in a more proper place. But he ſoon perceived, that the war was not to be decided by ſo ſlight a favour of fortune on his ſide; and therefore ſent to the men of *Bethel*, who were his ſubjects, requiring them to join him againſt the common enemy. It was not long ere he had advice, that *Joſhua* was moving towards him. In general, he apprehended *Joſhua*'s intent was to beſiege him; but he was not aware of a ſtratagem formed to ruin him, and deſtroy his city. He ſaw *Joſhua* appear before his walls with no very formidable force, and at once reſolved to engage him: which he no ſooner offered to do than the *Iſraelites* faced about and fled; which when he ſaw, he ordered every man to come out of the city, and purſue the enemy that feigned only to run from him. By this means his city was left deſtitute of all defence, which thoſe who lay in ambuſh no ſooner knew than they roſe up, ſeized upon the city, and ſet the out-ſkirts of it on fire. The king of *Ai*, looking back, ſaw the ſmoke of his city aſcending up to heaven; and, in the midſt of his conſternation, the enemy ſtopped ſhort, ſhouted, and faced about. His return to the city was intercepted by thoſe who had ſet it on fire, and were now advancing to aſſiſt in cutting him off. The men of *Ai*, perceiving therefore that their city muſt periſh without reſource, and that they were to be attacked on all ſides, were quite diſhearten-

Year of flood 897. Bef. Chr. 1451.

g Numb. xxi. 33—35.

h Joſh. vi. 26.

ed, and all put to the ſword, except their king, who was taken alive, and led to *Joſhua*. And, after this ſlaughter of their army, their city was entered, and burnt by the victors, and all who were found in it cut to pieces. There fell in the whole about 12,000 ſouls; the city was reduced to a heap of ruins, and continued ſo ever after. The captive king was hung upon a tree till even-tide, when his body was taken down, and buried in one of the gates of the city, under an heap of ſtones, which was thrown over him [i].

THE ſad cataſtrophe of theſe two alarmed all the neighbouring kingdoms. *Gibeon*, a city of the *Hivites* [k], but far ſtronger, and more conſiderable, than *Ai*, both for counſel, and valour of its inhabitants [l], was the only one that choſe to avert the impending ruin by ſtratagem, rather than by joining the united forces of their neighbours. After conſulting what could be done in ſo dangerous a conjuncture, they came to the reſolution of ſending to *Joſhua* ſome embaſſadors, who ſhould be dreſſed in old tattered garments, with clouted ſhoes, with dry mouldy bread, and with ſuch a worn-out equipage, as might make them appear like men come from ſome far diſtant country. In this guiſe they ſet out for *Joſhua*'s camp in *Gilgal*; where, being arrived, they told him, they were come from afar off to ſeek his friendſhip; and, being queſtioned as to their ſincerity, they anſwered equivocally; and, being ſtill further preſſed upon the point, they replied with great ſubmiſſion, That they were actually of a very far diſtant country; and that the fame of the LORD GOD, and what he had done for *Iſrael* in *Egypt*, and ſince then by the deſtruction of *Sihon* and *Og*, thoſe mighty kings, had been the inducements which had brought them ſo far from home, being ſent by the unanimous vote of all their countrymen, that they might make their homage, and deſire to be accepted into a league with *Iſrael*; and as a proof, that, in all they had ſaid, they had confined themſelves to ſtrict truth, they produced their dry and mouldy bread, which they averred they had taken hot from their houſes the day they ſet out: Our bottles of wine, ſaid they, were new, and ſee how they are rent; our garments and ſhoes were ſo too, but they are worn out by reaſon of our very long journey. In all this they acted their parts with the utmoſt cunning, and being too eaſily believed, they perſuaded *Joſhua* and the *Iſraelites* to make a league with them. Thus did they over-reach their enemies, and thereby ſave their lives. At

[i] Joſh. vii. viii.
[k] Joſh. ix. Compare ver. 3. with ver. 7.
[l] Joſh. x. 2.

the

the end of three days the whole artifice was diſcovered; but they had already brought the *Iſraelites* under a ſolemn engagement to protect them as friends: however, they fared not ſo well as they, perhaps, expected, being condemned to be hewers of wood, and drawers of water; that is, to be ſlaves, or little better [m].

Adonizedek.

WHEN *Adonizedek*, king of *Jeruſalem*, heard how *Jericho* and *Ai* had been utterly deſtroyed, and, what was worſe to the common cauſe, that the *Gibeonites* had ſubmitted to *Joſhua*, he was divided between diſdain and fear. But, reſolving to make an example of the *Gibeonites*, thereby to deter others from following ſo cowardly and dangerous a precedent, he called in *Hoham* king of *Hebron*, *Piram* king of *Jarmuth*, *Japhia* king of *Lachiſh*, and *Debir* king of *Eglon*, to join him againſt *Gibeon*; and accordingly they all joined, and beſieged it. The inhabitants in this diſtreſs diſpatched notice to *Joſhua* of what was befallen them, and begged his ſpeedy ſuccour to reſcue them from their enraged countrymen. *Joſhua* came accordingly, and, falling upon the confederate kings, as they were beſieging the city, obliged them to retire with the utmoſt precipitation. As they were flying, and had almoſt reached *Bethboron*, there fell a dreadful tempeſt of hail-ſtones, of ſuch enormous ſize, that they did more execution than the ſword of *Joſhua*. Thus perſecuted by the heavens above, and preſſed by the *Iſraelites* in the rear, they fled, as chance directed them, not knowing whither they were going. In ſo general a diſperſion many might have eſcaped, had not the ſun, at the command of *Joſhua*, ſtopped his career, that the *Iſraelites* might ſee to overtake and deſtroy the ſcattered multitude. And now the five kings, ſeeing nothing but deſtruction and deſolation before their eyes, made the beſt of their way to a cave near the city of *Makkedah*. Happily, as they thought, they reached this aſylum; but, being diſcovered, and information thereof being carried to *Joſhua*, they ſoon ſaw the mouth of their cave ſtopped up with great ſtones: and under this diſmal confinement did they remain till the action of this miraculous day was concluded, when, being dragged out, they were thrown before the congregation of *Iſrael*, the chiefs of whom trod on their necks: they were afterwards all five put to death, and their dead bodies hung, each on a tree; and there they remained till the ſetting ſun, when they were taken down, and thrown into the cave; which was again filled up with

[m] Joſh. ix.

great ſtones, as a monument of their fall and unhappy end. This was the fate of the five confederate kings, while ſome of their ſubjects were ſo fortunate as to get into the fenced cities, and ſo eſcape for the preſent [n].

JABIN king of *Hazor*, when he heard this; and that moreover *Makkedah*, *Libnah*, *Lachiſh*, *Eglon*, *Hebron*, and *Debir*, had been ſubverted, and all their inhabitants put to the ſword; and again, that *Horam* king of *Gezer*, and his whole force, had periſhed in attempting to relieve *Lachiſh*; ſuch a croud of calamities together made him reſolve to raiſe all the tribes of the *Canaanites* to withſtand the deſtruction which alike threatened them all. He ſent therefore to *Jobab* king of *Madon*, to the king of *Shimron*, to the king of *Achſhaph*, to the kings on the north of the mountains, to thoſe in the plains ſouth of *Cinneroth*, and in the valley, and on the borders of *Dor* on the weſt, and to the *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, on the eaſt and weſt, and to the *Amorite*, and the *Hittite*, and the *Perizzite*, and the *Jebuſite* in the mountains, and to the *Hivite* under *Hermon*, in the land of *Mizpeh*. Theſe all confederated together againſt *Iſrael*; they were as the ſand on the ſea-ſhore for numbers, and very ſtrong in horſe and chariots (Z); a dreadful enemy for *Joſhua* and his people to deal with, who were utterly unprovided with both. Being thus united, they encamped near the waters of *Merom*, ſince called the lake *Samachonitis*. Here, as they lay conſulting together, they were aſſaulted by ſurprize, driven out of their camp, and broken into as many diſtinct bodies, perhaps, as they were tribes, each haſtening homewards. But the main body fled towards *Zidon* the great, weſtward, and *Mizrephoth-maim*; while another party took their route towards the valley of *Mizpeh* eaſtwards. But they were every-where ſo cloſely purſued, that moſt of them fell by

[n] Joſh. x.

(Z) This is all the account the text gives us of this numerous army. *Joſephus* adds, that it conſiſted of 300,000 foot, 10,000 horſe, and 20,000 armed chariots (1). That of *Joſhua* was not only vaſtly inferior in number, but quite deſtitute of chariots and horſes; ſo that his ſucceſs was chiefly owing to the ſuddenneſs with which he fell upon them. For it is ſaid, that he came in ſight of them in five days; though *Gilgal*, whence he ſet out, was, at leaſt, 60 miles off, and the country very rocky.

(1) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* v. *c.* 1.

the

the way. *Jabin* himſelf had the luck to eſcape for the preſent, but he periſhed with his city ſoon afterwards: it was not long before *Hazor* was taken, her inhabitants all cut off, and the place burnt down to the ground. It was reckoned the chief of all the cities belonging to the kings of this confederacy, and therefore treated with the greater rigour; but the reſt of the cities of theſe princes, which alſo fell into the hands of *Joſhua*, were ſuffered to ſtand, tho' none of the inhabitants were ſpared [n].

No loſſes, however great, could for a conſiderable while break the ſpirits of the *Canaanites*; they ſtood their ground, and kept *Joſhua* employed ſix years [o]: In the end, great numbers are ſuppoſed to have left their country, and, travelling towards *Afric*, to have ſettled there, erecting a monument in memory of the calamities which had driven them from their native place, and inveighing againſt *Joſhua* by a very injurious appellation, as will be obſerved hereafter in the hiſtory of that continent. In their way thither they are ſuppoſed to have ſeized on the lower *Egypt*, where they erected a monarchy, which ſubſiſted under ſeveral of their own kings; but, being at laſt overpowered, they were obliged to retire farther weſtward into *Afric*: which has induced ſome to think them the *Phœnician* paſtors, who lorded it ſo long over *Egypt* [p].

AFTER the *Canaanites* had been ſucceſſively defeated, and at length diſperſed and reduced, the *Anakims* [q] (Z), who alſo inhabited ſome of the mountains of the land, a fierce and barbarous race, and of an origin diſtinct from the *Canaanites*, as is thought, were invaded, and cut off; and thus by degrees the *Iſraelites* became maſters of the greateſt part of the land of *Canaan*.

[n] Joſh. xi. [o] USSER. annal. ad A. M. 2554. [p] See before, p. 40, (C). [q] Joſh. ubi ſupr.

(Z) Theſe are held to have been what we call giants, and are derived from one *Arba*, who ſeized on the city of *Hebron*, from whom it was called *Kirjath-Arba*, the city of *Arba*. From *Arba* deſcended *Anak* (41), who, it ſeems, had three ſons, whom we ſhall mention hereafter. From *Anak* the *Anakims* derive their name; but whether they were only a more numerous and ſtout people, or really men of a larger ſize, has been diſputed; though we think without reaſon, if we believe the deſcription of the ſpies ſent by *Moſes* to view the land (42). As for the various etymons of their name, they are too uncertain and far-fetched to deſerve a place here.

(41) *Joſh.* xiv. 15. xx. 13, 14.

(42) *Numb.* xiii. *ver. ult.*

BUT

BUT ſtill the *Canaanites* of ſeveral denominations were ſtrong and potent, and held no mean ſhare of the country; and, for nineteen or twenty years, the remainder of *Joſhua*'s days, they were very little moleſted; being ſuffered to breathe, while the important buſineſs of dividing their country, by the conqueror, could be regulated and adjuſted.

THIS diviſion being made, the *Canaanites* were on all ſides invaded again by the tribes of *Iſrael*, who wanted each to drive them out of their reſpective lots. The *Canaanites* and *Perizzites* in *Bezek* were accordingly invaded by the tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*, and there fell of them ten thouſand men. Being thus routed in the field, they retreated to the city of *Bezek*, where *Adonibezek*, the king of that place, as his name imports, reſided. This king is infamous for his ſingular cruelty and inſolence; for, by his own confeſſion, having taken ſeventy kings captive, he cut off the thumbs and great toes of each, and obliged 'em to receive their meat under his table, like ſo many dogs. The city itſelf was now aſſaulted and carried; and all thoſe within the walls were put to the ſword. *Adonibezek* himſelf was in the city at this time, though he, it ſeems, eſcaped: but, being afterwards overtaken in his flight, his thumbs and great toes were cut off; a juſt requital, as he himſelf acknowleged, for his former cruelty; but his life was undeſervedly ſpared, he being carried alive to *Jeruſalem*, where he died; for that city had been taken and burnt before; but whether by *Joſhua* formerly, or the tribe of *Judah* now [r], is not very clear (A).

IMME-

[r] Judg. i. 3—8.

(A) *Jeruſalem* is mentioned as taken by *Joſhua*; but, as may be obſerved, the *Canaanites* retook ſeveral places which *Joſhua* had torn from them; and the ſame may have happened at *Jeruſalem:* for, tho' it is by moſt commentators imagined, that the *Iſraelites* held the town, and the *Jebuſites* the fortreſs of *Zion*, ever afterwards; *Joſephus* (43) plainly enough tells us, they had both the fort and the city when *David* gave them their fatal blow; and, conſidering the temper and inſolence of the *Jebuſites*, it is not likely, that, while they poſſeſſed the citadel, they would ſuffer the *Iſraelites* to live quietly in the town. Upon the whole, tho' the place may have been reduced by *Joſhua*, repoſſeſſed by the *Jebuſites*, and reduced a ſecond time by the tribe of

(43) *Joſeph. l.* vi. *c.* 7.

Judah

MEDIATELY after this the *Canaanites* were invaded eral other parts, and particularly in *Hebron* and *De-*wo cities which had formerly been deſtroyed by , but were now in the hands of the *Canaanites* again ; ance, among many others, of the reſolution of this , and their reluctance to quit their poſſeſſions. And, neral the *Canaanites* in the highlands or mountains reduced ; but thoſe in the low-country were able to heir ground, becauſe they had chariots of iron. *He-* in this war, fell into the hands of *Caleb*, who thence ed the three ſons of *Anak*[s] (B).

IE other tribes made alſo ſome vigorous, but ſucceſs-ttempts againſt thoſe cities that had fallen to their lot. *ſeph* was attended with better ſucceſs againſt *Beth-*ich was betrayed to them, and taken by ſurprize. , on the contrary, was ſo far from gaining any ad-ge againſt thoſe of *Accho*, *Zidon*, *Ahlab*, *Achzib*, &c. s ſettlement among them ſeems rather to have been

[s] Judg. i. 9—20.

now, yet it is likely there lways diſputes between the *tes* and the *Iſraelites*, and he latter were driven out former a ſecond time ; and n the days of *David*, the *tes* had both the city and s in their own hands ; as *us* aſſures us above. It bably on this account, e tells us elſewhere (43), e tribe of *Judah* did now *Jeruſalem*, but did not l in the attempt.

The names of theſe ſons *k* are *Ahiman*, *Sheſhai*, *almai* (44) ; concerning , we ſhall only remark *Bochart* has fanſied, as to port of their names. To with their father, *Anak* kes to ſquare with the name *Torquatus* ; the , or firſt of the brother's *Abiman*, or, *who is my brother?* that is, *who is my equal?* By the name of *Sheſhai* the ſecond, he ſuppoſes him to him to have been ſix cubits high, as *Goliath* is ſaid to have been. *Talmai*, the name of the third, he derives from *talam*, a *furrow* (45), as if he ſeemed in length equal to the furrow of a field. This is an ingenious thought, ſome may ſay, and ſome may think it a little preſumptuous. *Joſephus* (46), as his cuſtom is too frequently, gives us a fearful account of theſe inhabitants of *Hebron* ; "Among "the ſlain, ſays he, were found "ſome gigantic forms, who not "only exceeded the ordinary "ſize of men, but differed alſo "from them in aſpect and "voice ..... Some of their "bones are expoſed as a pro-"digy to this day."

tiq. l. v. *c.* 2. *bi ſupr.* (44) *Numb.* xiii. 22. (45) *Canaan, l.* i. *c.* 1.

confined to ſuch places as were granted on certain conditions impoſed by the old inhabitants. The *Amorites* preſſed hard upon the children of *Dan*, and confined them to their mountains; thoſe of *Aijalon* and *Shaalbim* ſtill kept the mountain of *Heres* in their own hands. But the *Danites*, being in time aſſiſted by the houſe of *Joſeph*, brought them at length, under tribute, enlarged their own territories, and fixed thoſe of their oppreſſive neighbours *from the going up to* Akrabbim *from the rock, and upwards* [t] (C).

THUS, upon the diviſion of their country, and the attempts made by the ſeveral tribes to drive them out, the whole land was in a ferment of war, which ended with great ſucceſs on either ſide; and the adverſe parties ſeem to have been pretty equally matched. So that although it is certain, that multitudes of this people were ſlain in the wars with *Joſhua*, and that, as is very rationally ſuppoſed, many of them fled the land in queſt of more ſure and quiet abodes, yet ſuch was their remaining number, valour, or ſtrength, or ſkill in war, that after all their calamities they ſeem to have been but little inferior to the *Iſraelites*. Nor after this do we miſs one tribe of them, except the *Girgaſites* (D).

THE *Canaanites*, the *Sidonians*, and the *Hivites* with mount *Lebanon*, from *Baalhermon* to *Hamath*, were left to prove *Iſrael*, to exerciſe them with temptations,

[t] Judg. i. 21—36.

(C) For want of knowing the exact ſituation of the places here mentioned, we are at a loſs to underſtand whether the *Amorites* were left maſters of a ſmall or a large territory. Obſcurities of the ſame kind there are many; but our reader, we hope, will, upon this occaſion, and all of a like nature, excuſe our want of preſumption; or, that we do not pretend to ſhew him the exact ſituations of places, which, from the beſt lights we have, can hardly be gueſſed at; and muſt for ever, it is likely, remain a diſpute among ſuch as have time to waſte, and little elſe to do or think of.

(D) We are poſitive they fled into *Afric* (46) where they fixed their ſeat; and their being omitted is rationally accounted for; for it were difficult to think that none belonging to the ten tribes accompanied them, and trod afterwards in their ſteps, yet may we hence conclude, that the *Girgaſites* were the chief of the fugitives from this country, of whom we ſhall ſpeak when we come to

(46) *Gemar. Hieroſolymit. ad tit. Shebitib, c.* 6.

try and ſin (E), and the more immediately devoted
ns, the *Canaanites*, *Hittites*, *Amorites*, *Perizzites*,
ites, and *Jebuſites*, dwelt, as it were, in common,
the children of *Iſrael* in their promiſed land. Being
blended together, they, in time, wrought ſo upon
inſtable minds of the *Iſraelites*, as to perſuade them
termarry with them, and ſerve their gods [u], thereby
vating their minds, as they afterwards did their bodies.
OR in a very few years, nine or ten, or thereabout, *Jabin* II.
n, whom we may reckon the ſecond of the name, Year of
g he reſided at the very ſame place with the former, the flood
employed by GOD to puniſh the *Iſraelites*, as the in- 1063.
nent of his wrath. This prince, it is likely, rebuilt Bef. Chr.
or (F), which had been deſtroyed by *Joſhua*, re-eſta- 1285.
ed the royal ſeat there, was maſter of nine hundred
chariots

[u] Judges ii. 21—23. iii. 1—7.

) Here we ſee a remarka-
liſtinction made between
anaanites of *Joſhua*'s con-
, and thoſe who were not
as if theſe, who were
their borderers, were more
r, or more likely to tempt
raelites than thoſe who
actually inmates with
. Whence, whether we
conclude, that the ido-
of the former was more
nting than that of the
, or their luxury more
ing; or whether at all,
was any real difference
een them; we leave the
r to fanſy. Both religious
olitical reaſons have been
ed for this mercy towards
anaanites. Of the former
hat the *Iſraelites* might
row ſluggiſh for want of
to awaken and ſtir up
courage, and to keep up
al diſcipline among them,
that they might always
a more immediate ſtate
of dependence on GOD, or look conſtantly up to him for ſuccour (47). Of the latter, That no part of the country, which was too extenſive to be thoroughly inhabited by the *Iſraelites*, might lie deſolate, ſo as to be left for a harbour to wild beaſts, which might, by their increaſe, prove a more dreadful and pernicious enemy than the *Canaanites* (48).

(F) We think with thoſe, who ſuppoſe this *Jabin* to have deſcended from the other, who fell by the hand of *Joſhua*; and that he now ſeized on the ſpot where *Hazor* formerly ſtood, and rebuilt that city; which, ſeeing he was ſo powerful a prince, is not at all unlikely, though ſome queſtion it. Whether *Jabin* was an appellation common to all the kings of *Hazor*, we cannot affirm from poſitive authority; though it ſeems to have been a common cuſtom in theſe parts

) *See Patrick upon Judges* iii. 2. vi. 22.

(48) *See Exod.* xxiii. 29. *and*

chariots of iron (G), which, as well as the reſt of his hoſt, were under the command of *Siſera*, who dwelt in *Haſhoreth of the Gentiles* (H). *Jabin* therefore reduced the *Iſraelites* to a ſtate of ſlavery, and cruelly oppreſſed them for twenty years. But whether he held them in general under ſubjection, or the northern tribes only, is uncertain. Be that as it will, his dominion over them

for kings to ſucceed each other under the ſame appellation, as *Pharaoh* in *Egypt*, *Agag* in *Amalekitis*, &c. He is in the text called king of *Canaan*; which, whether it refers to the *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, or to the whole body of the *Canaanites* in general, we take not on us to ſay.

(G) The number of theſe chariots, which are all along taken for the ſcythed ſort, is much wondered at by the learned. Whether he had ſuch a multitude of them before he warred upon *Iſrael*, or whether, by reducing them, he at once enlarged his empire, and augmented his forces, is not ſaid; though, it is probable, he had not ſo many before.

But what ſhall we ſay to the extravagant account, which *Joſephus* gives of theſe armies, hinted in a late note (49)? If *Bochart* wonders, as he does, at the 900 chariots the Scripture gives him, obſerving, that *Mithridates* had but 100 in his army, and *Darius* but 200 (50); what muſt he have thought of *Joſephus*'s 3000? Indeed, not only in the number of the chariots, but in that alſo of the horſe and foot, he is too large to be eaſily credited; nor, perhaps, is it always ſafe to lend an attentive ear to that hiſtorian. And it is to be noted, that notwithſtanding he, on this ſide, [illegible] vaſtly exceeds what the Scripture ſeems here to intend, he agrees therewith in the [illegible] of the *Iſraelites*, who roſe [illegible] recover their rights, rec[illegible] them at only 10,00[illegible] What authority he had [illegible] very extraordinary exce[illegible]s in numbers of the *Ca*[illegible] againſt the *Iſraelites*, w[illegible]e is not: but his view [illegible]y is been to do honour [illegible] ample, as in other[illegible] countrymen and [illegible] with the *Romans*, [illegible] chiefly in their mil[illegible] ploits, and in what [illegible] had done before [illegible] way.

(H) If *Hazor* was not [illegible] built, then *Haſhoreth* [illegible] *Gentiles* bids fair to hav[illegible] the royal ſeat. It is c[illegible] *the Gentiles*, as is ſu[illegible] from a confluence of a[illegible] who came now to put [illegible] ſelves under the protec[illegible] *Jabin*'s growing empire. [illegible] cities were ſituated on t[illegible] *Smachon*, or *Samechon*, [illegible] which the *Jordan* ta[illegible] courſe, and near the place [illegible] *Seleucia* was ſince built (52)

(49) *Antiq. lib.* v. *c.* 6.
(50) *Hierozoic. part* i. *lib.* ii. *c.* 4.
(51) *Joſephus ubi ſupra.*
(52) *Vid. Euſeb. loc. Hebr.*

expired

ired at the end of twenty years, as we have ſaid. ws was brought to *Siſera*, that the *Iſraelites* had been red up to rebellion; and that they were actually in arms, ſulting together, how they might ſhake off his maſter's ke. Whereupon he prepared the nine hundred chariots iron, and iſſued a proclamation, requiring the men of r to aſſemble together, to march out againſt the *Iſrael-*, who were but ten thouſand ſtrong, with *Deborah* l *Barak* at their head. They came to a battle, and *era* was routed, and purſued, with great ſlaughter, quite the gates of *Haſhoreth of the Gentiles* (I). That ge-al, apprehending he might fall into the enemies hands, tted his chariot, and, flying on foot, directed his ſteps the tent of *Heber* the *Kenite*, who was at amity with *bin*. He found *Jael*, *Heber*'s wife, in the tent-door, o, perceiving the hurry and diſorder he was in, in-ated him to ſtep in, and fear nothing; which he no ner did, than ſhe covered him, in order to conceal n, or that he might take no harm while he repoſed, r the fatigue of the battle and flight. He had not lain g ere he complained he was thirſty, and begged a ught of water; inſtead whereof his kind hoſteſs preſented n with a bowl of new milk, of which when he had drank, covered him again. Then he called out, and deſired if any one came to inquire if ſhe had any man within, nſwer no, and to ſtand at the tent-door for that pur-e. Now, being greatly fatigued, he fell into a deep

I) The particulars of the le are not recorded in the ed text; but thence it very nly appears, that there was ething miraculous and ex-rdinary in this defeat of *in*'s hoſt, thunders, light-gs, and frightful ſounds ibling in their ears; ſo that heavens had the principal e in this overthrow. And *phus*, that we may not won-at the ruin of ſo mighty a er by ſo contemptible a dful of *Iſraelites*, tells ery circumſtantially, That armies were no ſooner engaged, than there aroſe a furious wind, which drove ſuch a tempeſt of hail and rain into the faces of the *Canaanites*, as ſtifled and blinded them, and benumbed their fingers to that degree, that they were, in all reſpects, diſabled from action; ſo that they were eaſily broken and diſperſed, and trampled to death by the horſe, and torn to pieces by their own chariots, which, together with the execution made on them by the *Iſraelites*, quite diſſipated this mighty multitude, and reduced them to nothing (52).

(52) *Joſephus, ubi ſupra.*

ſleep; and *Jael*, taking one of the tent-nails, and a hammer, trod ſoftly up to him, drove the nail into his temples, and thus killed him. By this time *Barak* having reached the tent in queſt of *Siſera*, *Jael*, with a triumphant air, went out to him, and invited him to the ſight of the man he ſought, whom he here ſaw dead with the nail driven into his temples. So fell *Siſera*; and with him *Jabin*'s glory and oppreſſion, which gave the *Iſraelites* a forty years peaceful reſpite [w] (K).

f Now what the *Canaanites* did, or what was done
d againſt them after this, for a long ſeries of years, we are no-where told. Thus much appears, They had been able
iſt to maintain their ground in ſeveral parts, and particularly in *Jeruſalem*, till the reign of *David*. When the *Je-*
J *buſites*, who held that city, or at leaſt the fortreſs of *Zion*, ſaw *David* actually advanced up to them to beſiege
y them, they poſted their lame and their blind (L) to defend them,

[w] Judg. iv. per tot.

(K) *Joſephus* gives us the particulars of his downfal. *Jabin* met *Barak* as he was in full march againſt *Hazor*, and was encountered by him and ſlain; and *Hazor*, the ſeat of his empire, was laid level with the ground; and thus fell the empire of the *Jabins* in *Hazor* a ſecond time (53), according to this hiſtorian.

(L) Who or what theſe lame and blind were, is made a doubt; it is diſputed, whether we muſt, with *Joſephus* (54), underſtand them to have been perſons actually labouring under the infirmities of lameneſs and blindneſs, or whether ſomething elſe is here to be underſtood, as others think. *Bochart* (55) deems this ſo plain a caſe, that he wonders how ſome great men had puzzled their brains with finding out a ſolution of it; and holds it paſt diſpute, that this was a flouriſh of thraſoniſm in the *Jebuſites*, who planted their lame and their blind, that is, their moſt infirm and unfit people, to defend them: while Dr. *Gregory* (56), who has a whole diſſertation about it, underſtands them to have been the gods of this people, who, as the pſalmiſt expreſſes it, *had eyes, and ſaw not, and feet, and walked not* (57): and this opinion is ſupported by theſe very plauſible arguments; 1. How could *David* diſtinguiſh the halt, or the lame, or the blind, from able men, when poſted upon lofty walls, ſince thoſe infirmities are not diſcernible but near at hand? 2. How can it be ſuppoſed there was ſuch a number of theſe unfortunate perſons in ſo ſmall a city as might

(53) *Idem ibid.* (54) *Ibid. lib.* vii. *c.* 2. (55) *Phaleg, lib.* iv. *c.* 36. (56) *In Patrick's commentary upon this paſſage.* (57) *Pſal.* cxv.

a, ſaying, they were ſufficient to keep off ſo mean
ıvader, relying wholly on the ſtrength of their walls
ſituation. They were, however, diſappointed, and
place was carried by ſtorm [x] (M). But the circum-
ces of this event are left in the dark.

HIS, doubtleſs, was a very ſevere blow to the *Ca-
ites* in general, and muſt have perplexed them much:
to complete their misfortunes, they were invaded in
r by *Pharaoh*; upon what provocation, or whether
is utterly unknown (N): their city was burnt, and
they

[x] 2 Sam. v. 6—9.

ſuch a purpoſe? 3. And
ſhould *David* ſay, as he
that *his ſoul hated them*;
it would have been but
ıl in him to have com-
ıted their unhappy con-
? From theſe arguments
onluded, that it was not
me and the blind of the
whom the *Jebuſites* re-
ſ, but their idols, which,
Pſalms, are deſcribed in
reaſtical words we have
d above, and which they
l upon their walls, by
power or influence to
off the enemy; which
oped would have been ſo
ous a means of pre-
; them, that they truſted
would be unable to pre-
ainſt their ſupernatural
ions. And here a pa-
aſe is drawn in reference
Palladium, the city of
eing ſuppoſed to be im-
ble, while that remained
em: and ſome ſuch, or
ne notion may have ob-
among the *Jebuſites* now,
g their god or gods
To this we ſhall add one
ical notion of a *Jewiſh*
upon this event. He
pretends, that when *Abraham*
bought the cave of *Machpelah*
of the children of *Heth*, he
formally covenanted with them,
that, when his poſterity ſhould
come to be poſſeſſors of the
land (which they had a fore-
ſight of), they ſhould not touch
the city of *Jebus*; and that
now they engraved this cove-
nant upon brazen ſtatues, and
planted them upon their walls,
pretending that *David* could
not attempt them, but by the
breach of the covenant his
forefather *Abraham* had made
with them (59).

(M) We have already ob-
ſerved, that, according to *Jo-
ſephus* (60), the *Jebuſites* were
in poſſeſſion both of the city
of *Jeruſalem*, and the fortreſs
of *Zion*; to which he adds,
that the lower town was eaſily
carried by an aſſault, with *Da-
vid* at the head of it; but that
the caſtle or fortreſs held out
till *Joab* ſucceeded in the im-
portant ſervice of aſſaulting it.

(N) A late commentator is
of opinion, that *Pharaoh* at-
tacked the *Canaanites* at this
place, out of complaiſance to
Solomon, who had married his

Patrick, Cleric. in 2 Sam. v. 6. (59) *Eliezer Pirki, cap.* 36.
[illegible] ſuperius.

they put to the ſword. The city was afterwards rebuilt or repaired by *Solomon*, who had it with his wife, *Pharaoh*'s daughter [y].

Year of the flood 1336. Bef. Chr. 1012.

THUS oppreſſed by the *Iſraelites* on the one hand, and by the mighty power of *Egypt* on the other, the remnant of the *Amorites*, *Hittites*, *Perizzites*, *Hivites*, and *Jebuſites* were reduced, in the reign of *Solomon*, to a ſtate of ſlavery; whence it is gathered, that they were now brought to ſo low an ebb, as to be unable to anſwer the demands of a tribute; wherefore, being admitted into a covenant, as is very rationally ſuppoſed, with king *Solomon*, he would not cut them off, but employed them in the heavy labour of carrying on his vaſt and ſumptuous works. And this ſervility was entailed on their poſterity [z]; for, although it is very certain, that they, upon their firſt reduction, became proſelytes to the *Jewiſh* religion, yet, it is thought, they were diſtinguiſhed from the *Jews*, and reckoned of a more ignoble blood, and as born to drudgery. This is ſuppoſed to have been their fate, and thus are they thought to have been blended with the *Jews*; though it is far from being poſitively known (O). And now it remains only for us to obſerve, That among the tribes of the *Canaanites*,

The Ammonites, Hittites, &c. *reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery.*

[y] 1 Kings ix. 16. [z] See ver. 20, 21. See alſo Ezra ii. 55, 58. and Nehem. xi. 3.

daughter; for, apprehending the *Jews* to be very little acquainted with the arts of conducting a ſiege, he ſuppoſes they were not able to maſter this city of *Gezer* (61); which, how it came to be ſo much ſtronger than *Jeruſalem*, and the fortreſs of *Zion*, and many other places by them ſubdued, is hard to gueſs. This *Pharaoh* is by a learned chronologer, who takes this to have been the firſt expedition the *Egyptians* made out of their own country, called *Rameſſes Miamun* (62).

(O) We will give the reader the moſt obvious texts of Scripture which relate to this matter. It is firſt ſaid, *And all the people* that were *left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites* and *Jebuſites which* were *not of the children of Iſrael, their children that were left after them in the land, whom the children of Iſrael alſo were not able to deſtroy, upon thoſe did Solomon levy a tribute of bond-ſervice unto this day* (63). And, at the return from captivity, there is mention made of the *children of Solomon's ſervants* . . . . . *And all the Nethinims, and the children of Solomon's ſervants, were three hundred ninety-two* (64). And elſewhere are the *Nethi-*

(61) *Vide Cleric. in* 1 *Reg.* ix. 16. (62) *Marſh. can. chron. ad ſec.* 13, 14. (63) 1 *Kings* ix. 20, 21. (64) *Ezra* ii. 55, 58.

nims,

enumerated above to have been laden with the yoke
lomon, the *Canaanites*, peculiarly ſo called, as we
hitherto ſpoken, are omitted: theſe, therefore, we
conclude, bore none of the burden, but remained
; and independent in their poſſeſſions on the ſea-coaſt,
fterwards to a great height of fame, and, continually
ving themſelves in navigation, commerce, and the
arts, were compriſed under the famous appellation
hœnicians.

SECT. VII.

The Hiſtory of the Philiſtines.

E have already obſerved, that this people deſcended from the *Caſluhim* partly, and partly from the *Caphtorim*, both from the loins of *Mizraim*, the ſon of *Ham*, n of *Noah*. This is their origin; whence it appears, *Egypt* was their firſt ſeat: nor have we aught to add rning the origin of this people, except we acquaint our readers *Their origin.*

a See vol. i. p. 373, 374.

and the children of Solo-
ſervants, mentioned to-
(65); and in theſe laſt
our tranſlators refer us
to the firſt, as if they
the children of the *Ca-*
es, on whom *Solomon* im-
a tribute of bond-ſervice.
here is a difficulty to ac-
for the ſmalneſs of the
er, ſo that commentators
villing to deduce theſe
ned upon the return
Babylon, from ſome other
. Perhaps we ſhall find
traces of them in *Joſe-*
who, with ſome varia-
from Scripture, having
nted us, That *Solomon*
d a ſtubborn remnant of
naanites, inhabiting be-
mount *Libanus* and *Ha-*
math, and made them his tributaries, they paying their tribute in ſervile works and labour; to which purpoſe they were to furniſh *Solomon* with a certain number of ſlaves agreed on, who were to till the ground, and go through other ſorts of drudgery; and over theſe, ſays he, were ſix hundred officers appointed to ſet them their tasks, and keep them to their work (66); afterwards, enumerating thoſe who returned from *Babylon*, he reckons up ſix hundred and fifty, who paſſed for *Iſraelites*, but could not make out their extraction: others of uncertain genealogy there were five hundred twenty-five; and of ſervants that attended upon the whole multi-

5) *Nehem.* xi. 3. (66) *Joſeph. antiq. lib.* viii. *c.* 2.

tude,

readers more particularly than we have already [b] with the improbable notions, as we think them, of ſome of the learned concerning the *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim* (A). But we have, as much as poſſible, forborn to perplex our reader with what can afford no ſolid fruit. All we can further ſay with any certainty, is what *Moſes* tells us elſewhere [c]; *viz.* that they drove out the *Avim* or *Avites* even to *Azzah* or *Gaza*, and ſettled there. When this expulſion happened, is quite uncertain; but, upon the whole, it is plain, that the *Caſluhim* and *Caphtorim*, from whom the *Philiſtines* are deſcended, came originally from *Egypt*; and, having ſettled in this country, gave their name to it. But, for the deſcription of this delicious ſpot, we refer our readers to the geography of the *Land of promiſe*, of which it was a chief, if not the beſt, part; and ſhall only ſpeak here of the government, cuſtoms, religion, *&c.* of ſo renowned a people.

Their government, cuſtoms, &c.

THEIR moſt antient form of government was adminiſtred by kings, who were all honoured with the appellation of *Abimelech*; ſuch were the kings of this people, father and ſon, who dealt with *Abraham* and *Iſaac*: but, as we have obſerved concerning the *Canaanites*, and as will be plainly ſeen in the following hiſtory, theſe firſt kings were under great limitations. The ſceptre departed from this race very ſoon; for, in the days of *Moſes*, their monarchy was changed into an ariſtocracy of five lords, who ſeem to have been in part independent of each other, tho' they were alſo, it ſeems, obliged to act in concert for the common cauſe. After this they had a king over them; but how this change was brought about, or whether it was their choice or not, is utterly unknown. This ſecond race of kings are called, ſo far as we know, by the appellation of

[b] See vol. i. p. 373, 374. [c] Deut. ii. 23.

tude, ſeven thouſand three hundred thirty-ſeven (67). Theſe three numbers making eight thouſand five hundred and twelve, may, it is likely, have been *Canaanites*; but ſtill the number is too ſmall, except we ſuppoſe, that the far greateſt part of the better ſort were ſo blended with the *Jews*, that there was no diſtinguiſhing between the pretenſions of each; and, moreover, that multitudes of them remained behind in the place of their captivity.

(A) As that the *Caſluhim* were the antient *Colchi* deſcribed by *Herodotus*; and the *Caphtorim*, the *Cappadocians* in *Aſia minor*; which, though we have rejected already (68), we may have occaſion to reſume hereafter.

(67) *Idem ibid. lib.* xi. *c.* 4.

(68) *See vol.* i. *p.* 373, 374.

Achiſh,

Achiſh, though they bore likewiſe the name of *Abimelech*. Three of theſe we have ſome account of, and their power ſeems to have been circumſcribed within very narrow bounds; they were ſubject to the controul of their imperious nobles, and particularly of the lords, the five, we think, who ſeem to have ſubſiſted under theſe kings; ſo that theſe princes were, in all likelihood, to act merely as umpires, and to appear at the head of affairs, cyphers of ſtate, without any real power. We find little or no mention of this ſecond race of kings. They held their reſidence at *Gath*, during their beſt times; from whence the royal ſeat was removed to *Aſcalon*, and from that city to *Gaza*. In a word, we may ſay, that the *Philiſtines* had very ſtrong notions of liberty. They did not circumciſe, and, in their earlieſt times at leaſt, held adultery in the greateſt abomination.

Their character, language, arts, inventions, &c.

AFTER what we have ſaid, we need not obſerve that they were a very warlike people; but we muſt add, that they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their induſtry. Their character muſt be conſidered at different times; for we may ſay, they were not always the ſame people. In the days of *Abraham* and *Iſaac* they were, without all doubt, a righteous and hoſpitable nation; and ſo, in great meaſure, they may have been under their firſt race of kings: but afterwards a revolution in government, religion, and morals, may have enſued. From henceforward they became like other idolatrous nations, the ſame enormities crept in, and prevailed among them. They are conſtantly mentioned in Scripture as ſtrangers; and, though poſſeſſed of a moſt conſiderable part of the *Land of promiſe*, yet GOD would never ſuffer them to be driven out; they being *Egyptians* by deſcent, and not original natives, whoſe land only was promiſed to *Abraham* and his ſeed. Their arrogance and ambition were great, and ſo irreconcileable was their enmity (E) to the *Iſraelites*, that one would be almoſt tempted

(E) And from a paſſage in *Chronicles* (3) it is gueſſed to have been of very antient date; where it is ſaid, that *the men of* Gath *ſlew the children of* Ephraim, *who would have taken their cattle from them.* This incident is no where elſe to be found, and there are various thoughts concerning the ſenſe we muſt take this paſſage in. As to the time it was tranſacted, moſt people allow it to have been while the children of *Iſrael* were ſojourners in *Egypt*. It plainly appears by the next verſe, that *Ephraim* himſelf was living at the time. The *Targum* ſuppoſes his children miſcomputed the time

(3) 1 *Chron.* vii. 21.

they

tempted to think they were created on purpoſe to be a thorn in their ſide; for, though the hand of GOD was evidently againſt them ſeveral times, and particularly when they detained the ark, yet they hardened their hearts, and cloſed their eyes againſt conviction, flattering themſelves, that they might one day compaſs their ends againſt the *Iſraelites*. They ſeem to have entertained a very fond veneration for their deities, in which they perſiſted, though they were eye-witneſſes of the ſhame and ignominy which befel them in the preſence of the captive ark; nay, they were ſo biaſſed in their favour, as to imagine that their gods might prevail againſt him, who had, in ſo glaring a manner, put them to ſhame and diſgrace. They were much addicted to trade, which, conſidering their ſituation, they may have exerciſed from the beginning; but, by the acceſſion of the fugitive *Edomites* in *David*'s time [k], they roſe to ſo great a reputation as merchants, that the *Greeks*, it ſeems, preferred them to all other nations in that reſpect; and, from them, called all the country bordering on theirs *Paleſtine* [l]. Their language was not ſo different from that ſpoken by the *Hebrews*, as to cauſe any difficulty for them to converſe together, as will be perceived by their intercourſe with *Abraham* and *Iſaac*; ſo that, in all this region, the ſeveral nations ſpoke one and the ſame tongue, perhaps with ſome variation of dialect. They had, doubtleſs, the arts and ſciences in common with the moſt learned and ingenious among their contemporaries; and, perhaps, ſome of them in greater perfection. They had giants among them, who, whether they were originally of the breed of the *Anakims*, who retired hither when they were expelled *Hebron* [m], or were ſprung from accidental births, is not eaſily determined. We muſt not forget, that the

[k] See before, p. 175, 176. [l] See CUMBERLAND origin. gent. antiquiſſ. p. 37. [m] See before, p. 207.

they were to ſerve in *Egypt*, and began too early an attempt upon their promiſed land. Dr. *Lightfoote* (4) makes the men of *Gath* to have been the aggreſſors, and ſuppoſes the *Ephraimites* only ſtood up to defend themſelves and cattle. But, taking the words in the firſt ſenſe, which ſeems moſt obvious, they may ſerve to account for the reaſon why *Moſes* would not conduct the *Iſraelites* by the way of the *Philiſtines*. If this be the caſe, it muſt have been ſome horrid injury, or very uncommonly reſented.

(4) *Annotat. in Gen. ſub fine.*

4 invention

invention of the bow and arrow is aſcribed to them (F), and that they were particularly ſkilled in the uſe of them.

THEIR religion was different at different times: under their firſt race of kings they were of one religion with the *Hebrews*: *Abimelech*, in the ſin he had like to have committed with *Sarah*, through *Abraham*'s timidity, was favoured with a divine admonition from GOD; and, by his ſpeech and behaviour at that time, it ſeems as if he had been uſed to converſe with GOD. In after-times they erred into endleſs ſuperſtitions, and different kinds of idolatry; each of the principal, or five cities, ſeeming to have had an idol of its own. *Marna*, *Marnas*, or *Marnaſh* [n], was worſhiped at *Gaza*, and is ſaid to have migrated into *Crete* (G), and to have become the *Cretan Jupiter*. *Dagon* was worſhiped at *Azotus*; he ſeems to have been the greateſt, the moſt antient, and moſt favourite god they had: to which may be added, that he, perhaps, ſubſiſted the longeſt of any [o] that did not ſtraggle out of the country. *Their religion.*

[n] HIERONYM. in Eſai.

[o] See 1 Macc. x.

(F) It is ſuppoſed (5) that before they removed from *Peluſium*, where they are thought to have firſt inhabited, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, they had occaſion to annoy the enemies, who then infeſted them, at a diſtance; whereupon they invented the bow and arrow, wherewith they armed their ſtouteſt men, whom they called *Cherethites* (6); a name which includes this whole nation, as will be obſerved hereafter.

(G) The migration of this god may be naturally enough accounted for, if true it be that the *Philiſtines* planted the iſland of *Crete*; and it ſeems plain, that the inhabitants there were a colony from *Gaza* in particular, the peculiar place of his worſhip. The *Philiſtines* are, in ſeveral places of Scripture, (7) called *Cherethites*: particularly, they are ſo called by the *Egyptian* (8) whom *David* took when he was in purſuit of the *Amalekites*, who had burnt *Ziklag*; whence we may infer this to have been their *Egyptian* name, or the name they were known by in *Egypt*. The LXX everywhere tranſlate the word *Cherethim*, or *Cherethites*, by that of *Cretans*; as they do that of *Philiſtines* by *allophyloi*, *ſtrangers*: and on this foundation ſome learned men have built their notion of deriving the *Cretans* from the *Philiſtines*; and from hence they proceed farther, and derive the *Curetes* alſo from them; which we may conſider hereafter.

(5) *See Bedford's Script. chronol. p.* 245. (6) *Bochart. Can. l.* i. *c.* 15. (7) 1 *Sam.* xxx. 14. *Ezek.* xxv. 16. *Zephan.* ii. 5. (8) 1 *Sam. ubi ſupr.*

To

To him they aſcribed the invention of bread-corn, or of agriculture, as his name imports [p]. We cannot enter into the common notion of his being repreſented as a monſter, half man, half fiſh; or conſequently into another, almoſt as common, that he is the ſame with the *Syrian* goddeſs *Derceto*, who, we are told, was repreſented under ſome ſuch mixed form. Our opinion is, that this idol was in ſhape wholly like a man; for we read of his head, his hands, and his feet [q] (H). He ſtood in a temple at *Azotus*, and had prieſts of his own, who, it ſeems, paid a very conſtant attendance on him [r]. Next to *Dagon* was *Baalzebub* the god of *Ekron*. In the text of the New Teſtament he is *Beelzebub*, and *the prince of devils*. His name is rendered, *lord of flies*; which, by ſome, is held to be a mock appel-

[p] See vol. i. p. 308, in the notes. Piſgah-ſight, book ii. c. 10. §. 32.

[q] See FULLER's

[r] See 1 Sam. v. 3, 4.

(H) That he had feet, we underſtand from a *Greek* reading of the LXX in *Fuller* (9), where mention is made of *Dagon*'s mutilation; which runs thus; ἀμφότερα τὰ ἴχνη τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤν αὐτῷ ἀφηρημένα. Here we are told, that the ſoles of his feet were off; that is, his feet. In the edition before us, which is after the *Vatican* copy, we read τὰ ἴχνη τῶν χειρῶν, or *the ſoles of his hands*; which ſeems abſurd. We have never obſerved, that the *Greek* word ἴχνος is put for the palm of the hand. And we the rather reject this reading, becauſe a very ſenſeleſs tautology follows it; for it is ſaid, that *the wriſts of his hands* were gone alſo. Whence it muſt appear, that *hands*, in the firſt place, are corruptly placed for *feet*; and that *Dagon* had hands, and head, and face, and feet. Sure no one, allowing this, will give him a fiſh's tail: that would make him *Horace*'s monſter indeed. And here we cannot but note the fondneſs of the generality of the learned, rather to derive his name from דג *dag*, a fiſh, than from דגן, bread-corn (10): it ſeems no difficult matter to chuſe which we are to ſtick by. From this laſt etymology it may be rationally enough ſuppoſed, that they borrowed their idolatry from *Egypt* (11); and that *Dagon* is a copy of their *Iſis*, to whom much the ſame invention is attributed. Not that they brought it away from *Egypt*; from thence, their hiſtory plainly aſſures us, they brought a pure ſyſtem of religion; and we do not remember that *Moſes* mentions the *Egyptians* of his time as idolaters, once throughout all his writings.

(9) *Piſgah-ſight, book* ii. *c.* 10. §. 32. *in the margin.* (10) *See vol.* i. *p.* 308, *in not.* (11) *See Shuckford's connect. of the ſacr. and prof. hiſt. vol.* i. *p.* 344.

lation

lation beſtowed on him by the *Jews*; but others think him ſo ſtiled by his worſhipers, as *Hercules Apomyos*, and others, were, from his driving thoſe inſects away; and urge, that *Ahaziah*, in his ſickneſs[s], would ſcarcely have applied to him, if his name had carried any reproach with it. But it muſt be remembred, it is the ſacred hiſtorian that makes uſe of that contemptuous term in deriſion; whereas the idolatrous monarch, who was one of his votaries, might call him by his common name, ſuppoſed to have been *Baal-zebaoth*, *the lord of armies*, or *Baal-ſhamim*, *lord of heaven*, or ſome other bordering on *Baal-zebub*. How or under what form he was repreſented, is uncertain: ſome place him on a throne, and attire him like a king; others paint him as a fly[t]; a very wide difference! Not to dwell on this obſcurity; it appears, that he became an oracle, of the higheſt repute for omniſcience and veracity; that he had prieſts of his own; and that he, in the middle times at leaſt, was much ſought after by thoſe who were anxious about futurity, or ſolicitous concerning other hidden matters. *Derceto* we take certainly to have been the goddeſs of *Aſcalon*[u]; but, as we are herein only ſupported by profane authority, without the leaſt countenance from Scripture, we ſhall not inſiſt on it. *Gath* is ſeemingly the only city of all the five unprovided with a deity; wherefore, as the Scripture declares, that *Aſhtaroth*[w], or *Aſtarte*, was worſhiped by this people, we are ready to place her at *Guth*; and the rather, as this, of all their cities, may have had moſt communication with *Sidon*; but concerning her we muſt be ſilent here, ſeeing we ſhall have a more proper opportunity to mention her hereafter. To ſpeak in general concerning their religious rites and ceremonies, which is all we can do; they ſeem to have erected very large and ſpacious temples, or very wide halls, for the celebration of their ſolemn ſeaſons and feſtivals[x], for ſuch they ſurely had; that their religious offices were attended with much pomp, and a great concourſe from all parts; and that they preſented their gods with the chief of their ſpoil, and carried them about to war with them. We do not find in Scripture that they ſacrificed their children; and yet the *Curetes* (I) are ſaid to be derived from them.

We

[s] 2 Kings i. 2. [t] Procopius Gazeus. [u] Vide Diod. Sic. l. ii. p. 65. [w] 1 Sam. xxxi. 10. [x] Judg. xvi. 27.

(I) The *Curetes* did ſacrifice their children to *Saturn* (12); and, from the ſimilitude this name bears to *Cherethites*, or

(12) *Iſter apud Porphyr. l.* ii. §. 56.

Phi-

WE ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of this extraordinary nation. They came directly out of *Egypt* (K), but upon what motive is not poſitively known, no more than the time of their removal; and, finding the *Avims* [y] ſeated in

[y] Deut. ii. 23.

Philiſtines, it has been advanced, that they are the ſame people (13); but as we have no warrant for ſaying the *Philiſtines* practiſed ſo barbarous and unnatural a cuſtom, we may venture to pronounce, that they learned it not from them, but borrowed it elſewhere.

(K) This we take to have been really the caſe, and ſo do many of great authority; but there is alſo another opinion concerning this matter; for it is thought there is a great affinity in name between the *Caſluhim* and the *Colchi*; whence it has been taught, that they migrated firſt into the country of *Colchis*, now *Mingrelia*; and from thence, returning towards *Egypt*, in their way, ſeized on the country of the *Avims*, and there fixed their abode. *Bochart* (14) takes this to be plainly proved by what is ſaid of the agreement between the *Colchi* and the *Egyptians*, in *Herodotus* and others; therein forgetting, that the *Philiſtines* did not circumciſe; which *Herodotus* aſſures us the *Colchi* did. Again, nothing can be poſitively aſſerted in this matter, by what the ſame author relates, who ſpeaks of them as dwelling in *Colchis* in his time, where they had abode ſo long, that it was doubtful when they ſettled there firſt; ſo that from him no ſolid argument can be deduced, to prove that the *Colchi* he ſpeaks of were the *Caſluhim* of *Moſes*. In like manner the *Caphtorim*, from whence alſo the *Philiſtines* are derived, are placed in *Cappadocia*, a country of *Aſia minor*, adjoining to the country of *Colchis*. Here, ſay they (15), we find the city called *Side*, and the country *Sidene*, mentioned by *Strabo*: and becauſe *ſide*, in *Greek*, and *caphtor*, in *Hebrew*, ſignify a pomegranate, therefore, in all likelihood, the ſame country was, by the *Hebrews*, called *Caphtor*, and, by the *Greeks*, *Sidene*. But, to ſhew that nothing can be fixed from ſuch a manner of arguing, it may not be amiſs to add, that the *Caphtorim* are, on the other hand, ſuppoſed to have dwelt in *Afric*, on the bay of *Syrtis*, which is ſuppoſed to have been called כף תור *chaph-thor*, the *circular ſhore*, as it forms a ſemicircle; and that the pomegranate was ſo called by the *Hebrews*, becauſe it came from that part of *Afric*, conſonant to what *Pliny* writes concerning the origin of that fruit (16). Another judicious author has made it much more probable that *Caphtor* is the iſland of *Crete*. We refer the reader to

(13) *Bochart, Caſtle, &c.* (14) *Phalg. l.* iv. *c.* 31. (15) *Bochart. ubi ſup.* (16) *Vide Cleric. in Gen.* x. 14.

his

pleaſant and fruitful land, and themſelves were ſtrong gh to expel them, they made their attempt and ſuc- d. We are not much inclined to think them a very rous multitude, when they firſt ſettled in this their ieſt; for their king, even in the days of *Iſaac*, grew is of that patriarch's power; which is no great ſign iis own was very conſiderable; tho' poſſibly they may been ſettled there many years before, and muſt con- ntly have been much more numerous than they were t. But, ſuppoſing this kingdom or ſtate to have been eak in its beginnings, as moſt others were, we pro- to the next notice we have of their affairs.

IMELECH (L), their king in *Abraham*'s days, was ly and juſt perſon, and appears to have had ſome in- urſe[z] with GOD. He reſided at *Gerar*, of which he is called king, and had like to have been drawn very fatal ſnare by the too great caution of *Abraham*; coming into his kingdom, to be at a diſtance from the of *Siddim*, pretended that *Sarah* was not his wife, but Abime- lech I. Year of flood 451. Bef. Chriſt 1897.

[z] Gen. xx. 3, & ſeq.

or his reaſons (17), as s to what we have al- advanced as our opi- (18). It would be in for us to touch on the of the *Philiſtines* before emoved out of *Egypt*, or the laſt place of their before they came into nd of the *Avims*; but ill, however, briefly in- what ſome have been d to ſay upon that ve- ſcure ſubject. Accord- biſhop *Cumberland* (19), abited with the *Phœ-* or *Canaanites*, in *Go-* that is, that ſide of *E-* ext to *Arabia*; but, find- eir country invaded by kindred, the other ſons *zraim*, they left it, to the miſeries of the im- pending war between the paſtors and the pure *Egyptians*; and removed into the land where *Abraham* found them.

(L) One *Philiſtinus*, whom *Joſephus* (20) makes a ſon of *Mizraim*, is ſometimes reckoned their firſt king (21); from whom that *Jewiſh* writer derives the name of *Paleſtine*. Whatever truth there may be in this, it is alſo likely, that either they borrowed their name from *Peluſium*, or *Peluſium* from them; for here, or hereabouts, did they firſt ſettle, according to the common opinion (22); and it will not be much out of the way, if we ſuppoſe they founded that city, and dwelt there till force or inclination made them remove.

Calmet. diſſert. in 1 *Sam.* (18) *See vol.* i. *p.* 374. (19) *On* *p.* 372. (20) *Antiq. l.* i. *c.* 7. (21) *Vide hiſt. Jul. in* *alæſt.* (22) *See vol.* i. *ubi ſupr.*

his ſiſter. *Abimelech* ſaw her, was taken with her charms, and, underſtanding ſhe was a ſingle woman, reſolved to take her to his bed: but, ere he had accompliſhed his deſires, he was warned by GOD to return the woman to her concealed huſband, and that upon pain of death. *Abimelech* hereupon excuſed himſelf to the divine viſion, upon the innocence of his intentions; and, ſeeming to have freſh in mind the terrible overthrow of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, *Lord*, ſays he, *wilt thou alſo ſlay a righteous nation?* as if he would take vengeance on his people for a crime he was going ignorantly to commit. But he had the comfortable anſwer in a viſion or dream, that GOD knew well, and approved his integrity; that he had withheld him from ſinning; and that *Abraham* ſhould, at his requeſt, pray for him, and he ſhould live. Being thus admoniſhed, he firſt acquainted his ſervants with what had happened; who were inſtantly ſeized with great dread: then, calling *Abraham*, he aſked what he had done to him, that he ſhould miſlead him into ſo dangerous an error; or what offence he had ever committed againſt him, that he ſhould tempt him to ſuch a ſin, as might have proved the ruin, not of himſelf only, but of his whole kingdom. Indeed, ſays he, you have not uſed me well: what have you obſerved in the morals or behaviour of me and my people, that you ſhould imagine we would offer any violence to your wife? The anſwer he received from *Abraham* was a frank confeſſion of the truth, he acknowleging, without diſguiſe, that he feared they had not been indued with right notions of GOD and his laws, and that he ſhould certainly be deprived of his life, that they might the more freely enjoy *Sarah*. He added, that, in ſaying ſhe was his ſiſter, he had ſpoken nothing but the truth, ſhe being really ſo; and ended his apology with acquainting the king, that, in ſtrange places, it had always been his cuſtom to make her paſs for his ſiſter only, for fear of the worſt. *Abimelech*, ſatisfied with what he heard (in conſequence thereof, and in obedience to the divine command), not only returned *Sarah* to *Abraham*, but made him a very handſome preſent in ſheep, oxen, and ſervants, both men and women; declaring to him withal, that he was welcome to live in what part of his dominions he beſt liked. He alſo made a conſiderable preſent to *Sarah*, and accompanied it with a ſpeech, which ours, and moſt verſions, have rendered as a reproof; but was the quite contrary, as we ſhall ſee in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory. In this manner did *Abimelech* comply with the divine admonition, and, upon the prayers of *Abraham*, he and his whole

whole houſe were reſtored to their natural faculties, of which they had been deprived for *Sarah*'s ſake; the LORD having rendered the men impotent, and the women barren (M). Ever after this *Abimelech* lived in perfect harmony with *Abraham*; and, that the ſame might be tranſmitted down to poſterity, *Abimelech*, with the participation of *Phichol*, the chief captain of his hoſt, propoſed an oath to *Abraham*, whereby he ſhould bind his poſterity to live in amity with his, and deal by them juſt as he had dealt by him. This was readily embraced by *Abraham*; but firſt he deſired a diſpute might be decided, concerning a well which *Abimelech*'s ſervants had forcibly taken from him. *Abimelech* declared, he never heard of this outrage till that moment; and that nothing of the kind ſhould have been then to be complained of, had *Abraham* informed him of it. And, that this matter might be terminated in ſuch a manner as to admit of no farther diſpute, *Abraham*, among the numerous preſents he made him, of ſheep and oxen, ſevered ſeven ewe-lambs, which he gave him, to be a ſtanding teſtimony of his having dug, and conſequently of his being the right owner of that well. *Abimelech* accepted of them accordingly, and the well was, from them, called *Beerſhebah*. After a mutual ratification of their covenant, *Abimelech*, and *Phichol*, the chief captain of his hoſt, roſe up, and returned from whence they came [z] (N).

ABI-

[z] Gen. ubi ſupra, & xxi. 22—32.

(M) "Or with ſuch ſwellings in the ſecret parts, that "the men could neither enjoy "their wives, or the women "who were with child be deli-"vered (22)." They muſt have been very ſenſible of ſuch an alteration as this; but it is, on the other hand, ſuppoſed to have been ſomething imperceptible, both by the men and women, and a matter not to be diſcovered, but by length of time; and thence it is concluded, that *Abraham* and *Sarah* were a conſiderable time at *Abimelech*'s court (23). Nothing can be poſitively determined in this caſe from the text. We find this whole ſtory quite altered by *Joſephus* (24), who ſays, *Abimelech* was taken with ſo violent a fit of ſickneſs that his life was deſpaired of; that, in the midſt of it, he had a dream, which admoniſhed him concerning *Sarah*; that, finding himſelf upon the mending hand, he called together his friends, and diſcloſed to them his dream, and the violence of his paſſion; and that thereupon he made up the matter with *Abraham*, &c.

(N) In the text it is, *They returned into the land of the* Philiſtines (25); as if they had

(22) *Patrick upon Gen.* xx. 18. (23) *Vide Cleric. in Gen.* xx. 17. (24) *Antiq. l.* i. *c.* 13. (25) *Gen.* xxi. 31.

ABIMELECH, the ſon of *Abimelech*, and therefore called the ſecond (O) of that name, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of the *Philiſtines*, reigned alſo at *Gerar*, had almoſt the ſame tranſactions with *Iſaac* as his father had with *Abraham*, and ſeems to have been actuated by the very ſame principles as his father, and to have well deſerved to be ſtiled a juſt and pious prince. In his days came *Iſaac* to *Gerar*, ſore preſſed by famine, and conducting *Rebekah* with him, whom, in imitation of his father, he made paſs for his ſiſter. Whether *Abimelech* and his ſubjects had remembrance of that fallacy before, and what had like thereupon to have enſued, to the detriment of the whole nation; or whether the morals of this country were ſtill ſo pure, and chaſtity and hoſpitality in ſuch due and high eſteem, that they abhorred the thoughts of an impure attempt, we know not; but it is certain that *Rebekah* was unmoleſted by ſuitors of any ſort; and *Iſaac* had no occaſion to complain upon her account. However, it is pretty evident, that *Abimelech* himſelf, at leaſt, had a ſhrewd ſuſpicion they were man and wife; for, looking one day out of his window, as it is expreſſed, he ſaw *Iſaac* careſſing *Rebekah* in ſuch a manner as convinced him they were much nearer related than they pretended to be. Wherefore he called *Iſaac* to him, and aſked him, how he could be ſo deceitful, pretending that ſhe, who was really his wife, was no

come out of it to make a league with *Abraham*, who was ſtill a ſojourner in *Paleſtine*: it can therefore mean no more than that *Abimelech* returned to the place of his own abode; as if a diſtinction was now made of that part of the country occupied by *Abraham*; which, by the covenant made, was now conſidered as his own, and no longer under the juriſdiction of the *Philiſtines*.

(O) Some (26), between theſe two *Abimelechs*, place *Ephron* the *Hittite*, who was ſo kind to *Abraham* (27), which, perhaps, is the beſt, if not the only ground of ſuch a ſurmiſe. It is ſuppoſed he may have been ſirnamed the *Hittite*, either from having conquered that tribe, or from having entered into a league with them (28): but nothing of this kind is to be depended upon, or believed. This ſecond *Abimelech* is the natural ſucceſſor of the former, as appears by his name or appellation, and by the ſeries of time: his father was contemporary with *Abraham*, as he was with *Iſaac*; but ſo plain a caſe can admit of no diſpute with any, but ſuch as are fond of nothing elſe.

(26) *Theophil. Antioch. Jul. in regn. Palæſt. p.* 76.

(27) *See before, p.* 199.

(28) *Vide hiſt.*

more

than his ſiſter. To which *Iſaac* pleaded his father *bam*'s excuſe. *Abimelech* replied, it was by no means y done of him; for that, ignorantly, ſome or other e people might have enjoyed her, and thereby involved hole nation in a moſt dangerous ſin (P). Which to nt, he proclaimed what *Iſaac* had told him, forbidding o touch *Rebekah* or her huſband, upon pain of death. ing can well be added to give us a more favourable of this upright king, than his behaviour in this caſe: tleſs he was no ſtranger to what had happened on a ccaſion to his father; and having the judgments of before his eyes, believed and dreaded them. And remarkable it is, that, though it might have been ex- d that he would have driven out *Iſaac* from his domi- , as one who, either maliciouſly or ignorantly, had ed his whole nation to irretrievable ruin; yet he ſuf- him to abide in the land till his power began to give mbrage. Then indeed the *Philiſtines*, beholding the gious increaſe of *Iſaac*'s ſtore, envied him, and gave o ſmall diſturbance, by filling up his wells as faſt as rvants dug them, and by other ſuch like ill offices. At *Abimelech* ſent him a poſitive order to remove. This ge was couched, it ſeems, in ſuch civil terms, that , who was not conſcious to himſelf of any evil deſign

Notwithſtanding this *A-* *:h* makes ſo amiable a fi- n the writings of *Moſes*, *us* (29) repreſents him ry ill and corrupt perſon; o mend the matter, tells ry in a very broken man- Paſſing over what relates *ekah*, and *Iſaac*'s denial for his wife, he ſays, that *lech* did behave with outward reſpect to *Iſaac* his firſt arrival in his y; but, in time, finding o be more in the favour o than himſelf, he broke im, and, burning with gave him all the ill-na- trouble he could upon all ons. But in the end, per- g the man's increaſe, and well knowing the corruption of his own heart, he began to be afraid of the conſequences his inhoſpitable breach might bring on him and his, and thought it beſt to propoſe to him the renewal of the cove- nant which was made between him and *Abraham*; for he all along takes this *Abimelech* for the ſame that converſed with *Abraham*, thereby to blacken him the more, as a man of no faith or ſimplicity of intention; and beſides, thereby makes him abundantly too old, except he ſuppoſes *Abimelech* to have been but a child, or a mere lad, when *Abraham* firſt removed into the land of the *Philiſtines*.

(29) *Antiq. l.* i. *c.* 18.

againſt him, only removed from one part of his country to another. He had not been long come to this canton, when new broils and contentions aroſe between the *Philiſtines* of *Gerar* and *Iſaac*'s ſervants, who, opening the wells which *Abraham* had dug, and which the *Philiſtines*, after his death, had ſtopped up, and wanting ſtill more water, ſought for new ſprings, and dug new wells, which the *Philiſtine* herdſmen claimed as their right; whence the wells thus diſputed, two in number, were one of them, by *Iſaac*, called *eſek*, or *contention*, and the other *ſitnah*, or *hatred*. By theſe vexatious and obſtinate claims, *Iſaac* was obliged to ſhift from place to place, till *Abimelech*, at laſt remembring, we may ſuppoſe, the covenant between his father and *Abraham*, and plainly perceiving that *Iſaac* was favoured with GOD's ſpecial bleſſing, thought it his duty, or his intereſt, to renew the aforeſaid covenant; and, taking with him *Abuzzath*, an intimate friend, and *Phichol* (Q), the chief captain of his hoſt, went to *Iſaac*, who could not help declaring his ſurprize in ſeeing them, after what had paſſed. To which they anſwered, that they plainly ſaw GOD was with him, and that he was riſing to a high pitch of power and proſperity; and therefore deſired to enter into bonds of friendſhip with him, by a new covenant, or by a revival of the old; deſiring no other terms, than that the *Philiſtines*, and their poſterity, might be uſed and conſidered by *Iſaac*, and his poſterity, as he and his family had been conſidered and uſed by *Abimelech* and his people. They were all three then entertained by *Iſaac*; and the league they deſired being mutually ſworn to next morning, they departed in peace [a].

THE hiſtory of the *Philiſtines*, hitherto clear and circumſtantial, is all at once involved in an impenetrable miſt; through which we can only perceive, that the men of *Gath* fell on the children of *Ephraim*, and ſlew them, for attempting to drive off their cattle [b]. When this happened, or the particulars of it, or the conſequences that enſued, we know not [c].

[a] Gen xxvi. 1—33. [b] 1 Chron. vii. 21. [c] See before, p. 219, 220, in the notes.

(Q) The chief captain of his father's hoſt, as may be remembred, was alſo called *Phichol* (30); but, as it is impoſſible, or very highly improbable at leaſt, that this was the ſame man, we conclude *Phichol* to have been a title of honour or dignity; and that, as the king was conſtantly called *Abimelech*, his chief miniſter, or general, was conſtantly called *Phichol*.

(30) *See before*, p. 227.

FOR

FOR a very long ſeries of years we hear nothing of this people, and are only left to gueſs, that they, in the mean time, diſſolved their antient form of government, and contracted an averſion to the *Iſraelites*; for, when they are next mentioned, they are repreſented under diſtinct juriſdictions, and at ſtrife with the children of *Iſrael*.

WE do not read of any war they had with *Joſhua*; but, after his death, *Gaza*, *Askelon*, and *Ekron* (R), were taken from them, by the united tribes of *Simeon* and *Judah*[d]; which, however, we find them, in a ſhort time, poſſeſſed of again[e]; but whether they recovered them by force of arms, or they were reſtored to them by the conquerors, is not ſaid.

ABOUT 120 years after the reduction of the three cities above-mentioned, the *Philiſtines* held the *Iſraelites* under their yoke, till they were delivered by *Shamgar*, who ſlew ſix hundred of them with an ox-goad[f] (S). Nor muſt we forget, that the *Philiſtines* ſuffered in common with the *Iſraelites*[g], by the incurſions and ravages of *Zebah* and *Zalmunna* kings of *Midian*[h]. Year of flood 1043. Bef. Chriſt 1395.

[d] Judg. i. 18. [e] Ibid. xiv. 19. [f] Ibid. iii. 31.
[g] See Judg. vi. 4. [h] See before, p. 159.

(R) Here *Joſephus* (31) tells us of only *Askelon*, and *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, as ſubdued; and, by an unpardonable inaccuracy, reckons them to the *Canaanites*. But for *Gaza* and *Ekron*, or *Accaron*, ſays he, they were in the flat country, very ſtrong in chariots, and well able to make a good defence; whereby they ſaved themſelves from the calamities of their neighbours.

(S) It is worth obſerving, that *Joſephus* (32), who is ſo fond of extraordinary events, and ſo apt to make more of them than, it is likely, he found them, quite paſſes over this. We will not dwell on the niceties which are offered to explain or illuſtrate this action. A parallel caſe is found in *Homer*, where *Lycurgus* puts to flight the *Bacchæ* with an ox-goad. By the *Vulgate* it is interpreted a plough-ſhare, induced thereto by the LXX. But thoſe (33) ſeem to think very rationally, who imagine that *Shamgar* put himſelf at the head of a tumultuary multitude of country-people, who were armed in their ruſtic way, with the implements of tillage; and that *Shamgar* happened to have an ox-goad in his hand when theſe ſix hundred of the *Philiſtines* fell; not that he killed them all himſelf with that weapon.

(31) *Antiq. l.* v. *c.* 2. *Cleric. in Judic.* iii. 31. (32) *Antiq. l.* v. *c.* 5. (33) *Vide*

A SECOND time they oppreſſed the *Iſraelites*, in conjunction with the *Ammonites*, in the days of *Jephthah*[i].

A THIRD time they reduced the *Iſraelites*, by the permiſſion of GOD, and kept them in ſubjection 40 years. In the mean time was *Samſon* born, to check their pride (T). He, when grown up, fell in love with a damſel of this country, who dwelt at *Timnath*. At the celebration of the nuptials, 30 young *Philiſtines* were appointed to attend on *Samſon* (U); who propoſed a riddle to them, concerning a lion he had killed, in whoſe carcaſe, a twelvemonth after, he found honey. It was propoſed to theſe young men by *Samſon*, that, if they unraveled his riddle, he ſhould give them 30 ſuits of apparel, one to each; but if they could not anſwer him at the end of the ſeven days of the marriage-feſtival, they ſhould each of them give him the ſame. They accepted the offer, deſired to hear the riddle; but, having in vain perplexed themſelves therewith for three days together, and deſpairing to overcome the difficulty, they went to their country-woman, *Samſon's* bride, deſiring her to declare the myſtery, and threatening, if ſhe did not, to burn her and all her kindred, as perſons who had on purpoſe introduced a ſtranger, to plunder them of their ſubſtance. This made a deep impreſſion on the young woman; who, by continual intreaties, prevailed at laſt on her huſband to diſcloſe the ambiguity to her, which ſhe communicated to the thirty young men; in conſequence of which they won the prize. This brought a misfortune upon *Askelon*; for *Samſon*, to make good his engagements, went thither, and ſlew 30 men; whoſe garments he gave to the 30 expoſitors of his riddle[k].

Year of flood 1211. Bef. Chriſt 1137.

THIS marriage was the beginning of great miſery upon the *Philiſtines*; for *Samſon*'s father-in-law, apprehending his daughter was not well poſſeſſed of her huſband's heart, gave her away to another, and denied *Samſon*, who had

[i] See before, p. 143.

[k] Judg. xiv. 12—19.

(T) *Joſephus* (34) reckons that the *Philiſtines* were ſtripped of their dominion over *Iſrael* by *Samſon*; but he is plainly miſtaken.

(U) This we take to have been the cuſtom of the country in caſes of a like nature, and an uſual compliment now paid to *Samſon*, who was come to marry among them; but nothing leſs appears by *Joſephus* (35), who writes that theſe young men were ſet as a guard upon him, to prevent his doing any miſchief, when overcome with drink.

(34) *Antiq. l.* v. *c.* 10.

(35) *Ubi ſupr.*

been

been abſent a twelvemonth, all acceſs to his wife; but, to pacify his reſentment, he would have given him another daughter, who, as he ſaid, was younger and handſomer. This did by no means mollify *Samſon*, who, in revenge, ſent out three hundred foxes, with firebrands at their tails, into the corn-fields; and all the ſtanding-corn was thereby conſumed, as were alſo the other fruits of the earth, and the vines, and the olives. The *Philiſtines* were amazed at ſo terrible a diſaſter; and, underſtanding the motives which had induced *Samſon* to uſe them ſo cruelly, they looked on his father-in-law as the chief incendiary; and therefore went, and burnt him, together with his daughter; who alſo may be called the cauſe of all this miſchief (W). But this they did not with impunity; they were ſmitten hip and thigh by *Samſon*. They determined then to take their revenge on him; and, underſtanding he had retreated to the rock *Etam*, they went thither to take him; but he was delivered bound to them by the men of *Judah*, who dreaded their diſpleaſure. The *Philiſtines* ſhouted aloud at the ſight of *Samſon* bound; but their joy was ſoon turned into mourning; for *Samſon*, breaking his cords, found the jaw-bone of an aſs at hand, and with it killed a thouſand of them [1].

Year of the flood 1212. Bef. Chr. 1136.

All this the *Philiſtines* never forgot, and wiſhed for nothing ſo much as an opportunity to be revenged on *Samſon*. The *Gazites*, about twenty years after the laſt ſlaughter, thought they had him ſecure in their city. Being informed that he was there with an harlot, they watched him, and made faſt their gates, with a deſign to

[1] Judg. xv. 1—16.

(W) This ſeems to have been inflicted on them by way of retaliation; for as through their indiſcretion they drew on their country ſo ſad a revenge by fire, the reſt might think it but juſt and natural, that they ſhould periſh thereby to expiate their crime. But, on the other hand, we find that puniſhing or revenging by fire was a notorious practice in thoſe days with this people; for the thirty young men, as may be remembred, when they began to deſpair, that they ſhould ever unfold *Samſon's* riddle, threatened the bride to burn her and her father's houſe, if ſhe did not befriend them. It is ſuppoſed they were taken by ſurprize, and burnt in their houſe; and it is obſerved, that the bride and her father's houſe ſuffered the ſame calamity ſhe ſought to avoid by betraying her huſband (36).

(36) *See Patrick upon Judg.* xv. 6.

kill

kill him the next morning. But their precaution was to no purpoſe; for *Samſon*, riſing at midnight, took the city gates and poſts, and bar, and carried them away towards *Hebron*, leaving an open place behind him.

THE lords of the *Philiſtines* then heard, that *Samſon* was enamoured of another harlot of their nation in the valley of *Sorek*, whoſe name was *Delilah*. The five lords came to this woman, and promiſed her, each of them, eleven hundred pieces of ſilver, if ſhe would betray *Samſon* to them, by enticing him to tell her where his ſtrength lay, and how he might be reduced to the ordinary ſtrength of another man. So large a bribe corrupted *Delilah*'s heart, and ſhe uſed her beſt endeavours to earn it; thinking ſhe was acquainted with the ſecret, ſhe ſent for the *Philiſtines* to execute their pleaſure on him; but ſhe was deceived, and they diſappointed. A ſecond time ſhe was deceived in like manner, and a third time; but the fourth ſhe was ſincerely informed, that his ſtrength lay in his hair, which ſhe cut off, and delivered *Samſon* an helpleſs prey to the lords of the *Philiſtines*, who gave her the promiſed reward, put out *Samſon*'s eyes, and, binding him with fetters of braſs, carried him to *Gaza*, and there made him grind in the priſon-houſe.

THEY then met in a ſolemn manner to celebrate a feſtival to their god *Dagon*, and to offer him thanks, and praiſes, and ſacrifices. They met together to the number of many thouſands, and were all in one place; whether a temple, a theatre, or a palace, is quite unknown; but the fabric was of ſuch extent, that no fewer than three thouſand perſons were on the top of it (X). In the height of their jollity

(X) We find the generality of the learned moſt inclined to think this vaſt building a theatre, ſuch as formerly the *Romans* contrived, and which were almoſt incredibly capacious: this may have been the truth of the matter, and we ſhould moſt readily have embraced the ſame opinion, did we not perceive, that this building was roofed, and that ſo firmly as to bear the weight of three thouſand perſons upon its top. A difficulty ſtarts up here; how could this roof be contrived, ſo that ſuch a multitude might partake of the diverſion *Samſon* was making below? It is anſwered, that thoſe on the roof were the vulgar ſort, who had conveniencies of looking down into a great hall, where the lords and chiefs and better ſort ſat in ſtate; which will ſtill make the building more extenſive. A roof it had, which we ſufficiently underſtand by the two pillars which *Samſon* pulled down, and which ſupported

jollity they ſent for the blind *Samſon* to make ſport with him (Y), forgetting his hair was by this time pretty well grown again (Z), and his ſtrength, conſequently, returned to him. They made what diverſion they pleaſed with him, but paid dear for it; for they all periſhed by the fall of the building they were in, which was brought down by *Samſon*. This was a terrible diſaſter, ſince moſt of the chiefs of the *Philiſtines*, if not all, periſhed by it; ſo that the nation muſt have been brought to a low condition, being deſtitute of governors, commanders, and men of wiſdom [m]. Year of the flood 1231. Bef. Chr. 1117.

The *Iſraelites*, taking advantage of this diſaſter, and the conſternation attending it, marched againſt the enemy without loſs of time, and pitched at *Eben-ezer*. The *Philiſtines*, notwithſtanding the great loſs they had ſuſtained, came out to meet them, and encamped at *Aphek*. The two armies ſoon came to action, and the day turned in favour of the *Philiſtines*, who put the enemy to a precipitate flight, and, having ſlain four thouſand of them, drove the reſt into their camp. The *Philiſtines*, in the midſt of their triumph, upon this occaſion, heard an uncommon ſhout of joy from the *Hebrew* camp; and, inquiring into the cauſe of it, were told that the *Hebrews* had ſent for the ark of the LORD, and that it was come into their camp. Upon hearing this, they cried out in the utmoſt conſter-

[m] Judg. xvi. per tot.

ſupported it. It hence muſt have been a place of a particular conſtruction, like the *Egyptian* hall in *Vitruvius* (37), and nothing like the theatres of the antient *Greeks* or *Romans*.

(Y) *Joſephus* (38) underſtands that they wanted to ſtout and jeer him; though alſo they may have made him go through a courſe of ridiculous geſtures and ſpeeches.

(Z) In the margin of our verſion it is, *As when he was ſhaven*; or it was grown to the ſame length it was of when *Delilah* clipt it. Whence we gather, that *Joſephus* (39) is right in ſaying this was an annual feaſt in honour of their god *Dagon*, as appears alſo by the text of Scripture; where great thanks are returned to *Dagon* for delivering *Samſon* into their hands, which was ſtill uppermoſt in their thoughts, and what they had chiefly deſired ſeveral years paſt. From hence we may learn, that the worſhip of *Dagon* was not confined to *Aſhdod*, though it may have been his peculiar place, and that in theſe days he was the moſt highly revered of any god they had.

(37) *Vide l.* vi. *c.* 5. (38) *Ubi ſupr.* (39) *Ubi ſupr.*

nation,

nation, GOD is come into the enemy's camp; what will become of us! Such a thing was never known before; and greatly did they bewail their unhappy lot, deſpairing to be delivered from thoſe mighty gods, as they ſpoke, who had ſo ſeverely ſmitten the *Egyptians*. They now were quite daunted and ſpiritleſs, till their chiefs, or ſome of the more reſolute, diſpelled their fears, exhorting them to be of good chear, and behave like men, leſt they ſhould fall under the power of the *Hebrews*, and become their ſervants, inſtead of being their maſters: Behave like men, ſaid they, and fear not. This exhortation had its effect upon the drooping hearts of the *Philiſtines*, and inſpired them with freſh courage. Thus animated, they came to a battle; and the attack was ſo furious, that they ſlew 30,000 of the enemy's foot; and, to crown all, took the ark of GOD, which, at firſt, gave them ſo much trouble, and ſlew *Hophni* and *Phinehas*, the prieſts who attended it. Doubtleſs they called this a moſt complete victory, and rejoiced in a moſt extraordinary manner, not being aware of the evil conſequences they were to ſuffer in return. In high triumph they carried the captive ark to *Aſhdod*, and placed it in the temple of their idol *Dagon*, as an acceptable offering to him, and as his captive, we may ſuppoſe. The next morning they went into the temple, and, *Behold*, Dagon *was fallen upon his face to the earth, before the ark of the* LORD. They took him up therefore, and ſet him in his place again, attributing this firſt humiliation to ſome unheeded accident (A). But on the ſecond day, when they went in again, they not only ſaw their god in the ſame humble poſture they beheld him the day before, but without head, hands, or feet, which lay on the threſhold; nor was any thing left of him but the trunk of his body. Hence came a ſuperſtitious cuſtom among his prieſts, never to tread on the threſhold as they went into his temple (B), either

(A) They might impute it to ſome defect in the pedeſtal, or imagine the ſtatue itſelf not to have been exactly poiſed, or, finally, attribute it to ſome unuſual ſhock, as of an earthquake, and the like.

(B) This ſuperſtition obtained for many ages, as may be gathered from *Zephaniah* (39), where thoſe are threatened *that leap on the threſhold*. Hence it appears, that they were wont to leap over the threſhold. This, no doubt, alludes to that ridiculous ſuperſtition (40).

(39) *Zeph.* i. 9.

(40) *Vide Bochart. hierozoic. par.* i. *l.* ii. *c.* 36.

The

in remembrance of this mutilation, or becauſe it had hallowed by the touch of the ſcattered limbs of their led deity. But their concern for him was quickly ed by a more lively ſenſe of their own real calamities, whole country being ſmitten with a ſudden plague, hich many of them died, while thoſe who ſurvived grievouſly tormented with *emerods*. *Aſhdod* and its territory labouring under ſo dreadful a calamity, reſolved to keep the ark no longer among them, too ſenſibly convinced, that they ſuffered on that ac-t. But that they might not take an haſty ſtep, they l an aſſembly of all the lords of the *Philiſtines* to deli-e upon the means of delivering them from this raging and what was beſt to be done with the fatal ark. The ution they came to was, That the ark ſhould be re-d to *Gath*, apprehending, as is thought, that *Aſhdod* place unacceptable to it (C). They carried it thi-but the ſame plague, and another ſort of *emerods* (D) ved it to *Gath*, without diſtinction of ſmall or great. men of *Gath* then ſent the ark to *Ekron*; but the in-ants of that city, knowing what *Gath* and *Aſhdod* had

Jews have an idle ſtory, the *Philiſtines*, henceforforſaking *Dagon* himſelf, iped the threſhold of his e (41).

) *Juſt as* Æneas *and his indicted their beds and houſes of the diſaſters that them; and* Cadmus *forhis own city,*

anquam fortuna locorum,
ſua ſe premeret.

the ill luck which hunted had been the place's, not wn; as our Dr. *Jackſon* ves out of *Ovid*, in his al of unbelief, chap. 18. gr. 4. (42).

) At *Aſhdod*, it is ſaid, were ſmitten with *emerods* without any addition: now it is ſaid, they ſmitten with *emerods eir ſecret parts:* whence it is evident enough, that this plague was in ſome manner altered; and it being the moſt univerſally interpreted in both places, that they were afflicted by *emerods*, there is no other way that occurs to us of accounting for this alteration, but that at *Aſhdod* they had the ordinary ſort, which appear outwardly, and that now at *Gath* they had the *blind* ſort, which are inward. Inſtead of *emerods*, ſome (43) ſpeak of violent diſorders in the inteſtines, of their rotting alive, and of their waſting away by dyſenteries and vomitings, thereby diſcharging their loathſome corruption. Other opinions there are concerning this matter; but none ſo generally received as what we have ſaid of the *emerods*.

) *Vide Buxtorf. hiſt. arc. c.* 19. *p.* 172.
ver. 8. (43) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* vi. *c.* 2. (42) *Patrick upon*

already

already ſuffered by detaining it, cried out, that the ark of the GOD of *Iſrael* was ſent to deſtroy them. Their fears were not vain; for great numbers of them died, and the raging diſtemper, the *emerods*, gathered ſtrength, as it ſpread (E.) Therefore they had no ſooner received the ark, than, all in confuſion, they ſent to the lords of the *Philiſtines* to conſult with them about the manner of ſending the ark to its place. The reſult of this council is not expreſſed; they ſeem to have removed the ark into the country (F), and thereby to have only increaſed the number of the

(E) We find their lamentation and affliction expreſſed in deeper terms, upon every removal; which gives room for this aſſertion.

(F) *Joſephus* (44) relates, that the ark went through all the five cities of the *Philiſtines*, which we have no warrant to aſſert from Scripture, except that the five cities being equally afflicted, and their gods equally perſecuted, as afterwards appears, may be accepted for a demonſtrative proof thereof: but there is no room to ſuppoſe this, ſince we find, that the *Ekronites*, convinced of the deſtruction and plague which followed the ark, did not ſo much as think of procuring it to be ſent either to *Askelon*, or *Gaza*; but only, that it might be ſent back to its place. Their requeſt, it ſeems, was no farther complied with by the reſt than the removing it from them into the country or the *fields*, for that is the ſenſe of the original, where it remained ſeven months; nor is it likely, that either of thoſe two cities would have admitted it within their gates after a thrice-repeated experience of what the conſequence would be, if they did; nor does it appear, that they had yet been affected in the manner of *Aſhdod*, *Gath*, and *Ekron*, where the ark had been lodged. It ſeems that the ark being removed into the fields, gave birth to thoſe prodigious ſwarms of mice, which did eat up the country, and that *Gaza* and *Askelon* were now ſmitten by the plagues alſo, that the whole body of this people groaning under the ſame ſeverities and diſtreſs, there might be no diſſenſion among them about diſmiſſing the ark. And hence, perhaps, we may diſcover, that as much as they were divided into five ſatrapies or lordſhips, they were nevertheleſs ſo linked together, that one of them could not act in any matter of public concern without the concurrence of all the reſt; which is no-where ſo evident as in this caſe of the *Ekronites*, who were ſo thoroughly convinced the ark was to be ſent home, that we cannot conceive what ſhould have prevented them from acting accordingly, had it not been that they were afraid of making a breach in their common conſtitution; or dreaded to be called to an account by the reſt for preſuming to act without their conſent in an affair of ſuch moment.

(44) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* vi. *c.* 1.

evils

evils that afflicted them, the country being now laid waſte by an extraordinary production of mice. Finding therefore that their condition became every day worſe, and their evils multiplied as often as the ark was removed, they called for their prieſts and diviners to demand of them what they thought moſt expedient to be done on this mournful occaſion; and in what manner it would be fitteſt to remove the cauſe of their diſaſters. Their anſwer was, That they ought not to ſend it away empty, but, by all means, with a treſpaſs-offering, as an atonement. Being then aſked what this treſpaſs-offering muſt be, they replied, five golden *emerods*, and five golden *mice*, according to the number of the lords of the *Philiſtines*; the ſame plague having been common to them all. They then directed them in what manner they were to diſmiſs the ark; and their directions being punctually complied with, the ark returned to the *Iſraelites*, as is related at length in holy writ; and the *Philiſtines* were made thoroughly ſenſible of the hand that had chaſtiſed them [n].

We have ſufficient reaſon to conclude, that the *Philiſtines*, by diſmiſſing the ark, delivered themſelves from the evils they groaned under. But they ſoon forgot the mighty power of the God of *Iſrael*, who had thus afflicted them. For, not above twenty years after, underſtanding the *Iſraelites* were gathered in a body at *Mizpeh*, they reſolved to diſperſe them, apprehending, perhaps, that they were deliberating upon meaſures of throwing off their yoke. They marched therefore towards *Mizpeh*, and the *Iſraelites*, ſtruck with terror at their approach, applied to *Samuel*, who was in the midſt of them, begging he would not *ceaſe to cry out to the* Lord for them. In the mean time the *Philiſtines* purſued their march, unmindful of him, who was ever ready, when his people turned to him, to confound the ſtrength and devices of their enemies, however wiſe and powerful, as he did on this very occaſion. For while the *Philiſtines* were upon the point of falling on the *Iſraelites*, they were, by a dreadful and unexpected ſtorm of thunder and lightning (H), broken, diſperſed, and thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, of which

[n] 1 Sam. iv. v. vi.

(H) To this *Joſephus* (45) adds, that they were in part ſwallowed by an earthquake, ſo violent, that it was with much ado they could keep on their legs.

(45) *Antiq. l.* vi. *c.* 2.

the

the *Israelites* taking advantage, pursued them with great slaughter as far as *Beth-car*. This proved a fatal overthrow to the *Philistines*, being attended with the loss of the dominion they had exercised over the *Hebrews*, and the many encroachments they had made on their territory [o].

How great soever this loss was, the *Philistines* soon recovered it; nay, in a few years, they became more powerful than ever. For, being informed that one of their fortresses, called *Geba*, had been surprised by *Jonathan* the son of *Saul*, they assembled 30,000 chariots, 6000 horse (I), and foot as the sand of the sea, to fight with, or rather plunder the *Israelites*, who still laboured under the ill effects of their tyrannical policy, by continuing destitute of arms: for so long as they held them in subjection, they did not even

Year of the flood 1252. Bef. Chr. 1096.

[o] 1 Sam. vii. 5—13.

(I) Sir *Isaac Newton* (46), from this vast number of chariots and horsemen, is tempted to think the *Philistines* were now very powerfully succoured, and their numbers mightily increased, by the accession of the shepherds out of *Egypt*, who were now expelled that kingdom: we shall not contend with him upon so dark a point, wherein he may as well be right as not. But we cannot refrain from noting, that he takes these thirty thousand chariots to be of the warlike sort, and designed for battle, wondering at the great excess of the number, when compared with those that followed *Pharaoh*, who perished in the *Red Sea*. For our part, we cannot take these chariots to have been any other than carriages, that were used, partly, in carrying the baggage of so great an army, as they seem to have had on foot at this time; and, partly, designed to move of the plunder of the whole country, which they seem to have grasped at with the most insolent presumption: and this, upon observing the method in which this war was carried on, must have been their design by such a number of carriages; which, if we reduce to three thousand, as the number stands in the *Syriac* and *Arabic* copies, will, as is very judiciously remarked (47), be far too many to suppose them to have been warlike chariots, since *Mithridates* had but one hundred, *Darius* but two hundred, and *Antiochus Epiphanes* but three hundred; and no one can imagine, that the *Philistines*, and whosoever else may have joined them upon this occasion, were able to muster up such a force in chariots as either of those three monarchs

(46) *Chronol. of ant. king. amended, p.* 167.

(47) *Patrick upon* 1 *Sam.* xiii. 5.

ſuffer a ſmith to dwell among them. This very numerous multitude went out, and, encamping in *Michmaſh*, occaſioned ſo general a conſternation, that happy was the *Iſraelite* who could conceal himſelf from them. *Michmaſh* was their ſtation, whence they ſent out three bands, three ſeveral ways, to ſpoil the country; which they did without the leaſt oppoſition, having to deal with an unarmed enemy.

AT *Michmaſh* they continued, while their parties were buſied in ravaging the country: but in the midſt of their depredations they received a check from *Jonathan*, who, hurried on by a divine impulſe, and accompanied only by his armour-bearer, made a conſiderable ſlaughter of one of their out-guards; the noiſe of which ſpreading to the whole body, they were ſeized with a ſudden panic, which occaſioned ſo great a tumult among them, that, hyperbolically ſpeaking, the very earth trembled therewith (K). In the height of this diſorder, they firſt fell upon each other with great ſlaughter (L), and then betook themſelves to Year of the flood 1253. Bef. Chr. 1095.

(K) Not that there was really an earthquake upon this occaſion. Beſides the thirty thouſand chariots, and ſix thouſand horſemen, mentioned in Scripture, *Joſephus* (48) numbers the foot at three hundred thouſand. But a late commentator (49), from the alarm given them by *Jonathan*, and his armour-bearer, and the fearful effects of the ſame, takes occaſion to think, that the *Philiſtines* were neither ſo numerous as is in Scripture ſaid, or ſo well ſkilled in war as they are uſually deemed: and infers, that the text muſt have been corrupted.

(L) This favours very much, the conjecture of Sir *Iſaac Newton*, who ſuppoſes they had, about this time, an acceſſion of the ſhepherds from *Egypt*, as we have already noted from him (50). It looks very much as if this great hoſt, for ſuch it may be juſtly ſtiled, though not, perhaps, quite ſo ſtrong as is repreſented to us, had not a mutual confidence in each other, ſo far as to be certain, that a defection and treachery might not be brought to paſs among them by the artifices of the enemy. The out-guard routed by *Joſhua* and his armour-bearer favoured ſtrongly of treachery. The bare fame of an attack made by any two perſons on ſo vaſt an army, could never, of itſelf, have cauſed ſo wild an uproar; but ſomething, at the ſame time, muſt have been added thereto, that made them enraged againſt each other, and fired them with the utmoſt fury and indignation. Nor does what we here inſinuate, by any means

(48) *Antiq. l.* vi. *c.* 7. (49) *Cleric. in* 1 *Sam.* xiv. 15. (50) *See the preceding page, in the notes.*

to flight, in a wild uproar and fury; which the *Iſraelites* no ſooner obſerved, than they purſued them, with *Saul* at their head: and if he had not been in too great a hurry, and forbid his men to ſtand to take a little refreſhment, the loſs of the *Philiſtines* had been much greater. It was, however, very conſiderable (M); for they were purſued from *Michmaſh* to *Aijalon* q.

THOUGH they were thus viſibly defeated by the hand of heaven; yet, in a few years, they revived again, and put themſelves under arms, once more, to try their ſtrength with the *Iſraelites*; being, perhaps, induced thereunto upon hearing that *Saul* was diſturbed in his mind. But though they made a great noiſe and parade, they did not proceed with ſuch fury as formerly, nor did they ſeem ſo eager for a battle. They firſt rendezvouſed in *Shochoh*, in the tribe of *Judah*; but, advancing thence, and finding *Saul* ready to receive them, they pitched upon a mountain oppoſite to another, on which *Iſrael* was encamped. They had in their army, at this time, a giant, one *Goliath* of *Gath*, who was ſix cubits and a ſpan high, and armed cap-à-pée with braſs (N): the ſtaff of his ſpear was like a weaver's beam, and the head of it weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of iron;

q 1 Sam. xiii. 17—23. xiv. 1—15.

derogate from the concern the Almighty had, in this miraculous deliverance of his people; ſince, in caſes of this kind, he has ſo often acted by ſecond cauſes.

(M) According to *Joſephus* (51), they now loſt ſixty thouſand men.

(N) According to the *Engliſh* ſtandard, the height of *Goliath* was twelve *foot* eight *inches*, and ſomewhat better than three *tenths*. His coat of mail, alone, weighed five thouſand ſhekels of braſs, or upwards of one hundred and eighty-nine of our *pounds Troy*: and, by the ſame rule, the head of his ſpear, which weighed ſix hundred ſhekels of iron, exceeded two-and-twenty of the ſame *pounds* (52). The weight of theſe, and the other parts of his armour and arms, whoſe weight is not ſpecified, was not, perhaps, too heavy for ſo gigantic a perſon, whoſe ſtrength, doubtleſs, was in proportion to his ſtature. And yet ſome are willing to think it was too cumberſome; and therefore chuſe to ſay, the ſhekels enumerated above, and commonly taken for the weight of his coat of mail, were the price of it (53); which ſeems to be as much too little on this hand, as it may appear too much on the other.

(51) *Ubi ſup. and meaſures.*

(52) *See Arbuthnot's tables of antient coins, weights,*

(53) *See Patrick upon* 1 *Sam.* xxii. 5.

and

before him went one who bore his ſhield. This giganrſon ſeems to have been very ſenſible of his ſtrength, to have fanſied, that he alone could ſupport his counſauſe: accordingly, whether by his own ſuggeſtions, the ſolicitation of his countrymen, we know not, he on him to fight any one in the hoſt of *Iſrael*, and, by ngle combat, to determine which of the two nations ld rule, and which obey. With this, he went down the valley which parted the two camps, and there chaled the *Iſraelites* to find out a man among them who d to encounter him (O). This arrogant challenge was accepted, the *Iſraelites* being ſtruck with terror, and dy diſmayed at his enormous ſize, and menacing ch. But, as confident as *Goliath* was, in his own gth, and, in conſequence thereof, how ready ſoever as to fight, the reſt of his countrymen ſeemed to have nclination to it; remembering how terribly it had, e than once, fared with them, in their contentions with *el.* Wherefore, though the firſt day's experience con-ed them, that none of the *Iſraelites* would enter the with *Goliath*; yet, having no mind to come to a battle, every morning and evening ſent him out to repeat his challenge, for forty days together. At laſt, as the armies e drawing down to each other, in battle-array, *Goliath* nced out of the ranks, as uſual; and, in the height of pretended expectations, that one would come out (for ended they muſt have been, after ſo many fruitleſs retions of the ſame defiance), he ſaw a handſome ruddy th advancing towards him, from the *Iſraelites*, in the t and appearance of a ſhepherd. The ſight fired him n indignation; and, obſerving a ſtaff in his hand, What, ſays he, am I a dog, that you are come againſt ne with a ſtaff?" and, curſing him by his gods, "Come ither, ſaid he, that I may give your fleſh to the fowls f the air, and the beaſts of the field." Having heard ng *David*'s anſwer, he ſtepped forward to puniſh him his preſumption; but, before he could reach him, he by a ſtone, which *David* flung at him, ſtruck on the head, and laid on the ground. He no ſooner fell, than

O) *Am not I a* Philiſtine, *he, and you ſervants to* ? by which words, comtators think, he either reents himſelf as a lord among *Philiſtines*; or, rather, boaſts his liberty, as he was born in that country; and reviles the *Iſraelites* as ſervants, or ſlaves; inſinuating, that he did them honour in offering to demean himſelf ſo far as to contend in ſingle combat with any one of them.

David, advancing, severed, with the giant's own sword, his head from his body, and carried it off with him in triumph. The *Philistines* no sooner saw their champion dead, than they fled (P), as if their hopes had all centred in him; and, to judge by their behaviour, it was really the case. They fled, leaving their tents and baggage behind them, and were pursued by *Saul*, quite home to the gates of their own cities, *Gath* and *Ekron*, with great slaughter[r], no doubt (Q).

THE same hand which had deprived them of *Goliath*, proved fatal to some of them soon after; for two hundred of them were slain by *David*, for the sake of their foreskins only, that he might perform the condition imposed on him by *Saul*, before he would give him his daughter to wife[s]; but the particulars of this slaughter are not specified in the text of Scripture. Thence, however, it may be gathered, that this was the cause of a fresh rupture; and that the princes of the *Philistines* undertook to revenge the injury; but what success attended them, is not said.

Schism. SOON after this, they were overthrown in battle by *David*[t]; and some great change seems, about this time, to have been wrought in their government: for, as ever since the *Abimelechs* they are represented under lords or princes, so now we read of a king they had, whose name was *Achish*,

[r] 1 Sam. xvii. 1—55. [s] Ibid. xviii. 22—28. [t] 1 Sam. xix. 8.

(P) From this flight, commentators are apt to imagine, that what *Goliath* did in offering to decide the fate of each nation by single combat, was his own act and deed, and without the assent of the *Philistines*; or else, that, if they did bind themselves to submit to the fate of such a battle, they were faithless enough to slight the obligation. To us it appears, that they did, in a very great measure, depend on *Goliath* for success in this war; that they prided themselves chiefly in him; and that, flattering themselves he was invincible, and, by his strength and armour, an overmatch for any in the host of *Israel*, they were not against what he took on him, as their champion; but that they formally agreed to stand to what he promised, is unlikely: such decisions, by single combat, seem not to have been the custom of these early times; but the whole seems to be the effect of great pride and vanity in the champion, and a mixture of stupidity and cowardice in the rest.

(Q) If we hearken to *Josephus* (54), they had thirty thousand killed, and twice that number wounded, in this pursuit; which seem to be exceedingly too many.

(54) *Antiq.* l. vi. c. 11.

and

ho reſided at *Gath* [t]. He is elſewhere called *Abime-*
the antient appellation, as we have ſeen, of the firſt
of this people. *David*, to avoid the evil deſigns of
fled to *Gath*, and was brought before this king;
imagining him, by his behaviour, to be beſide him-
ould take no farther notice of him, than to order he
be brought no more into his preſence [w].

E *Philiſtines*, who all this time were upon no ſettled
with *Saul*, diverted him from laying hold on *David*
wilderneſs of *Maon*; but they were again, it ſeems,
ed with bad ſucceſs, in their attempts againſt him,
ther fled, or retreated, before *Saul*.

ISH, the ſon of *Maoch* (R), after this, received *Da-* Year of
is wives, and all his followers, into his protection; the flood
eated the diſtreſſed refugees with great hoſpitality: 1288.
t *David*'s requeſt, that he might have ſome place al- Bef. Chr.
him for his particular dwelling, he very generouſly 1060.
t *Ziklag* for that purpoſe; whence it was, ever after,
d by the kings of *Judah*. This was, indeed, the
effectual means of binding *David* to his intereſt, as
ſerved in the laſt note; and *Achiſh* had, it ſeems, in-
over the *Philiſtines*, to make them ſacrifice their re-
nt for the wrongs they had received from that fugi-
ince, to their preſent intereſt and ſafety; and to let

[t] Sam. xxi. 10. [u] Pſal. xxxiv. [w] 1 Sam. ubi
Ibid. xxi. 14, 15.

From this mention of
ſ's name, ſome are wil-
think him a different
from the former: to
they ſeem to be partly
d, by the kind manner in
he received *David*, whom
ther had deſpiſed, as an
or a mad-man. But we
remember, that *David*
y played that part to
s life; and it is no won-
Achiſh did not care to be
ed with ſo unhappy a
, as *David* then made
f: but the ſame man may
eturned to a better mind
ning him, when he was
o the ſecret of *David*'s
fears; and may afterwards have
entertained a correſpondence
with a perſon of ſuch known
worth, invited him into his do-
minions, and aſſured him of
protection againſt the evil in-
tentions of *Saul*; hoping,
thereby, to weaken *Saul*, and
keep up a diviſion in his king-
dom, at the ſame time that he
ſtrengthened himſelf. If no hu-
manity may be allowed to
Achiſh, in this caſe, a large
ſhare of human policy may be
admitted: nor do we perceive
any ſolid ground for ſuppoſing
this *Achiſh*, and the former, to
be different perſons.

him live peaceably among them, rather than hazard the conſequences of his return, and reconciliation with *Saul* (S). *Achiſh*, who conceived very high thoughts of *David*, underſtanding he had been out upon ſome expedition, examined him concerning it; and, receiving from him ſuch an anſwer, as made him imagine he had been plundering his own nation, he expreſſed great ſatisfaction thereat, hoping *David* had done ſomething to make himſelf odious in the eyes of his countrymen; and that now he ſhould have him a ſervant for ever. Preparing, ſoon after, to war with *Saul*, he told *David*, that he expected him to head his followers, and march with him; promiſing to recompenſe him with ſome eminent poſt in his ſervice. The *Philiſtines* firſt gathered together at *Shunem*, and there encamped; from thence they removed to *Aphek:* here the ſeveral bodies of the *Philiſtines* appeared together, in a kind of review, under their reſpective chiefs, and *David* and his men followed about or after *Achiſh*; from whence it is gathered, that the poſt he promiſed him was, to be captain of his guard. At this the lords and chiefs of the *Philiſtines* taking offence, expoſtulated with *Achiſh*, who in vain endeavoured to perſuade them, that *David* was a faſt and truſty friend. Inſtead of being ſatisfied with what the king ſaid, they were incenſed againſt him, and inſiſted on his immediately diſmiſſing *David*, and ſending him back to *Ziklag*, leſt he ſhould have it in his power to betray them in battle; that being the only means of reconciling himſelf with his natural lord and maſter. In ſhort, they could not imagine that *David*, who was the idol of his people, would forfeit his popularity, by fighting againſt them. *Achiſh*, unable to reſiſt all this clamour, called *David* to him, and aſſured him, that, for his own part, he had the higheſt ſenſe of his ſincerity and merit, and had been perfectly ſatisfied with his behaviour ever ſince he had ſheltered him; but that, ſince the lords were far from being diſpoſed to think ſo well of him, it were in vain, and imprudent, to contend againſt them; and therefore deſired him to return quietly to *Ziklag*. *David* reſenting the unkind notions the lords enter-
)f tained concerning him, and proteſting his readineſs to fight
)d in his cauſe; *Achiſh* anſwered him, with great earneſtneſs,

hr. (S) It ſeems, at leaſt, more
). reaſonable to us, to aſcribe their
unexpected moderation towards a man who had ſo ill deſerved of them, to ſuch political views, than either to the extraordinary generoſity of that nation, or to the interpoſition of providence, as ſome have done.

That

That he was fully convinced of his affection; that he had a ſingular veneration for him; and that, in his eyes, he was *an angel of* GOD: but that, ſeeing the lords were ſo unreaſonably bent againſt him, he muſt conſent to ſet out for *Ziklag* early the next morning.

DAVID ſet out, accordingly, and *Achiſh* and the *Philiſtines* marched againſt *Saul*, who was encamped on mount *Gilboa*. A battle was fought on that ſame mount, and the *Philiſtines* gained a complete victory over the *Iſraelites*, and drove them before them with great ſlaughter: in particular, they purſued cloſe after *Saul* and his ſons; and theſe, *Jonathan* and *Abinadab*, and *Malchiſhua*, they ſlew. They diſcharged their arrows, with great eagerneſs, after *Saul*, who was ſore wounded by them; but they had not the honour of diſpatching him: he fell, ere they reached him, by his own weapon. Thus the *Philiſtines*, at length, obtained a complete victory; in conſequence of which, they poſſeſſed themſelves of a great part of the enemy's country. The day after the battle, when they came to ſtrip the ſlain, they found *Saul*, king of *Iſrael*, and his three ſons, among the reſt, in mount *Gilboa*. They cut off *Saul*'s head; ſtripped him of his armour, which they dedicated in the temple of *Aſhtaroth*; and his body, and thoſe, alſo, of his ſons, they ignominiouſly hung upon the walls of *Bethſhan*. What they did, particularly, with his head, is not related; but it ſeems as if they at firſt ſent it up and down with his armour, to dedicate both in the temples of their idols, and to feaſt the eyes of their people with ſuch grateful objects, and undeniable marks of victory. But the bodies of *Saul*, and his three ſons, hung not long where the *Philiſtines* expoſed them; for the brave inhabitants of *Jabeſh-Gilead*, whom that monarch had lately ſaved from imminent deſtruction [x], took this opportunity of ſhewing their gratitude to their late deliverer, and, at the peril of their lives, fetched away thoſe mangled remains from the enemy, and give them a more honourable burial in their own city [y].

AFTER the battle of *Gilboa*, *David* removed from *Ziklag* to *Hebron*, where he was proclaimed king, by the greateſt part of the tribes [z]. As for *Achiſh*, though we read no more of him, yet there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he continued his good offices to *David* for ſome conſiderable time; for, during the whole conteſt between him and

[x] See before, p. 144. [y] 1 Sam. xviii. xix. xxi. [z] See & ſeq.

Iſhboſheth, the ſurviving ſon of *Saul*, the *Philiſtines* never offered to diſturb him, though they might, at that juncture, have eaſily cruſhed him in the bud. This pacific diſpoſition can hardly be aſcribed to any thing but the kind interpoſition of *Achiſh*: however, the *Philiſtines* no ſooner underſtood, that his rival was dead, and that all *Iſrael* and *Judah* had ſubmitted themſelves to him, than they began hoſtilities: but whether this rupture was owing to the loſs of his friend and protector, to the jealouſy the *Philiſtines* conceived of his great power, or to ſome other motive, the text leaves us quite in the dark. Be that as it will, they marched, and encamped in the valley of *Rephaim*; from whence they removed to *Baal-perazim*, where they were encountered by *David*, and by him ſo completely overthrown, that, intent upon nothing but ſaving themſelves, they left their baggage behind them, and even their gods, which they carried about with them, in imitation of the
f *Iſraelites*, when they brought their ark againſt them. The
d *Philiſtines* ſeem to have rallied again, to reſcue their captive gods. They drew up again, in battalia, in the valley
r. of *Rephaim* (T); but were defeated anew by *David*, in a ſudden onſet, and purſued, with great ſlaughter, from
J *Geba* to *Gazer*[z], a place, it ſeems, on their own frontiers.

[z] 2 Sam. v. 17—25.

(T) Or the *valley of the giants*, as *Joſephus* (55) renders it; who ſuppoſes that they were now unable to raiſe an army themſelves, and that they were joined by the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*: as a proof of which, he alleges, they returned home upon their firſt defeat, and came back to the charge with thrice the numbers they had before, and drew up in the ſame place where the former battle was fought; and that they were again miraculouſly defeated with very great eaſe, and put to flight, with the loſs of all their baggage, and their gods. *Joſephus* is very fond of trebling the forces of a vanquiſhed people, as we have obſerved before (56), and may have occaſion to obſerve hereafter. But why he ſhould imagine the *Philiſtines* were at ſo low an ebb, as to be unable to make war with *David* of themſelves, we do not clearly perceive, even though we ſhould allow of the great ſlaughter and deſtruction he makes of them in ſome of the preceding battles (57).

(55) *Antiq. l.* vii. *c.* 4.
(56) *See before, in the notes, p.* 212.
(57) *See before, in the notes, p.* 241, 244.

HE war did not end here; for, a ſhort time after, they invaded by *David*, and *Metheg-ammah* (U) was taken them [a]. Year of the flood 1304. Bef. Chr. 1044.

HE *Philiſtines* had ſeveral men of extraordinary ſtature ig them, and all, it ſeems, of the kindred of *Goli-* W): and, though they had experienced the little uſe ich men in an army, yet they ſeem to have caſt their upon theſe, now flattering themſelves, that, by their they might retrieve their honour, and take revenge *David*. Wherefore, after they had lain quiet ſeveral , they broke out into a war again with *Iſrael*, and giants marched with them. They came to a battle, hich *Iſhbi-benob* (X), a ſon of *Goliath*, as is thought, ig *David* at ſome diſadvantage, had like to have ſlain

[a] 2 Sam. viii. 1.

') Or, as it is in the mar- *the bridle of* Ammah; or, is explained in the *Chroni-* 58), the city of *Gath*, and erritory thereunto belong- There are many, and very us, expoſitions of this point; s the context clears it up ally, we ſhall paſs them and adhere to that, as moſt y and juſt. Only let it be ved, that as *Gath* was the l ſeat, it may, on many ac- ts, have been called *a bri-* the reſt of the land. As ſtanding upon an hill cal- *mmah*, as ſome commen- s teach, they would have well, had they produced authority: the word *Am-* on the contrary, ſignifies *er*; which the *Jews* there- ſuppoſe to have ran be- n *Gath* and *Metheg*, a port he other ſide, which re- d new reinforcements from ormer, till *David* cut off the nunication, by ſtopping or ing the courſe of the ſtream.

(W) If they were not immediately his ſons, they may poſſibly have been of the ſame family. To ſay nothing of their deſcent from the *Anakims*, who were expelled from *Hebron*, and took up their abode at *Gath*, which is a very obſcure piece of hiſtory, it is common, in all nations, to ſee families remarkable for their extraordinary ſtature: nor is there any need to ſuppoſe them deſcended from any antient race of giants. We are, indeed, told, that the *Anakims* either fled from *Hebron* to the cities of the *Philiſtines*, or elſe were antiently planted there (59). But how it came to paſs, that they were ſo dwindled away there in the days of *David*; and how it comes to paſs, that we read no-where of them in the armies of the *Philiſtines*, to the days of *Saul*; we preſume not to conjecture.

(X) *Joſephus* (60) calls him *Amchon*.

) 1 *Chron.* xviii. 1. (59) *Joſh.* xi. 22. (60) *Antiq. l.* vii. *c.* 10.

him:

him: but, missing his aim, he fell by the hand of *David*, assisted by *Abishai*, although the head of his spear weighed three hundred shekels of brass (Y), and he was, in an extraordinary manner, appointed (Z) for war. A second battle was fought near a place called *Geb*, wherein *Saph*, another son of *Goliath*'s, was slain by *Sibbechai* the *Hushathite*: and a third at *Gob*, also, when *Goliath*'s brother, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver's beam, fell, by the valorous might of *Elhanan* the son of *Jaare-oregim*, a *Bethlehemite*. From this last place the war was transferred into the territory of *Gath*; where, in a fourth battle, another son of *Goliath*'s, who had six fingers upon each hand, and six toes upon each foot, challenged, in imitation of his father, the whole army of *Israel* to send out one of their number to fight him; but he fell by the hand of *Jonathan*, the son of *Shimea*, the brother of *David*. The *Philistines*, thus exhausted of their gigantic brood, or perceiving that their mighty stature and strength stood them in no manner of stead, refrained from a farther prosecution of the war, which, notwithstanding their many losses, they had hitherto so obstinately maintained [b].

From henceforward the affairs of this people are more slightly touched on; whence it may be argued, that their power was greatly weakened: and, accordingly, we are told, that *their horn was broken asunder* by these unfortunate wars with *David* [c], who now made them tributaries to his throne (A): though, on the other hand, it may be also concluded, that having so often, and to so little purpose, engaged in bloody and destructive wars, they grew

[b] 2 Sam. xxi. 15—22.

[c] See Eccles xlvii. 8.

(Y) To judge of him by the weight of his spear, he was not of much above half the strength and stature of *Goliath*, the head of whose spear, as we have noted (61), weighed six hundred shekels, or twenty-two of our pounds *Troy*; whereas this man's weighed but three hundred shekels, or eleven of the same pounds.

(Z) The words of the text are obscure: it says, *he was girded with a new* sword—— *Josephus* (62) says only, that he had his sword by his side. Of all the expositions we have seen, we approve of that most, which guesses that his sword was made on purpose for him (63), to suit his strength, which surpassed that of an ordinary man.

(A) According to *Josephus* (64), this was the last battle they had with the *Hebrews*; never daring to look them in the face again; which must be one of his mistakes.

(61) *See before, in the notes, p.* 242. *Christ. in* 2 *Sam.* xxi. 16.

(62) *Ubi sup.*

(63) *Vide*

(64) *Ubi sup.*

wiſer, and rather applied themſelves to commerce, and the advancement of their nation that way (B). And hence it may be, that we find their country open to the *Iſraelites* in the beginning of *Solomon*'s reign, *Achiſh*, the ſon of *Maachah*, then reigning at *Gath*; who, whether he is the ſame *Achiſh* who was ſo kind to *David*, we will not take upon us to determine, commentators being divided about it; probably he was not [d].

MANY years after theſe wars, the *Philiſtines* were haraſſed by *Nadab* [e], king of *Iſrael*, who laid ſiege to a city of theirs, called *Gibbethon*; which city was again beſieged by *Elah*, king of *Iſrael* [f], ſome years afterwards; for it belonged to their kingdom, though the *Philiſtines*, finding it deſerted by the *Levites* [g], ſeized on it, and kept it, in ſpite of the ſeveral efforts of the kings of *Iſrael* to tear it from them; that kingdom being then in great diſtraction. Year of the flood 1395. Bef. Chr. 953.

BUT, notwithſtanding this their vigorous oppoſition to the kings of *Iſrael*, they afterwards courted the favour of

[d] 1 Kings ii. 39. [e] Ibid. xv. 27. [f] Ibid. xvi. 15. [g] 2 Chron. xi. 14.

(B) We the rather think after this manner; it being pretty evident, that they had been increaſed, ſome years ago, by the fugitive *Edomites* (65), who brought with them their ſuperior ſkill in commercial and nautical affairs: not that the *Philiſtines* were wholly ignorant therein till the *Edomites* came among them: but it is now likely they applied themſelves thereto much more than ever, and that they were greatly improved therein. Sir *Iſaac Newton* (66) reckons, that they took *Sidon* by the advice and aſſiſtance of the *Edomites*; thereby, it is likely, meaning to extend their trade, which they had now chiefly at heart, by deſtroying ſo dangerous a rival. He alſo (67) ſuppoſes this to have fallen out in the reign of *David*: for he obſerves, that, in *Solomon*'s reign, the *Zidonians*, tho' ſettled at *Tyre*, had not yet loſt their name. We read, in *Juſtin* (68), that *Sidon* was taken by the *Philiſtines*; though he ſeems to be miſtaken, in ſaying it was done by the king of *Aſcalon*; for we do not read of a king of that place any-where elſe. Remembring the ſtory of the *Syrian* goddeſs *Derceto*, who was metamorphoſed here (69), the *Greeks* and *Romans* may have conſidered the city of *Aſcalon* as the metropolis of *Paleſtine*: whence we find the king of *Paleſtine* placed in that city by *Trogus*, whom *Juſtin* epitomizes.

(65) *See before*, p. 175, 176. (66) *Chronol. of antient kingd. amended*, p. 104, 105. (67) *Ubi ſup.* (68) *L.* xviii. *c.* 3. (69) *See before*, p. 222.

Jehoſhaphat

Jehoſhaphat king of *Judah*, by a voluntary payment of the tribute [h], which had been, as we may hence conclude, impoſed on them by their conqueror *David* (C); and which, it ſeems, they had neglected to pay to ſome of *Jehoſhaphat's* predeceſſors, as this ſtory plainly enough inſinuates, and as will be farther confirmed, by what follows.

Year of the flood 1460. Bef. Chr. 888.

FOR they rebelled againſt *Jehoram* the ſon of *Jehoſhaphat*, broke into his kingdom, rifled his palace of all the wealth they found in it, and carried their rage againſt him to ſuch a height, as to exterminate all his family, except *Athaliah*, and her ſon *Ahaziah*, who had the good luck to eſcape their fury. At this time, we alſo gather, that they carried off a great number of captives, ſome of whom they ſold to the *Edomites* [i], next to themſelves, the worſt enemies the *Iſraelites* had, and ſome to the *Grecians* [k]; thereby ſending them ſo far from home, that they could have but little or no chance of ſeeing their native country again. This extraordinary ſucceſs may have been owing, in great meaſure, to the aſſiſtance they received from the *Arabians*, who, at the ſame time, made war upon the *Iſraelites* [l]; but whether ſeparately, or in conjunction with the *Philiſtines*, we know not.

Year of the flood 1541. Bef. Chr. 807.

WHENCESOEVER their ſucceſs aroſe, in the end it proved very unfortunate to them. They were invaded by *Uzziah* king of *Judah*, who diſmantled *Gath*, and *Jabneh*, and *Aſhdod*, and built cities of ſtrength among them, to awe them, and keep them in ſubjection [m]; which muſt have reduced them to a kind of ſlavery.

Year of the flood 1608. Bef. Chr. 740.

THEY groaned under this fatal blow all the days of *Uzziah*, we may ſuppoſe, and, perhaps, of *Jotham* too; but, in the reign of *Ahaz*, perceiving the crazy ſtate of the kingdom of *Judah*, they took up arms again, and waged againſt *Ahaz* with ſuch ſucceſs, as made ample amends for the loſſes they had ſuſtained in the time of *Uzziah* his grandfather: for they reduced the cities of *Bethſhemeſh*, *Ajalon*, *Gederoth*, *Shocheh*, *Timnah*, and *Gimzo*, and the ſeveral territories thereunto belonging, and there ſeated

[h] Ibid. xvii. 11. [i] Amos i. 6. [k] Joel iii. 6.
[l] 2 Chron. xxi. 16, 17. [m] Ibid. xxvi. 6.

(C) *Joſephus* (70) calls it their accuſtomed tribute; and none but *David* could have impoſed it on them,

(70) *Antiq. l.* viii. *c.* 9.

there

thereby adding a large portion of the kingdom of *Judah* to their own country [m].

THUS did the *Philistines* gain more than they had lost: but this fine acquisition was a very short time in their hands. They were, immediately after, admonished not to rejoice, because the rod of him that smote them was broken: *for that out of the serpent's root should come forth a cockatrice ..... which should dissolve their whole country* [n]. And this was severely fulfilled by *Hezekiah* the son of *Ahaz*, whom they had conquered: for *Hezekiah*, as we understand it, over-ran their whole country [o]; and, to add to their misfortunes, they were, at the same time, attacked by the *Assyrians*, in the reign of *Sennacherib*, who sent his general *Tartan*, to reduce them. Their city *Ashdod* was besieged accordingly, and taken by him †; and thus were they, at length, reduced to the lowest ebb. Year of the flood 1635. Bef. Chr. 713.

AND now the period of their final destruction was come. By their subjection to the *Assyrians*, they not only lost their liberties, but, at the same time, their country became the seat of a long and obstinate war. For *Psammitichus* king of *Egypt*, jealous of the growing power of the *Assyrians*, and apprehensive that *Egypt* might share the fate of its neighbours, undertook to drive them out of *Palestine*. With this view, he laid siege to *Ashdod* of *Azotos*; but he was twenty-nine years before that place ere he could reduce it [p]; during which time, it cannot be doubted but that the country sighed under all the calamities usual in such cases. Year of the flood 1678. Bef. Chr. 670.

FROM henceforward they were tributary to the great monarchies, as they succeeded each other. In the beginning of this slavery they were miserably harassed by the *Egyptians*, who, willing to make their barrier as strong as possible, seized on great part of their country, and, particularly, on the city of *Gaza* [q].

AFTER this, we read of a king of *Gaza* [r], concerning whom we have nothing to add; nor have we aught to add concerning the *Philistines* in general. What, in the end, became of them, will be best learned from the threats of the prophets, and, particularly, *Zephaniah*, who paints their destruction in very lively and natural colours (D): *Gaza shall*

[m] 2 Chron. xxviii. 18. [n] Isa. xiv. 29—31. [o] 2 Kings xviii. 8. † Isa. xx. 1. [p] HERODOT. l. ii. c. 157. [q] Jerem. xlvii. 1. [r] Zach. ix. 5.

(D) Here it is worth observing, that *Gath* is omitted, as if already destroyed, as it, doubtless, was; being most obnoxious

ſhall be forſaken; and Aſkelon *a deſolation: they ſhall drive out* Aſhdod *at the noon-day, and* Ekron *ſhall be rooted up. Wo unto the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſts, the nation of the* Cherethites! *the word of the* LORD *is againſt you: O* Canaan, *the land of the* Philiſtines, *I will deſtroy thee, that there ſhall be no inhabitant; and the ſea-coaſt ſhall be dwellings* and *cottages for ſhepherds, and folds for flocks* [s].

CHAP. V.

The hiſtory of the antient Syrians.

SECT. I.

A deſcription of Syria.

[1] SYRIA is, in *Hebrew*, *Aram*; ſo named from *Aram*, the youngeſt ſon of *Shem*. This *Hebrew* name is of very wide extent, perhaps of little leſs than the *Greek* name *Syria*; at leaſt it included what we now call *Syria* and *Meſopotamia*, which is the *Aram Naharaim*, or *Syria* of the two rivers [a].

ARAM, then, is its firſt, and genuine name: as for that of *Syria*, ſome [b] derive it from one *Syrus*, who ſprung from the earth (A); others [c], from *Syrus*, the ſon of *Agenor*.

[s] Zephan. xi. 4—6. See alſo, Joel iii. Amos i. Jerem. xlvii. Ezek. xxv. Zach. ubi ſup. [a] See vol. i. p. 369. [b] APRICAN. apud Syncell. p. 150. [c] Chronic. Alexand. p. 101.

noxious to the enemy, as it was the royal ſeat of this turbulent people, a key to, and a curb upon, the whole country (71). Hence, therefore, it muſt have been, that the throne of this kingdom was removed to *Gaza*; but to purſue this point any farther, were time loſt. We muſt only acquaint the reader, that the *Gath*, which *Euſebius* and *Jerom* mention as ſtill ſtanding in their days (72), was different from this metropolis. *Gath*, in the *Hebrew*, ſignifies *a vine*, or *oil-preſs*. Hence it is no wonder we find ſeveral towns of that name, and ſome of them joined to another appellative; ſuch as *Gath-Rimmon*, *Gath-Epher*, *Gath-Shemane*, &c.

(A) Perhaps this fabulous account may have taken birth from an antient tradition, which

(71) *See before, in the notes, p.* 249. (72) *Loc. Hebr. & alibi.*

ſtill

ner. Other opinions are not wanting, on this ſubject; but the moſt common, and beſt-grounded, is, that *Syria* is a contraction of *Aſſyria*[d]; theſe two names being confounded, and indifferently uſed, by the antients (B).

AUTHORS are not agreed upon the exact bounds of this country, becauſe they conſider it at different times, when its name was more or leſs famous, and its empire more or leſs ample. But, confining ourſelves to the proper *Syria*, we may venture to ſet bounds to it, and determine its dimenſions. It lay between the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, the *Euphrates* on the eaſt, mount *Taurus* on the north, and *Arabia* the deſert, *Paleſtine*, and *Phœnice*, on the ſouth; extending from the 34th to the 38th degree of north latitude.

SYRIA, in antient times, has been very variouſly divided. At firſt, it was, without doubt, parcelled out into ſeveral little kingdoms and juriſdictions; in after-times it ſeems to have been divided into four principal ones, *Zobah*, *Damaſcus*, *Hamath*, and *Geſhur*; the reſt we find in Scripture, ſuch as *Beth-rehob*, *Iſhtob*, *Maacha*, were ſubdiviſions, as we think. Afterwards, the whole country was divided into two parts only, though the *Phœnicians*, *Idumeans*, *Jews*, *Gazites*, and *Azotites*, or the whole country of the *Philiſtines*, were included; which two parts were, *Cœleſyria* and *Phœnice*[e]. After the death of *Alexander*, *Syria*, in the great extent of its name, was thus divided; *Commagene*, *Seleucis* of *Syria*, *Cœleſyria*, *Phœnice*, on the ſea-coaſt, and *Judea*, in the midland. This is *Strabo*'s diviſion; who, nevertheleſs, elſewhere diſtinguiſhes *Phœnice* from *Syria*[f]: but *Ptolemy* ſubdivides theſe, and, in the proper *Syria* only, reckons *Commagene*, *Pieria*, *Cyrriſtica*, or *Cyrrheſtica*, *Seleucis*, *Caſſiotis*, or *Caſiotis*, *Chalybonitis*, *Chalcidice*, or *Chalcidene*, *Apamene*, *Laodicene*, *Phœnicia Mediterranea*, *Cœleſyria*, and *Palmyrene*. *Its diviſions.*

[d] Vid. HERODOT. l. vii. c. 63. JUSTIN. l. i. c. 2. [e] STRAB. l. xvi. ſub init. [f] Idem ibid. l. ii. p. 86.

kill obtains, in the country, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter, that *Adam* was created in *Syria*.

(B) Mr. *Selden*, in his *prolegomena* to his *Syrian gods*, has dwelt on this point; to whom we refer our reader, who would be thoroughly informed and convinced thereof. We ſhall only add, that *Lucian* (8), who was himſelf a *Syrian* of *Samoſata*, calls himſelf an *Aſſyrian*.

(8) *De dea Syr. p.* 1.

To

To follow the diviſion of *Ptolemy*; *Commagene*, or *Comagene*, had, on the weſt, mount *Amanus*; on the north, part of mount *Taurus*; on the eaſt, it was waſhed by the *Euphrates*; but on the ſouth, whether it was conterminous with *Seleucis*, or *Cyrrheſtica*, or both, is uncertain: it was the north corner of *Syria*. The chief cities of this province were, *Samoſata* upon the *Euphrates*, the metropolis, *Antiochia ad Taurum*, *Germanicia* [z], *Singa*, *Chaonia*, and ſeveral other cities, once of great note, but long ſince utterly deſtroyed.

SELEUCIS contained, according to *Strabo*'s diviſion, *Pieria* and *Caſiotis*, the firſt lying to the north, and the laſt to the ſouth. *Ptolemy* divides this tract into *Pieria*, *Seleucis*, and *Caſiotis*; but the whole is compriſed, by *Mela* and *Pliny*, under the general name of *Antiochene*, anſwering to *Strabo*'s *Seleucis*. In this part of *Syria* ſtood the following cities; *Myriandrus* on the *Sinus Iſſicus*, or the *Iſſic* gulph, *Rhoſus*, or *Rhoſſus*, *Seleucia*, *Poſidonium*, *Heraclea*, *Laodicea Gabala*, *Pablos Balanæa*, and *Carne*, on the borders of *Syria* and *Phœnice*. *Seleucia* was ſo called from *Seleucus Nicator*, who repaired and imbelliſhed it with many magnificent buildings. It is conſtantly ſtiled, by the antients, *Seleucia Pieria*, or *Seleucia on the coaſt*; to diſtinguiſh it from the other eight cities, to which *Seleucus Nicator* gave the ſame name [a]. It borrowed the name of *Pieria* from the province, as the province did from mount *Pierius*, which ſtood in it, and was ſo called, by the *Macedonians*, from its reſemblance to the famous mount *Pierius* in *Greece*. Of all the cities bearing the ſame name, this, and the *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, were the moſt renowned [b]. *Alexandria* is, by *Ptolemy* [c], placed in *Syria*; but, by *Pliny* [d], and moſt other geographers, in *Cilicia*; and, perhaps, more properly; as it ſtood without the *Pylæ Syriæ*, commonly ſaid to be the boundaries between *Syria* and *Cilicia*. Between *Seleucia* and *Poſidonium*, was the iſland *Meliloca*, formed by the ſtagnant waters of the *Orontes*, and once famous for its ſcarlet dye.

THUS far of the cities on the coaſt. In the inland, or *Mediterranean Seleucis*, ſtood the famous *Antioch* on the *Orontes*, *Seleucia ad Belum*, or *at the foot of mount* Belus, *Apamea*, *Emiſſa*, or *Emeſa*, *Epiphanea*, *Lariſſa*, *Arethuſa*, &c. *Antioch* was the metropolis of all *Syria*, and the uſual reſidence of the *Macedonian* kings. It conſiſted of

[z] PLIN. l. v. c. 24. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 516. [a] APPIAN. Syriac. p. 202. [b] APPIAN. ibid. [c] PTOL. l. v. c. 15. [d] L. v. c. 27.

four

four parts, or, rather, cities, each separated from the reſt by its own wall, and all incloſed by a common one [a]. Of the founders of theſe cities, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in our hiſtory of the *Seleucidæ* in *Syria*. *Apamea*, ſo called from *Apama*, wife to *Seleucus Nicator*, by whom it was founded, ſtood near the confluence of the rivers *Orontes* and *Marſyas*; and gave the name of *Apamene* to the adjoining country. *Emeſa* was antiently a city of great note, and the birth-place of the emperor *Heliogabalus*. It is ſuppoſed to have ſtood on the ſpot where the preſent town of *Hamſa* ſtands; which name ſome derive from *Emeſa*.

CYRRHESTICA lay between *Seleucis*, *Comagene*, and *Euphrates*. It was ſo called from its metropolis *Cyrrhus*, and *Cyrrhus* from a city of the ſame name in *Macedon*. Cyrrheſtica.

The other cities in this part of *Syria*, of moſt note, were, *Hierapolis*, called, alſo, *Bambyce*, and, by the *Syrians*, *Mabog*; *Heraclea*, and *Berœa*. *Zeugma* is placed, by *Ptolemy*, in this province; but, by *Strabo* [c] and *Pliny* [d], in *Comagene*. *Bambyce* was the antient name of the city firſt mentioned; but *Seleucus* changed it into that of *Hierapolis*, or *the holy city* [e]; probably, on account of the ſanctity that was there paid to the *Syrian* goddeſs. The ſhoals of ſacred fiſhes at *Bambyce*, we ſuppoſe in the river *Gallus*, on which it ſtood, that were conſtantly ſeen ſwimming in ſhoals; one, that ſeemed to be their prince, always ſwimming before the reſt. He adds, that they obſerved a kind of friendſhip with each other, the goddeſs uniting them with a wonderful union and agreement [f]. The preſent city of *Aleppo*, or *Chalep*, as the *Greek* writers of the middle ages ſtile it, is thought to have ſucceeded in the room of *Berœa*. *Zeugma* was ſo called from a famous bridge there over the *Euphrates*, ſaid, by *Pliny* [g], *Dion* [h], the poet *Lucan* [i], and *Stephanus*, to have been built by *Alexander the Great*, on occaſion of his croſſing that river with his army. But *Arrian* writes, that *Alexander* paſſed the *Euphrates* at *Thapſacus*, having firſt repaired the bridge that *Darius* had built there [k]. And, truly, this rout was much ſhorter, and far more convenient for *Alexander*, as then returning from *Egypt* to meet *Darius* marching from *Babylon*, *Thapſacus* lay in his way, whereas he

[a] STRAB. l. xvi. c. 516. [b] PLIN. l. v. c. 23. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 517. [c] Idem, l. xvi. p. 516. [d] PLIN. l. v. c. 24. [e] AELIAN. hiſt. animal. l. xii. c. 11. [f] Idem ibid. [g] PLIN. l. v. c. 24. [h] DIO, l. xl. p. 128. [i] LUCAN. l. viii. v. 237. [k] ARRIAN. l. iii. p. 168.

muſt have fetched a great circuit to paſs the river at *Zeugma*, which it is highly improbable he did, as he had a bridge much nearer, that only wanted a little repair.

Chalcidene. CHALCIDENE was wholly an inland province, being bounded by *Antiochene*, or *Seleucis*, on the weſt; *Cyrrheſtica*, on the north; *Chalybonitis*, on the eaſt; and by *Apamene* and *Cœleſyria*, on the ſouth. It took the name of *Chalcidene* from its metropolis *Chalcis*, the only city of note in this province, though commended, by *Pliny*, as the moſt fertile of all *Syria* [l].

Chalybonitis. CHALYBONITIS extended from *Cœleſyria* to the *Euphrates*, and was ſo called from *Chalybon*, the only city it contained worthy of notice. Some, ſuppoſing *Chalep* to be an abbreviation of *Chalybon*, conclude *Aleppo*, or *Chalb*, and *Chalybon*, to be one and the ſame city: but *Chalybon* is placed, by *Ptolemy*, at the 35th degree of latitude, and 71ſt of longitude; and, conſequently, a great way ſouth of the preſent *Aleppo*.

Palmyrene. PALMYRENE was a ſpacious and fertile province in the midſt of a frightful deſert, having *Chalybonitis* to the north, *Cœleſyria* to the weſt, the *Euphrates* to the eaſt, and *Arabia Deſerta* to the ſouth. The chief cities of this province were *Palmyra* and *Thapſacus*. Of *Palmyra*, which gave name to the province, and the ruins, that are ſtill to be ſeen in the place where it ſtood, we ſhall ſpeak anon; and only obſerve here, that the inhabitants having revolted from the emperor *Aurelian*, and adhered to one *Antiochus*, or *Achilles*, as *Vopiſcus* calls him, who had aſſumed the purple, their city was, by the emperor's orders, raſed to the ground [m]. *Aurelian* ſoon repented of what he had done, and ordered it to be rebuilt [n]: but it never roſe again to its antient ſplendor; nay, in the time of the emperor *Juſtinian*, the far greater part of it ſtill lay in ruins [o]. *Thapſacus* is placed, by *Ptolemy*, in *Arabia Deſerta*; but, by *Pliny* [p] and *Stephanus*, in *Syria*. The latter writer tells us, that it was built by *Seleucus*; but he was certainly miſtaken, ſince it is mentioned by *Xenophon*, in his account of the expedition of *Cyrus* [q]. It could, therefore, be only repaired and imbelliſhed by *Seleucus*. In the time of the *Macedonian* kings it was known by the *Greek* name *Amphipolis* [r]. Here *Cyrus*, with his whole army, forded the *Euphrates* on

[l] PLIN. l. v. c. 23. [m] VOPISC. in Aurel. c. 30. Zos. c. 61. [n] VOPISC. ibid. [o] PROCOP. de ædific. l. ii. in fin. [p] PLIN. l. v. c. 24. [q] XENOPH. de Cyr. exped. l. i. p. 150. [r] PLIN. ibid.

foot,

foot, the water reaching no higher than their breasts[s]. Here *Darius* crossed the same river on a bridge, as he marched into *Cilicia* to meet *Alexander*; and re-crossed it, on his return, as he fled from him[t]. *Strabo* makes frequent mention of *Thapsacus*, and places it at the distance of two thousand stadia from *Zeugma*. It seems, also, to be mentioned in holy writ: for where *Solomon*'s empire is said to have extended *from* Thiphsach *to* Azza, *or* Gaza[u], the *Greek* has *Thapsa*, and the vulgate *Thaphsa*; and the river mentioned there, as the boundary of *Solomon*'s dominions, is, by the *Chaldee*, interpreted the *Euphrates*, and very rightly, in the opinion of *Bonfrerius* and *Grotius*; since *David* extended his empire to the banks of that river: so that it was bounded on the east by the *Euphrates*, on which *Thapsacus* stood; and on the west by *Gaza*, on the confines of *Egypt*.

Cœlesyria.

COELESYRIA, properly so called, lay, according to *Strabo*[w], whom we chuse to follow, between the two mountains *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; and was thence called *Cœlesyria*, or the *Hollow Syria*. The principal cities in this part were, *Heliopolis*, *Abila*, *Damascus*, and *Laodicea Cabiosa*, or *ad Libanum*. *Heliopolis*, or *the city of the sun*, so called from the worship paid there to that planet, is placed, by *Pliny*[x], near the head of the *Orontes*. Of the stately remains of this city, now known by the name of *Balbek*, we shall speak hereafter. *Abila* stood, according to *Ptolemy*, between *Heliopolis* and *Damascus*. That geographer stiles it *Abila Lysaniæ*, that is, *Abila of Lysanias*; which agrees with St. *Luke*'s division of the tetrarchy[y]. From *Abila* the neighbouring country took the name of *Abilene*; whence *Lysanias* is stiled, by St. *Luke*, tetrarch of *Abilene*. *Zosimus* places a town, named *Aphaca*, half way between *Heliopolis* and *Byblus*, famous for a temple of *Venus*, and a lake near it; in which the gifts, that were offered to the goddess, however light, sunk to the bottom, if acceptable; but floated, however heavy, on the surface of the water, if displeasing[z]. *Seneca* mentions a lake in *Syria*, no doubt the same lake, on which even the heaviest bodies floated[a]: but he takes no notice either of the goddess, or the gifts offered to her. The temple of *Venus*, at *Aphaca*, was a school of wickedness, as *Eusebius* stiles it,

[s] Xenoph. ibid. Arrian. l. i. p. 116. [t] Strab. l. xvi. p. 513, &c. [u] 1 Kings iv. 24. [w] Strab. l. xvi. p. 520. [x] Plin. l. v. c. 22. [y] Luke iii. 1. [z] Zos. l. i. c. 58. [a] Sen. quæst. nat. l. iii. c. 26.

and therefore raſed to the ground by *Conſtantine the Great*[b]. *Damaſcus* is frequently mentioned, both by the ſacred and profane hiſtorians. It was once the metropolis of *Syria*, and, in *Strabo*'s time, a moſt conſpicuous city[c]. The emperor *Julian*, ſurnamed *the apoſtate*, ſtiles it, *the eye of all the eaſt*, *the ſacred and moſt magnificent* Damaſcus; and commends it on account of its temples, fountains, rivers, the richneſs and fertility of its ſoil, &c[d]. Some of the antients ſuppoſe this city to have been built by one *Damaſcus*, whoſe name it borrowed; but the moſt generally received opinion is, that it was founded by *Uz*, *Aram*'s eldeſt ſon[e]. Be that as it will, thus much is certain, that it was in being in *Abraham*'s time[f], and conſequently may be reckoned one of the moſt antient cities now extant. Of the ſeveral viciſſitudes it underwent, in antient times, under its own and foreign princes, we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel. As to its preſent ſtate, we ſhall inſert, in a note, an abſtract of what a late traveller of our own tells us concerning it (A). The city of

[b] Euseb. in vit. Conſtant. l. iii. c. 55. [c] Strabo, l. xvi. p. 520. [d] Jul. imp. ep. 24. ad Serapion. [e] Bochart geog. ſacr. l. ii. c. 8. [f] Gen. xiv. 15. and xv. 2.

(A) The city of *Damaſcus*, according to Mr. *Maundrell*'s account, is ſituated on an even plain of ſo great extent, that one can but juſt diſcern the mountains, which compaſs it on the farther ſide. It ſtands on the weſt ſide of the plain, about two miles diſtant from the head of the river *Barrady*, which waters it. It is of a long, ſtrait figure, about two miles in extent, adorned with moſques and ſteeples, and incompaſſed with gardens, according to computation, full thirty miles round. The river *Barrady*, as ſoon as it iſſues out from between the clefts of the *Antilibanus* into the plain, is divided into three ſtreams, whereof the middlemoſt and biggeſt runs directly to *Damaſcus*, and is diſtributed to all the ciſterns and fountains of the city; while the other two, which ſeem to be the work of art, are drawn round, one to the right hand, and the other to the left, on the borders of the gardens, into which they are let by little currents, and ſo every-where diſperſed. The houſes of the city, whoſe ſtreets are very narrow, are all built, on the outſide, either with ſun-burnt brick, or *Flemiſh* wall; and yet it is no uncommon thing to ſee the gates and doors adorned with marble portals, carved and inlaid with great beauty and variety, and within theſe portals to find large ſquare courts, beautified with fragrant trees, and marble fountains, and compaſſed round with ſplendid apartments. In theſe apart-

ments

aodicea, called by ſome *Laodicea Cabioſa*, but moſt
nonly *Laodicea ad Libanum*[z], to diſtinguiſh it from a
f the ſame name, which we have mentioned above, on
aſt of *Seleucis*, ſtood on the *Orontes*, not far from mount
us to the weſt, and near the borders of the proper *Cœle-*
to the ſouth. From this city the adjoining territory,
h *Ptolemy* makes a ſeparate province, took the name
aodicene. Of *Phœnicia Mediterranea* hereafter.

NDER the *Roman* empire, the proper *Syria* was di- *Other di-*
into *Comagena* or *Euphratenſis*, *Syria Palmyrena*, or *viſions.*
Salutaris, and *Phœnicia Libani*, or *Libaneſia*. The
s reckon *Paleſtine* into *Syria* on the one hand, and even
ia on the other, and call it *Shâm*; and *Abulfeda* divides
hole into five *junds* or provinces, the *Kinneſryne*, the
ſene, the *Damaſcene*, the *Jordanitic*, and the *Paleſtine*.

CH is the fertility of this country, that it may be *Fertility.*
a pleaſant garden. It abounds with all things,
for the profit and delight of man. It is moſtly a plain
try, covered with a deep rich ſoil, and yields to no
on earth that lies under the ſame happy parallel.

he rivers of this country that we ſhall take notice of *Rivers.*
the *Orontes* (B), the largeſt of them all, a turbid,
rapid

[z] STRABO, l. xvi. p. 520. PLIN. l. v. c. 23.

the cielings and traves with whom St. *Paul* lodged,
ſually richly painted and wherein is an old tomb, the
l, and their *duans*, which ſuppoſed burying-place of *Ana-*
ſort of low ſtages ſeated *nias*, which the *Turks* hold in
e pleaſanteſt part of the ſuch veneration, that they
, and elevated about 16 maintain a lamp continually
inches above the floor, burning over it. This is the
on the *Turks* eat, ſleep, ſubſtance of Dr. *Maundrell*'s
e, receive viſits, ſay their account, to which we may add,
rs, *&c.* are floored, and that the fruit-tree called the
ed on the ſides with va- *damaſcene*, and the flower
of marble mixed in moſaic called the *damask-roſe*, were
and mazes, ſpread with tranſplanted from the gardens
ts, and furniſhed all round belonging to this city; and that
bolſters and cuſhions to the ſilks and linen, known by
ery height of luxury. In the name of *damasks*, were
city is ſhewn the church probably the invention of the
ohn the Baptiſt, now con- inhabitants of this city (1).
d into a famous moſque, (B) This river, according
ouſe of *Ananias*, which is to *Strabo* (2), diſappeared at a
a ſmall grotto or cellar, place called *Charybdis*, between
ein is nothing remarka- *Apamea* and *Antioch*; and, after
and the houſe of *Judas*, having run five miles under-

(1) *See Wells's geograph. of the New Teſt.* (2) *Strab. l. vi. p. 275.*

rapid ſtream, with waters not fit to drink, and fiſh unfit to eat [f]; and the *Barrady*, formerly the *Chryſorrhoas*, which, ruſhing from *Antilibanus* down to *Damaſcus*, is there divided into endleſs ſtreams for the ſupply and decoration of that city; but, uniting again at ſome diſtance from it, they loſe themſelves in a bog [g]. The *Abana* and *Pharpar* muſt have been only branches (C) of this river.

[f] See MAUNDRELL's journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p. 4.
[g] Ibid. p. 123.

ground, appeared again. In the ſame author (1) alſo there is a fabulous tradition concerning the origin of this river; as that *Typhon*, in his flight, furrowed up the earth, and formed the canal; that he was thunder-ſtruck at the fountain-head of this river; and that his going down, was the cauſe of the ſpring which riſes there. They feigned him to be an huge dragon. This may be added to the fabulous accounts we have already given of *Typhon*'s death (2).

(C) *Radziville* (3), the palatine of *Wilna*, tells us roundly of the rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar*, which watered the city of *Damaſcus*, when he was there, which is about one hundred and fifty years ago; and that they were then unnavigable, but full of fiſh, and ſtreamed down to it from the mountain *Chrizoroa*, which ſhould have been written *Chryſorrhoas*, the *Greek* name of the river which watered *Damaſcus*, and not of any mountain there. *Thevenot*, who was ſo curious and minute an obſerver of every thing in and about *Damaſcus*, never once mentions the rivers *Abana* and *Pharpar*; but tells us (4) of three rivers that water *Damaſcus*, and meet at the end of the town; one of which, in the chapter following, he calls *Banias*. There is no footſtep of the names *Abana* and *Pharpar* (5) among the beſt *Arabian* geographers. *Abu'l-feda* tells us, that the ſtream which ſupplies *Damaſcus*, comes out of a cavern on the weſt ſide of the city, and immediately divides; which is ſo exactly Dr. *Maundrell*'s (6) deſcription of this water, that they very abundantly confirm each other. This laſt traveller could not ſo much as find any memory of the names of *Abana* and *Pharpar*, and ſuppoſes they muſt have been branches of this river *Barrady*, which comes out of the rock. And, as he ſo nicely agrees with *Abu'lfeda* in the approach of this river to *Damaſcus*, he does the ſame with *Thevenot* in its departure therefrom; they both agreeing, that its divided ſtreams meet again on the other ſide of the town. Dr. *Maundrell* then in this caſe may be ſafely relied on, in what he ſays of this remarkable ſtream.

(1) *Idem, l.* xvi. *p.* 750. (2) *See before, p.* 34. (3) *Peregrin. Jeroſolym. epiſt.* ii. *p.* 31. (4) *Travels to the Levant, part* ii. *book* i. *c.* 4. (5) *Vide Alber. Schult. comment. geograph. in vit. Salad. ad vocem Damaſcus.* (6) *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p.* 122.

THINGS more particularly remarkable in this country are the two valleys of ſalt, the one within four hours of *Aleppo* [h], the other in the neighbourhood of *Palmyra* [i], which ſhoot forth that mineral in ſurpriſing abundance; the ſoil to a conſiderable depth being ſtrongly impregnated therewith, as is ſaid of the valley near *Aleppo*; and as might, doubtleſs, have been ſaid of the other, had trial thereof been made. The medicinal waters alſo in and about *Palmyra*, and in ſeveral other parts of *Palmyrene* [k], might claim our attention, were this a proper place. Among the remarkable things of this country we may alſo reckon the few cedars which are now ſtanding upon *Lebanon*, or *Libanus*. They are near a Chriſtian monaſtery, called *Canobine*, about ten hours journey from *Tripoli*. They ſtand in the midſt of ſnow (D), near the higheſt part of *Libanus*. Of the old ones, which are very large, there are only ſixteen; but young ones, of a leſſer growth, there are in great numbers. One of the largeſt of the former, being meaſured, was found to be twelve yards ſix inches in girt, yet perfectly ſound, its branches ſpreading thirty-ſeven yards in circumference: and about five or ſix yards from the ground it divided itſelf into five branches, each equal to a great tree [l]. Another traveller [m], who was alſo

Natural rarities.

[h] Idem ibid. ſub finem. [i] Philoſoph. tranſact. numb. 217. p. 83. [k] Ibid. p. 103, 104. [l] MAUNDRELL ubi ſupra, p. 142. [m] DE LA ROQUE, voyage de Syrie, tom. i. p. 88.

(D) *Rauwolf*, who viſited theſe cedars about midſummer, complains of the rigour of the cold and the ſnows here. *Radziville*, who was here in *June* about five years after him, talks of the ſnow that never melts away from theſe mountains. Other travellers talk to the ſame purpoſe; among whom our *Maundrell* repreſents the cedars ſtanding in the midſt of ſnow; but he was there in the month of *May*. From all this we might have formed a judgment, that the cedars ſtand always in the midſt of ſnow: but we are aſſured of the contrary by another traveller (5), according to whom, the ſnows here begin to melt in *April*, and are no more to be ſeen after *July*; nor is, ſays he, any at all left, but in ſuch clefts of the mountains which the ſun cannot come at: that the ſnow begins not to fall again till *December*; and that he himſelf, when he was here, ſaw no ſnow at all: and it is probable, that he ſpeaks nothing but the truth.

(5) *De la Roque voyage de Syrie, tom.* i. *p.* 89.

on the ſpot, tells us, that the largeſt he meaſured was, towards the middle of the trunk, ſeven feet, wanting two inches, round; at the ſame time that he reckons its boughs one hundred and twenty feet about. But, either in this, or the former account, there muſt be a monſtrous ſlip of the pen, or error of the preſs; for the difference between ſeven feet and twelve yards is quite ſurpriſing. But the difference between theſe travellers does not end here: the latter ſays, the largeſt of the cedars had not a trunk above ſix or ſeven feet high out of the ground, which falls moſt unaccountably ſhort of what has been juſt now ſaid upon that point: and yet this author [*De la Roque*] talks of the enormity of the trunks of theſe trees, and of the prodigious ſize of their branches; which is throwing away great words very improperly, if he is not moſt egregiouſly out in the dimenſions he gives us, which are ſo trifling, that they cannot deſerve admiration in any degree. This, tho' a digreſſion of ſuch a kind as is unfit to find place in a work of this nature, we hope the reader will excuſe, as we have made it only to obviate what might be objected, by ſome, to the diſcredit of a very ſincere traveller of our own nation (E). It will not be expected of us to give an accurate deſcription of this noble tree; therefore we ſhall only ſay, that it bears a narrow leaf, of a ſad green, together with a cone like that of the pine-tree, but darker,

(E) We cannot forbear obſerving, that there ſeems to be almoſt as great a difference, concerning theſe cedars, between *Rauwolf* (6) and *Radziville* (7), who viſited them about a century and an half ago. The former reckons the largeſt cedars at ſeveral fathoms in circumference. The latter ſays, they were handſome proper trees, with wide ſpreading branches, like the trees the *Poles* call *modrzew*; he does not raiſe the admiration at all. But the truth of it is, Mr. *de la Roque* muſt be excuſed, if he does deceive us by leſſening the cedars ſo much. It is not his own voyage, though he ſets his name to it, which is ſomewhat odd. He is no more than editor of this, as well as of other voyages under his name, which were really and properly Monſ. le chevalier *d'Arvieux's*. To prove that it muſt be his miſtake, we ſhall only recur to the *memoirs of the* miſſionaries (8) *in the Levant*, where a Jeſuit, who meaſured the largeſt of theſe cedars, tells us, it was in girt ſix fathom, which ſquare very well with *Maundrell's* twelve yards.

(6) *Ray's collect. of voyages, ubi ſupr.* (7) *Peregrin. Ieroſolym. ubi ſupr.*
(8) *Tom.* iv. *p.* 358.

and

and of a ſmoother coat. As theſe cedars ſpread out extremely with a broad flat head, which is compared to the top of an umbrella, the weight of the ſnow that might lodge upon them at certain ſeaſons, would break down their branches: but, to prevent this, they are reported to have the extraordinary faculty of preparing themſelves againſt it, by ſtretching their branches upwards, till they form a cone; thereby exhibiting the ſmalleſt ſurface poſſible to the heavens, and, by that means, preſerving themſelves from ruin [m]. As theſe cedars of *Lebanon* make ſo noble a figure in the Old Teſtament, and have been antiently the pride of this country, we could not well ſay leſs than we have done, concerning the few of them left, which are held in the greateſt veneration by the inhabitants (F).

As we have been ſo particular in deſcribing the *Egyptian* monuments of antiquity, we cannot paſs over the chief, at leaſt, of thoſe which are found in this country, and may be thought no way inferior to any thing of the kind in *Egypt*. Who founded the noble edifices, of which we ſhall here deſcribe the remains, is quite uncertain; but nothing is more probable, than that they were not erected under any of the princes in the enſuing hiſtory, they being in the moſt correct ſtile of the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*. Upon this account we might be taxed with irregularity in introducing them into a period, when they had no being, had we not this for our excuſe; that being quite in the dark, as to the time when they were built, we may as well ſpeak of them here as any-where elſe.

Artificial rarities.

[m] De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 90, 91.

(F) We are told (9), that at the foot of the largeſt of theſe cedars are four ſtone altars: that, upon the *day of the tranſfiguration*, the patriarch of the *Maronites* repairs to them, attended by a number of biſhops, prieſts, and monks; and followed by five or ſix thouſand of their religion from all parts; and that under theſe trees they celebrate that feſtival, which they miſcal the *feaſt of cedars*. By another it is added, that the patriarch officiates pontifically upon this ſolemn occaſion; that they are particularly mindful of the bleſſed virgin upon this day; becauſe the Scripture compares her to the cedars of *Lebanon*; and that the ſame holy father threatens with his church-thunderbolts ſuch as ſhall preſume to (10) hurt them.

(9) *Ibid.* (10) *De la Roque ubi ſupr. p.* 87, 89.

THOUGH

THOUGH there are many noble veſtiges of the magnificence of *Syria*, ſcattered up and down the country, both Pagan and Chriſtian, we ſhall dwell on two only; *Balbek*, formerly *Heliopolis*, as is commonly ſuppoſed, and *Palmyra* or *Tadmor* in the wilderneſs.

The fine ruins at Heliopolis, *now* Balbek.

BALBEK or *Balbeck* is mentioned by the *Arabians* as the wonder of *Syria* (G); and ſuch of our *European* travellers as have viſited it, are ſo charmed with what they beheld there, that they are at a loſs how to expreſs their admiration. On the ſouth-weſt of the town, which ſtands in a delightful plain on the weſt foot of *Antilibanus*, is an heathen temple, with the remains of ſome other edifices; and, among the reſt, of a magnificent palace. Theſe antient ſtructures have been patched and pieced in later times, and converted into a caſtle, as it is called. As you draw near to theſe venerable ruins, you meet with a *rotunda*, or round pile of building, incircled with pillars of the *Corinthian* order, which ſupport a cornice that runs all round the ſtructure; the whole of great elegance and ſtateline ſs, but now in a very tottering condition [a]. It is moſtly of marble, and, though round on the outſide, is an octagon within; being, in the inſide, adorned with eight arches, ſupported by eight *Corinthian* columns, each of one piece. It is now open at top, but appears to have been covered and imbelliſhed with the figures of eagles. The *Greeks*, who have converted this round into a church, have ſpoiled the beauty of the inſide, by daubing it over with plaſter [b]. Leaving this, you come to a large, firm, and very lofty pile of building, through which you paſs into a noble arched walk or portico, one hundred and fifty paces long, that leads to the temple.

The rotunda.

[a] MAUNDRELL ubi ſupr. p. 135. [b] LA ROQUE ubi ſupr. p. 152.

(G) The *Arabian* lexicographer, cited by *Schultens*, in his geographical commentary (11), at the end of his edition of *Soltân Salâh'addin*'s life, ſays; "*Balbek* is a city of three "days journey from *Damaſcus*, where are wonderful "foundations and magnificent "veſtiges of antiquity, and "palaces with marble co"lumns, ſuch as in the whole "world are no-where elſe to "be ſeen." And *Abu'lfeda*: "At "*Balbek* are palaces of hewn "ſtone with moſt lofty co"lumns; nor is there in all "*Syria* any ſtone ſtructure "more admirable or magnificent."

(11) *Ad vocem Balbecum.*

THIS

THIS temple has reſiſted the injuries of time, and the madneſs of ſuperſtition, being yet almoſt intire. It is an oblong ſquare, in its general form and proportion, exactly like *St. Paul's Covent-Garden*; but, for magnificence of ſtructure and dimenſion, there is ſcarce any compariſon, this temple being almoſt as big again every way. Its length on the outſide is one hundred ninety-two feet, and its breadth ninety-ſix [p]; its length in the inſide one hundred and twenty feet, and its breadth ſixty. The *pronaos*, or ante-temple, took up fifty-four feet of the hundred and ninety, but is now ruined; and the pillars which ſupported it, are broken. The whole body of this temple, as it now ſtands, is ſurrounded with a noble portico, ſupported by pillars of the *Corinthian* order, ſix feet three inches in diameter, about fifty-four in height (H), and each of three ſtones apiece. Their diſtance from each other, and from the wall of the temple, is nine feet. There are fourteen of them on each ſide of the temple, and eight at each end, counting the corner pillars in each number. The architrave and cornice, which are ſupported all round by theſe pillars, are exquiſitely carved. And, as you walk round this temple, between its wall and the pillars which go round it, you have, over-head, a ſolid arcade all the way, of great ſtones hollowed out arch-wiſe; in the centre of each of which is a god, a goddeſs, or a hero (I) ſtruck out with that life, that is not to be conceived [q], and all round the foot of the wall of the temple itſelf is

The great temple.

[p] MAUNDRELL ubi ſupr. [q] Idem ibid.

(H) Theſe fifty-four are *French* feet, which, according to *Maundrell*, ought to be but forty-five *Engliſh*, which is a very great difference. The *French* author viewed this place for a fortnight together, whereas our *Engliſh* traveller was ſcarce here a day; ſo that the former may be chiefly relied on in moſt particulars; and, accordingly, we have adhered chiefly to him; though they both agree very well, conſidering, that the one was a tranſitory, the other a conſtant obſerver, as we may call them. Beſides, in this caſe the thing ſpeaks itſelf; for, according to our mean skill in architecture, a *Corinthian* pillar, whoſe diameter is ſix feet, in which they both agree, will require at leaſt fifty feet of height, to appear with any manner of elegance and delicacy.

(I) An emperor, or an empreſs, ſays *De la Roque* (12); but in this we chooſe to rely on *Maundrell*'s judgment.

(12) *Ubi ſupr. p.* 148.

a double

a double border of marble, the loweſt part of which is a continued bas-relief in miniature, expreſſing heathen myſteries and ceremonies; where, without any confuſion, you ſee a ſurpriſing mixture of men and beaſts, in the moſt happy compoſition, and moſt agreeable variety[r].

HAVING thus deſcribed the outſide of this temple, we proceed to the inſide; but let us firſt take a view of the entrance, than which nothing can be more auguſt. The aſcent to it is by thirty ſteps, on each ſide bounded by a wall, that terminates in a pedeſtal, on which formerly ſtood a ſtatue, as we may naturally ſuppoſe. The front is compoſed of eight *Corinthian* pillars, as we have already ſaid, fluted, as are all the reſt that go round the temple, and an ample and nobly proportioned triangular pediment. Within theſe eight pillars, at the diſtance of about ſix feet, are four others, like the former, and two pillars of three faces each, that terminate the walls of the temple, which come out a good way from the body of the temple itſelf. All theſe form a porch or portico before the door of the temple, in depth about twenty-four feet, and in breadth ſixty odd: thro' theſe pillars appears the door of the temple, under the vault of the portico; but it there appears with great majeſty, and without the leaſt confuſion; ſo nice are the proportions of the pillars, their diſtance from each other, and the receſs of the door itſelf. The door-caſe, or portal, is ſquare, and of marble, in proportion and conſtruction juſt like the great marble portal at the weſt end of *St. Paul's*, but far richer in ſculpture, and larger, if we miſtake not. The whole height of it is about forty feet, and its whole width about twenty-eight, with an opening of about twenty feet wide[s]. You are no ſooner under this portal, but, looking up, you ſee the bottom of the lintel, enriched with a piece of ſculpture, hardly to be equalled. It is a vaſt eagle in bas-relief, expanding his wings, and carrying a caduceus in his pounce; and on each ſide of him is a *Fame*[t] or *Cupid*[u] ſupporting one end of a feſtoon by a ſtring or ribband, the other being held in the eagle's beak[w].

AS to the inſide of the temple; it is divided into three iſles, two narrow on the ſides, and one broad in the middle, after the manner of our churches, being formed by two rows of fluted *Corinthian* pillars, of between three and four feet diameter, and in height, including the pedeſtal,

[r] DE LA ROQUE ubi ſupr. p. 138, 147. [s] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 136. [t] MAUNDRELL ubi ſupr. [u] DE LA ROQUE ubi ſupr. p. 137. [w] Idem ibid.

about

about thirty-ſix. Theſe pillars are twelve in number, ſix on a ſide, at the diſtance of about eighteen feet from each other, and about twelve from the walls of the temple. The walls are adorned with two rows or orders of pilaſters one over another, and between each two of the lowermoſt is a round nich about fifteen feet high. The bottom of the niches is upon a level with the baſes of the pillars, and the wall to that height is wrought in the proportions of a *Corinthian* pedeſtal, and the niches themſelves are *Corinthian* in all their parts, with the ſtricteſt preciſion, and niceſt delicacy. Over theſe round niches is a row of ſquare ones between the pilaſters of the upper order: the ornaments belonging to them are all marble, and they are each crowned with a triangular pediment (K). Towards the weſt end of the middle iſle you aſcend to a choir, as it is called, by thirteen ſteps, which are the whole breadth of this part. This choir is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the temple by two large ſquare columns adorned with pilaſters, which form a noble entrance, exactly correſponding with that of the temple itſelf. Here is a great profuſion of aſtoniſhing ſculpture; but the architecture is the ſame here as in the body of the temple, except that the pillars have no pedeſtals, and the niches ſtand upon the pavement [x]. The two large ſquare pillars, which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſh this part of the temple, are thought to have ſupported a canopy; but nothing of that kind is to be ſeen now. In the bottom of this choir is a vaſt marble nich, where ſtood the principal deity here worſhiped. In this choir are ſeen the moſt finely imagined ſculptures, feſtoons, birds, flowers, fruits; and fine bas-reliefs, *Neptunes*, *Tritons*, fiſhes, ſea-gods, *Arion* and his dolphin, and other marine figures [y]. The cieling or vault of this temple is bold, and divided into compartments filled with excellent carvings. It is open towards the middle; but whether a cupola or lantern ſtood there for the admiſſion of light, or whether it was always open, cannot be judged at this diſtance of time [z]. In a word, the charming ſymmetry, the correct taſte, and the height wherewith all the

[x] Idem ubi ſupr. p. 140—142. De la Roque ubi ſupr. p. 143.

[y] Maundrell ubi ſupr.

[z] Idem ubi ſup. p. 144, 145.

(K) In the draught *Maundrell* (13) has given us of the inſide of this temple, the upper and the lower niches are exactly alike, both round: this is a remarkable difference; but which way to reconcile them we know not.

(13) *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ.*

carvings

carvings are finiſhed, even at ſuch elevations, where ſo great niceneſs is thought unneceſſary, are ſuch, that it may be truly ſaid, the whole pile is without the leaſt blemiſh. The whole ſtands upon vaults of ſuch excellent architecture, and ſo bold a turn, that it is thought they ſerved for ſomething more than merely the ſupport of the ſuperincumbent weight, and may have been a ſubterraneous temple, applied to ſome particular ſervice in the Pagan worſhip. And, though this temple now ſtands by itſelf, there are evident marks, that it was accompanied by other buildings, no way unworthy of it; among which are reckoned four different aſcents to it, one upon each angle, with marble ſteps ſo long that eight or ten perſons may go up abreaſt [a].

WITHIN the walls of this caſtle, as it is now called, are alſo great remains of what muſt have been a palace ſcarce inferior to any royal ſeat that has ever been in the world; but, being by no means in ſo perfect a ſtate as the temple, we ſhall ſpeak of it in general terms, and of ſuch parts only as deſerve our greateſt attention. But, firſt of all, it muſt be obſerved, that the old wall, which incloſed both this and the temple above deſcribed, is built of ſuch monſtrous blocks of ſtone, as exceed all belief, and have given birth to a tradition among the natives, that the whole is the work of the devil. There are particularly three, which lie end for end with each other, and which together extend one hundred eighty-three feet in length, whereof one is ſixty-three feet long, and the other two ſixty apiece. Their depth is twelve feet, and their breadth the ſame; and, what adds to the wonder, theſe ſtones are lifted twenty feet from the ground. The reſt of the ſtones of this wall are of ſurpriſing dimenſions, but none quite ſo large as theſe [b].

GOING through the long arched walk, which we have already mentioned as leading to the temple, and which looks like a ſubterraneous paſſage, adorned with many buſts, which for want of light cannot well be diſcerned, the firſt object which ſtrikes the ſight is a ſpacious hexagonal building or wall, forming a kind of a ſpacious theatre, which is open at the other end, and preſents you with a terrace, to which you aſcend by marble ſteps. This aperture admits you into a ſquare court, larger than the firſt, round which are magnificent buildings. On each

[a] Idem ubi ſup. p. 149, 150. [b] MAUNDRELL ubi ſupr. p. 138. DE LA ROQUE ubi ſupr. p. 121.

hand,

hand, you have a double row of pillars, which form porticoes or galleries of ſixty-ſix fathom in length, and eight in breadth. The bottom of this court was taken up by a third building, more ſumptuous than the reſt, and deeper, which ſeems to have been the body of the palace, fronting eaſt, as all the fronts in this caſtle do. The columns belonging to this part are of ſuch ſize, that they are compared with thoſe of the hippodrome at *Conſtantinople*. Nine of theſe columns are ſtanding (L), and a good piece of the entablature, which evince it to have been one of the wonders of *Aſia*; and, to crown all, each of theſe nine pillars is but one block. Many conſiderable and diſtinct veſtiges of the ſeveral parts of this palace are ſtill extant. The *Corinthian* order prevails chiefly throughout the whole; and ſcarce are any-where to be found ſuch precious remains of architecture and ſculpture. The ornaments are various, but without any of the wild extravagancies of modern architects. The fine taſte of *Greece*, and the magnificence of *Rome*, here meet; ſtatues without number, buſts of all ſorts, proud trophies, curiouſly-wrought niches, walls and cielings inriched with bas-reliefs, incruſtations, and other works of the fineſt marble; therms and caryatides, judiciouſly placed. Underneath the whole are vaſt vaults; where from time to time you diſcover, through the ruins, long flights of marble ſtairs, near two hundred in a flight. The turn and elevation of theſe vaults are bold and ſurpriſing: and in theſe ſubterraneous parts you find many rooms, halls, rich apartments intire, and many marble tombs. The walls here alſo are adorned with niches, bas-reliefs, and inſcriptions in *Roman* characters; but theſe inſcriptions are quite effaced by the length of time, and the damps. Some of theſe vaults are quite dark, and muſt be viſited with lights, either becauſe of their great depth, or becauſe the paſſages which may have given them light are ſtopped up by rubbiſh; but others receive light by great windows, which ſtand on the level of the ground above: and laſtly, all theſe

(L) *Maundrell* remembers theſe pillars in the following words: *About fifty yards diſtant from the temple, is a row of* Corinthian *pillars, very great and lofty; with a moſt ſtately architrave and cornice at top. This ſpeaks itſelf to have been part of ſome very auguſt pile; but what one now ſees of it is but juſt enough to give a regret, that there ſhould be no more of it remaining* (14). He did not viſit the palace; not imagining, we ſuppoſe, that there had been any building of the kind there.

(14) *Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p.* 137.

edifices

edifices are built with ſtones of the enormous ſize already mentioned, without any viſible morter, cement, or binding whatſoever [c]. The temple and theſe ruins ſtand in the ſame incloſure, as we have ſaid, and may challenge any monument of antiquity now extant, either at *Athens* or *Rome*, or even in *Egypt*. All over and about the town you, at every ſtep, meet with ſome melancholy fragment of antiquity. The quarry from whence they had the ſtone for theſe works is a little way out of the town. It is cut out in ſteps ſomething like an amphitheatre, where lies one ſtone ready hewn, which ſeems to ſurpaſs all that have been already deſcribed. A notion prevailed, that it was too heavy to be moved; but, upon a nice examination, it was found faſtened to the rock [d]. Such was the city of *Balbek*, and from its ſurpriſing grandeur and magnificence we may well conclude it to have been once the moſt conſiderable place in *Syria*, and the delight of ſome mighty prince, who there choſe to reſide (M).

The ruins of Palmyra.

BUT the magnificent ruins of *Palmyra* ſeem equally to claim our admiration. We ſhall not here examine who was the original founder of this city, whether *Solomon*, or ſome other before him, nor to whom we are indebted for what now ſtands of this deſolate and abandoned town. Such diſcuſſions will come more naturally in their proper places, as they may occur in the body of this work. Thus much, however, we may ſafely premiſe, that at *Palmyra*

[c] Idem ubi ſup. p. 124—132. [d] Idem ubi ſup. p. 151, 155.

(M) We flatter ourſelves, that no antiquary will, according to this deſcription of *Balbek*, allow *Solomon* to have had any hand in what we ſee there; and yet prince *Radziville* (15), who is, in the main, a very judicious traveller, thinks it paſt diſpute, that it is the work of *Solomon*. He imagines it to be the houſe he built for *Pharaoh*'s daughter, and that it moſt exactly anſwers the deſcription of that palace in the book of *Kings* (16): and indeed we cannot ſay there is no ſimilitude between the two edifices. This he avers upon an accurate and diligent obſervation, as he tells us; and adds as a further proof of it, that the buildings have not ſuffered any violence, but are crumbled away and decayed by mere length of time. He muſt have minded theſe ruins in general; he cannot have deſcended to particulars; or he had never been ſo egregiouſly miſtaken as he ſeems to have been.

(15) *Peregrin. Ieroſolym. epiſt.* 2. p. 27. (16) 1 *Kings* vii. 8——13.

we

we ſee no remains, or next to none, of *Solomon's Tadmor*, this city having been more than once ſacked and demoliſhed ſince his time, as will appear hereafter.

PALMYRA, by the *Greeks* and *Romans*; in the Scripture, *Tadmor* in the wilderneſs; by *Joſephus*, *Palmira* and *Thadamor*; by the ſeptuagint copies, *Theodmor* and *Thedmor*; and by the *Arabs* and *Syrians* at this day, *Tadmor*, *Tadmur*, and *Tatmor*; was once a noble city in the ſouth-eaſtern parts of *Syria*. The origin of theſe names is dark and uncertain (N). It ſtood on a fertile iſland, if we may *Its names and ſituation.*

(N) The author of the deſcription of *Palmyra* (17) calls it *Palmira*, which he derives from the palms about it; and ſuppoſes it to be the tranſlation of an *Hebrew* word, importing a palm. *Halley* (18) derives it from παλμυς, *palmys*, which *Heſychius* interprets a king or father, or from Παλμύτης *Palmytes*, an *Egyptian* god, according to the ſame *Heſychius*. *Seller* (19) is of another mind; he cannot think of deriving it from *palmys*, a king or father, or from *Palmytes*, an *Egyptian* god; for what, ſays he, had the gods of *Egypt* to do ſo near the banks of *Euphrates*? He derives it therefore from παλμη *palme*, a *Perſian* ſhield, or *parma*, as the *Latins* render it. This he ſupports with ſome authority, and a good deal of probability, rejecting the fantaſtic etymology of *Malela* (20), who will have it called *Palmyra*, διὰ τὸ πάλαι μοίραν γενέσθαι τὴν χώραν τῷ Γολιάθ, becauſe *David* ſlew *Goliath* there; which few or none will be willing to allow. The etymology of *Tadmor* is ſtill darker, if poſſible; but, as dark as it is, we cannot forbear acquainting the learned and inquiſitive reader with the thoughts of *Schultens* in his geographical commentary (21) upon both the names *Tadmor* and *Palmyra*. He obſerves, that in the text it is written תמר *Tamor*, and in the margin תדמר *Tadmor*. *Tamor* he reckons to have become the uſual name of this place, for ſoftneſs-ſake, and to refer to תמר *tamar*, the palm; with which, in the next note, this place will be ſeen to have abounded. He ſuppoſes alſo, that originally in *Arabic* they did not ſpell it *Tadmor*, but תתמר *Tatmor*; and thus he accordingly finds it in his *Arabic* geographical lexicon; as if you ſhould ſay *palmiferous*, or palm-bearing, the *t*, for ſound-ſake, being changed into *d*. The alteration of this name he aſcribes wholly to the *Romans*, who upon finding the place called *Tadmor* or *Tadmur*, may at firſt have corrupted it into *Talmura*; but that ſoon after, underſtanding the city had its

(17) *Philoſoph. tranſact. numb.* 217. *p.* 85. (18) *Ibid. numb.* 218. *p.* 161. (19) *Hiſt. of Palmyra, in the appendix, p.* 177. (20) *Par.* i. *p.* 182. *Par.* ii. *p.* 153. (21) *In vit. Salad. ad vocem Tadmora.*

ſo call it, ſurrounded on all ſides by a thirſty and barren deſert. The firſt object that now occurs as you approach this forlorn place, is a caſtle of mean architecture, and uncertain foundation, though formerly by ſituation impregnable, about half an hour from the city. This caſtle ſtands on the north ſide of the city, and from thence you deſcry *Tadmor*, incloſed on three ſides by long ridges of mountains; but to the ſouth is a vaſt plain, which ſtretches out of ſight. The air is exceeding good; but the ſoil is barren (O), affording nothing green but a few palm-trees in the gardens, and a few more ſcattered up and down. The city muſt have been of large extent by the ſpace now taken up by the ruins; but there are no veſtiges of the walls, whereby to judge of its antient form. It is now a deplorable ſpectacle to behold, being only inhabited by thirty or forty miſerable families, who have built poor huts of mud, within a ſpacious court, which once incloſed a magnificent heathen temple.

To begin the deſcription here: This court, which ſtands about the ſouth end of the city, is two hundred and twenty yards on each ſide, with an high and ſtately wall of large ſquare ſtone, adorned with pilaſters within and without, to the number, as near as could be judged, of ſixty-two on a ſide. The beautiful cornices have been purpoſely beaten down by the *Turks*, who have thereby deprived the world of one of the fineſt works of the kind, that, perhaps, was ever ſeen, as here-and-there a fragment, which has eſcaped their fury, abundantly evinces. The weſt ſide of this court, by which you enter it, is moſt of it broken down; and towards the middle of it there are remains of an old caſtle, built by the *Mamlúks*, as is ſuppoſed, out of part of the ruins which are here in ſuch abundance. This caſtle ſhrouds the remains of an antient fabric of exquiſite beauty, as appears by what is ſtill ſtanding of its entrance, being two ſtones of thirty-five feet in length, carved with vines and cluſters of grapes, exceeding bold, and to the

name from its palm-trees, they converted *Talmura* into *Palmura*, whence *Palmyra*.

(O) Not that it had always the ſame ſteril appearance. *Abu'lfeda*, who though he calls *Tadmor* a ſmall city in the deſert of *Syria*, yet places it in *Arabia*, writes, that *Palmyrene*, for the moſt part, abounded in ſalt; and that the palm and olive flouriſhed there; adding, that there are many great and noble ruins there to be ſeen. In him moreover we read, that it had perpetual ſprings, and yielded fruits and corn.

life.

life. They are both in their right places, and by them it appears, that the door or gate was fifteen feet wide. In this great court are the remains of two rows of very noble marble pillars thirty-ſeven feet high, with capitals of the fineſt carved work; and the cornices muſt have been of equal beauty, though quite deſtroyed by the relentleſs ſuperſtition of the *Mohammedans*. Of theſe pillars fifty-eight are intire. They muſt have been many more in number; for, by what appears, they went quite round the court, and ſupported a moſt ſpacious double piazza or cloiſter. The walks on the weſt ſide of this piazza, which face the front of the temple, ſeem to have been the moſt ſpacious and ſtately of all; and at each end of it are two niches for ſtatues at their full length, with their pedeſtals, borders, ſupporters, and canopies, carved with the greateſt artifice and curioſity. The ſpace within this once beautiful incloſure is conceived to have been an open court, as we have already called it, in the midſt of which ſtands the temple, incompaſſed with another row of pillars of a different order, and far exceeding the former in dimenſions, being fifty feet high. Of theſe, ſixteen are now ſtanding; but there muſt have been about double that number, which, whether they formed an inner court, or ſupported the roof of a cloiſter, is uncertain. One great ſtone lies on the ground, which ſeems to have reached from theſe pillars to the walls of the temple; ſo that the latter conjecture may naturally enough take place. The whole ſpace contained within theſe pillars is one hundred and ſeventy-ſeven feet in length, and in breadth, eighty-four. In the midſt of this ſpace is the temple, extending ninety-nine feet in length, and in breadth, about forty. It has a ſumptuous entrance on the weſt, exactly in the middle of the building, and, by what remains, it ſeems to have been one of the moſt glorious edifices in the world. You here ſee vines and cluſters of grapes executed to the life; and over the door you can juſt trace out a ſpread eagle, as at *Balbek*, which takes up the whole width; with ſome angels or *Cupids* accompanying it on the ſame ſtone, and ſeveral eagles are ſeen upon ſtones that are fallen down. Nothing of this temple is ſtanding but the walls, in which it is obſervable, that the windows, though not large, are narrower at top than at bottom, but mightily enriched with ſculpture. It has been aukwardly patched up to ſerve for a moſque, all but the north end, where are very precious reliques; which, whether they were in the nature of canopies over altars, or to what uſe

elſe they ſerved, is not eaſy to conjecture. They are beautified with the moſt curious fret-work and ſculpture; in the midſt of which is a dome or cupola, ſix feet diameter, all of one piece; but whether they are hewn out of the ſolid rock, or molded of fine cement or compoſition, is made a doubt.

Promiſcuous ruins. WHEN you leave this court and temple, a prodigious number of marble pillars preſent themſelves to your ſight, ſcattered up and down for the ſpace of near a mile; but, in ſuch confuſion, that there is no room to gueſs for what end they were framed.

Obeliſk and two pillars. ADVANCING towards the north, as you leave the temple, you have a tall and ſtately obeliſk or pillar before you, conſiſting of ſeven large ſtones, beſides its capital. It is wreathed; and the ſculpture here, as every-where elſe, extremely fine. It is above fifty feet in height, twelve feet and an half in compaſs juſt above the pedeſtal, and a ſtatue is conceived to have once ſtood upon it. On the eaſt and weſt of this, at the diſtance of a quarter of a mile, is a large pillar, and a piece of another near to the eaſtern pillar, which looks as if there had been once a continued row of them. The height of this eaſtern pillar, as taken by a quadrant, is above forty feet. Its circumference is proportionable, and on the body of it is a *Greek* inſcription in commemoration of two patriots, by an order of the ſenate and people, which, with the others of the ſame and other kinds we may hereafter meet with, we ſhall paſs over for the preſent, that we may not break in upon the thread of this deſcription. The weſtern pillar has another inſcription of the like ſort; but not quite ſo perfect as the former.

The great piazza. PROCEEDING on from the obeliſk or pillar laſt-mentioned, at the diſtance of one hundred paces, is a magnificent entrance, vaſtly large and lofty, and for workmanſhip nothing inferior to any piece hitherto deſcribed; but unhappily it has ſuffered the ſame fate with the reſt. This entrance leads into a noble piazza, above half a mile long, and forty feet broad, formed by two rows of ſtately marble pillars twenty-ſix feet high, and eight or nine about. Of theſe pillars one hundred and twenty-nine are ſtanding; but by a moderate calculation they cannot have been fewer at firſt, than five hundred and ſixty. Covering over them there is none remaining, nor pavement beneath, that can be ſeen. Upon moſt of theſe pillars are inſcriptions in *Greek* and *Palmyrene* characters; ſo that this ſeems to

have been a much frequented and moſt conſpicuous part of the city, and therefore moſt proper for the daily and honourable commemoration of ſuch as had deſerved well of their fellow-citizens, or friends and relations. And, as if inſcriptions were not ſufficient, it ſeems as if here they placed the ſtatues alſo of celebrated perſons; there being pedeſtals jetting out from theſe pillars, ſometimes one way, and ſometimes more, whereon muſt have ſtood ſtatues, which have long ago fallen victims to the furious and barbarous zeal of the *Mohammedans*; and upon theſe pedeſtals are inſcriptions, even when none are on the pillar they belong to, and ſometimes too when there are. The upper end of this ſpacious piazza was ſhut in by a row of pillars, ſtanding cloſer together than thoſe on each ſide; and perhaps a banqueting-room ſtood upon them, though no ſign of it remains. But, on the left-hand, a little farther, appear the ruins of a very ſtately pile, which may have been of ſuch a kind; of finer marble than is obſerved in the piazza, and with an air of delicacy throughout the whole, far ſurpaſſing what is obſerved in the piazza itſelf. The pillars which ſupported this laſt pile are all of one ſtone, twenty-two feet long, and eight feet nine inches round. Among theſe ruins is found the only *Latin* inſcription that was ſeen in this place.

Banqueting-houſe.

In the weſt ſide of the above piazza are ſeveral openings, ſuppoſed to have been for gates, which led into the court of the palace. Two of theſe gates look as if they had been the moſt magnificent and glorious in the world, both for the elegance of the work in general, and for the ſtately porphyry pillars, wherewith they were adorned. Each gate had four, not ſtanding in a line with thoſe of the wall, but placed by couples in the front of the gate, facing the palace, two on the one hand, and two on the other. Of theſe porphyry pillars, there are but two intire, and but one ſtanding in its proper place. They are about thirty feet in length, and nine in circumference, and of ſo very hard a conſiſtence (P), that it is a difficult matter to injure them. Theſe, of all the pieces of porphyry here found, are the moſt beautiful. The palace itſelf is ſo completely demoliſhed, that there is no forming a judgment of what it has been, either for majeſty or ornament. It plainly appears to have been thrown down by violence, which,

Porphyry pillars and palace.

(P) This our author ſays, ſuppoſing porphyry to be an artificial compoſition, which is diſputed.

together with the length of time, has quite defaced this once noble pile, there being only broken pieces of its walls left ſtanding here-and-there. But it is very likely, that it fronted the famous piazza before-mentioned, and that it was ſurrounded with rows of pillars of different orders, many of which are ſtill ſtanding, ſome plain, and ſome wrought and chaneled, as thoſe immediately encompaſſing the temple. To theſe pillars alſo there are pedeſtals with inſcriptions.

ON the eaſt ſide of the ſame piazza is, if the expreſſion may be allowed, a wood of marble pillars, ſome perfect, ſome deprived of their beautiful capitals, but ſo ſcattered and confuſed, that there is no reducing them to order, or conjecturing to what uſe they formerly ſerved. In one place are eleven together, forming a ſquare in this diſpoſition, ⁘ paved with broad flat ſtone, but without any manner of roof.

AT a little diſtance from hence, is a ſmall ruined temple, which, by what remains of it, appears to have been a very curious edifice. The entrance into this temple looks to the ſouth, and before it is a piazza of ſix pillars, two on one ſide of the door, and two on the other, and one at each end. The pedeſtals of thoſe in the front have been filled up with inſcriptions in *Greek* and other characters, but ſcarce intelligible.

BUT of all the venerable remains of this deſolate place, none more attract the admiration of the curious, than their coſtly ſepulchres, which are ſquare towers, four or five ſtories high, ſtanding on each ſide of a hollow way, towards the north end of the city. They extend a mile, and may antiently have extended farther. At a diſtance they look like the ſteeples of decayed churches, or the baſtions of a ruined fortification. Many of them, though built of marble, have ſunk under the weight of years, or ſubmitted to the malice of violent hands. They are all of one form, but of different ſize, in proportion to the fortune of the founder. In the ruins of one of them, that was intirely marble, were found pieces of two ſtatues, the one of a man, the other of a woman, in a ſitting, or rather leaning poſture. By theſe it is diſcovered, that their habit was very noble, rather agreeing with the *European*, than the preſent eaſtern faſhions; whence they are conjectured to have been *Romans*. Of all theſe ſepulchres, there are two which ſeem to be more intire than the reſt. They

are

are ſquare towers, five ſtories high, their outſides of common ſtone, but their partitions and floors within, of marble. They are beautified with very lively carvings and paintings, and figures both of men and women, as far as the breaſt and ſhoulders, but miſerably defaced. Under them, or on one ſide, are *Palmyrenian* characters, which are thought to be the names of the perſons there depoſited. To judge of the conſtruction of the reſt of theſe ſepulchres, by what is obſerved in one of them; they had a walk quite acroſs from north to ſouth, exactly in the middle, by which they entered. The vault below was divided in the ſame manner, and the diviſion on each hand ſubdivided by thick walls into ſix, or more or leſs, partitions, each big enough to receive the largeſt corpſe, and deep enough to contain at leaſt ſix or ſeven one upon another. In the loweſt, ſecond, and third ſtories, theſe partitions were the ſame, excepting that the ſecond had a partition, anſwering to the main entrance, for the convenience of a ſtair-caſe. Higher up this method was diſcontinued; becauſe the building, growing narrower towards the top, could no longer admit of it. In the two uppermoſt rooms it is likely that no bodies were depoſited, except that of the founder himſelf, whoſe ſtatue, wrapt up in funeral apparel, and in a lying poſture, is placed in a nich, or rather window, in the front of the monument, ſo as to be viſible both within and without. Here is a *Greek* epitaph [f].

SUCH were once the magnificent abodes, and ſuch the noble ſepulchres, of the *Palmyrenians*. From what we have ſaid of both, we may well conclude, that the world never ſaw a more glorious city; a city not more remarkable for its ſtately buildings, than for the extraordinary perſonages who once flouriſhed in it, among whom the renowned *Zenobia*, and the incomparable *Longinus*, muſt for ever be remembred with admiration and regret.

[f] Philoſophical tranſactions, numb. 217.

SECT. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Laws, Religion, Cuſtoms, Arts, Learning, and Trade of the antient Syrians.

Antiquity. THE antient *Syrians* or *Aramites* (A) ſcarce ſubmitted to any other nation under the ſun, in point of antiquity, being the firſt that inhabited the fertile and well ſituated region of their abode after the general deluge, as we have already obſerved [a]. But the poſterity of *Shem* by *Aram* did not poſſeſs this country wholly to themſelves; their relations of *Canaan*'s line, being ſtreightened for want of room in the places where they ſettled at firſt, encroached upon them by degrees, ſeized on a portion of their lot, and kept it, till they were both involved in the ſame captivity and deſtruction. To uſe many words in proof of this twofold deſcent of the *Syrians*, from the righteous line of *Shem*, and the unrighteous line of *Ham*, is needleſs, ſince we find a very noted portion of the country of *Aram* or *Syria* denominated from *Hamathi*, one of the eleven ſons of *Canaan*, who may have ſettled here in perſon. The ſame we might here ſay of the *Arkite*, the *Sinite*, *Zemarite*, and the *Arvadite*, though not with the like foundation. We can only deliver it as our opinion, that moſt of theſe *Canaanite* families, if not all, fixed their abode in *Syria* (B). But whether the greater part of the country was poſſeſſed by the *Aramites*, or by the *Canaanites*, we forbear inquiring, ſince we have little or no authority to build upon. The antient *Syrians* then were partly deſcended from *Ham*, and partly from *Shem*, both of almoſt the ſame ſtanding in this

[a] See vol. i. p. 369.

(A) This name was not wholly unknown to the *Greeks*. *Strabo* calls them *Aramæi*; for thoſe, ſays he (1), whom we call *Syrians*, call themſelves *Arameans*. Hence the *Arami*, *Arimi*, *Erembi*, and the like names.

(B) The *Arabs* have a tradition there were *Canaanites* very antiently in *Syria*; for they talk of *Dimaſhc* (2) the ſon of *Canaan*, who built the famous city of *Damaſcus* (3).

(1) *Geograph. l.* i. *p.* 42.

(2) *Vide Schultens comment. geograph. in vit. Salad. ad vocem Damaſcus.*

(3) *See vol.* i. *p.* 369.

country,

ountry, and very little behind any nation in antiquity; ut, if we believe a tradition current among the preſent habitants, no country in the world was peopled before eirs (C).

THAT they were antiently governed by heads of fami- *Govern-* es, called kings, and that there were great numbers of *ment.* hem in the country, is certain; and no leſs certain it is, hat they continued under the ſame government, in part, ven to the days of *Saul*; as appears from the kings of *Zobah* [h], and the petty kings in *Meſopotamia*, who were ummoned to attend *Benhadad* in his wars, no fewer than 32. eeing therefore, that this moſt ſimple and natural form of overnment, obtained among their neighbours in *Canaan* n the one hand, and in *Meſopotamia* on the other, and hat even we find veſtiges of the ſame in *Syria* itſelf, down o the days of *Saul*, we cannot doubt, but that they were t firſt divided into many ſmall kingdoms. Not that this was he only form that ſeems to have taken place; for, as *Gibeon* n *Canaan*, in the days of *Joſhua*, ſeems to have been a ommonwealth among the many kingdoms there; ſo *Damaſcus* in *Syria* ſeems to have been one in *David*'s time. What we have to offer in ſupport of this opinion is not indiſputably clear; but *Damaſcus* is ſpoken of as without a chief, and as if the power was wholly in the people in *David*'s time. It is ſaid, that the *Syrians* of *Damaſcus* [i], not their king, ſent an army of upwards of 20,000 to the relief of *Hadadezer* king of *Zobah*; which ſeems to imply, that a kind of republican government prevailed among them. The foundation and nature of the kingdom of *Zobah* we pretend not to ſpeak of; but that of *Damaſcus*, which roſe upon its ruins, as *Zobah* did upon the ſubverſion

[h] See 1 Sam. xiv. 47.

[i] 2 Sam. viii. 5, 6.

(C) For here they particularly pretend that *Adam* was formed (3), and that *Cain* ſlew *Abel* (4); both which places they ſhew to travellers that viſit *Damaſcus*; for they are in the neighbourhood of that city (5). To which *Radzeville* adds, that hollow groans are ſometimes heard under-ground, in teſtimony of the innocent *Abel*, as they told him; that the place is held in great veneration, and indued with a miraculous power of healing ſuch as labour under any violent diſeaſe, if they but lie down naked thereon, reſtoring them immediately to their priſtine health.

(3) *See Thevenot, Maundrell, &c.*

(4) *See vol. I. p. 153, in the notes.*

(5) *Peregrin. Ieroſolym. epiſt.* ii. *p.* 30.

of

of the ſmaller principalities, ſeems to have been of the tyrannical and arbitrary kind. The kingdom of *Damaſcus* was eſtabliſhed by violence; whence we may conclude its government to have anſwered its origin, haughty, uncontroulable, and ambitious to ſubdue its neighbours; and, in truth, it roſe to the univerſal monarchy of all the parts on both ſides of the *Euphrates*, under *Hazael*, as will be ſhewn in its due place.

Their laws. WE have no ſyſtem of their laws, and ſcarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them; but we are not ſo much at a loſs for what concerns their religion.

Their religion. IT is certain they had many idols of very great repute; among the reſt, *Rimmon* (D), whoſe temple ſtood at *Damaſcus*: he ſeems to have been, at leaſt, the principal god of *Damaſcene*; which is all we ſhall venture to ſay concerning him.

THIS antient god, in time, gave way to another; for the *Syrians* deifying their king, *Ben-hadad* II. under the ſtile of *Adad*, or *Ader* [d], he was conſidered as their moſt glorious and auſpicious god (E). This god, and others of

[d] JOSEPH. antiq. l. ix. c. 2.

(D) This name, in the language of the Old Teſtament, ſignifies a *pomegranate*: whence this deity, whether god or goddeſs, is thought to have borne ſome relation to *Venus*. *Selden* (6) is moſt inclined to derive it from רום *rum*, *high*, or *lofty*. We forbear to ſpeak of *Gad*, and refer the reader to this laſt author. The *Syrians* had a deity alſo called *Babia*, a goddeſs, from whom the children and young people were called *Babias* (7), thought, perhaps, to be under her tutelage; and our *Engliſh* word, *babes*, ſays one (8), may thence have been borrowed.

(E) *Adad* is alſo called *Adod*, the *king of the gods* (9), and *Adad* is interpreted *one* (10); and, where we have this interpretation, we are told, he was their greateſt god. *Selden* (11) and *Iſaac Voſſius* (12) are very nice in deducing the true import of this name; which we ſhall paſs over, becauſe it appears to us, that, according to the Scripture orthography, it ought to be ſpelt *Hadad*, as is plain from *Joſephus* (13), who, in ſpeaking of the Scripture kings

(6) *Vide Selden de diis Syr. ſyntag.* ii. c. 10. (7) *Damaſc. vit. Iſidor. apud Phot. c.* 142. (8) *Purchas's pilgrim, b.* i. c. 20. *at the end.* (9) *Sanchon. apud Euſeb. præpar. evangel. l.* i. *p.* 38. (10) *Macrob. Saturnal.* i. c. 18. (11) *Ubi ſupr. ſyntag.* i. c. 6. (12) *De idololatria, l.* i. c. 22. (13) *Antiq. l.* ix. c. 2.

of

ſame ſtamp, flouriſhed as long, we may ſuppoſe, as tient *Syrians* poſſeſſed this their ſeat. But both they eir gods, in great meaſure, underwent the ſame fate, *Syria* was conquered and tranſplanted by *Tiglath-*.

REUPON the religion of the country may be ſaid to hanged face; a new idolatry was introduced, or many ons to the old were brought in, by the new inhabit- who were ſent hither by the *Aſſyrians*. What changes lterations this ſyſtem ſuffered under the *Babylonians* the *Perſians* afterwards, and laſtly, under the *Seleu-* nd *Romans*, we cannot preſume to ſay; but an ac- of it, ſuch as it was in the ſecond century of the chri- era, we ſhall borrow from *Lucian*; who was an eye- ſs of what he ſays, for the moſt part, and the reſt he from the prieſts.

Hierapolis, or the *holy city*, or *Magog*, as the *Sy-* hemſelves are ſaid[e] to have called it, in the province of *eſtica*, ſtood the temple of the great *Syrian* goddeſs (F), upon

[e] PLIN. hiſt. nat. l. v. c. 23.

ia, calls them *Adad*, or and particularly, writ- the great *Ben-hadad*, the l of that name in Scri- , he tells us, he was dei- or honoured with divine ip, as was alſo his ſuc- , *Hazael*. Here we have ſt account of their deify- f *Adad*, or, as the Scri- ſtiles him, *Ben-hadad*; if we except his ſucceſſor *el*, was the greateſt prince ntient *Syrians* can boaſt nd we are of opinion, his great god *Hadad*, or ; is no other than the d *Ben-badad*; and from e, it appears, that there *Syrian* princes of the name *dad*, before they had any ſo called. By *Adad* they it the ſun, and pictured him with rays darting down- wards, to expreſs his benefi- cence, and to ſhew, that the chief influence of the heavens is in the beams of the ſun (14). This high compliment might have ſuited better with *Hazael*, whoſe reign was a continued ſeries of proſperity, than with *Ben-hadad*, who was ſeveral times unfortunate; but, as *Joſephus* tells us they were both deified, and as *Adad*, or *Hadad*, was a name common to all the kings of *Syria*, as ap- pears both by Scripture, and *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus* (15), it may have been the *Hazael* of Scripture, who was ſo highly revered.

(F) Who the *Syrian* goddeſs was, it is impoſſible poſitively to determine; but we find a

] *Macrob. Saturnal. ubi ſupr.*

(15) *Apud Joſeph. antiq. l.* vii. *c.* 6.

ſtory

upon an eminence, in the midſt of the city, ſurrounded by a double incloſure, or two walls, the one old, the other new. At the north ſide it had a court or porch before it, of about five or ſix hundred feet in circumference, where ſtood the *priaps*, 300 fathom, or 300 cubits, high; for we find both theſe meaſures; but both ſeem to us exorbitantly large. Theſe obſcene images, or rather columns, were but ſlender, as we ſhall ſhew hereafter; but by whom, or to whom, they were erected, was the ſubject of much fable. The front of the temple itſelf ſtood eaſt, and before it was a tower, raiſed upon a terrace, about 12 feet high; which was no ſooner mounted than the temple appeared. It was built after the manner of the *Ionian* temples; the porch was adorned with golden doors; nay, the whole temple glittered with gold, and particularly the roof. The air there was nothing inferior to the ſweeteſt of *Arabia*, and it ſo ſtrongly perfumed the garments of all who viſited the temple, that they retained the fragrancy for a conſiderable time[f].

THIS temple was not without its ſanctuary, into which no admiſſion was allowed, even to ſuch of the prieſts as were not in an eſpecial manner allied to the gods there kept, or wholly addicted to their ſervice and worſhip. Within the ſanctuary, which was always open, were the ſtatues of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the *Greeks* were pleaſed to call them, though the inhabitants, as our author aſſures us, had other names for them. But, ſince we have not the true names, we muſt be contented with the *Greek*. The ſtatues of *Jupiter* and *Juno* were of gold. *Juno* ſat upon lions, and *Jupiter* was ſupported by bulls, being, in looks and poſture, like the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*; but the ſtatue of *Juno* was contrived ſo as to participate of *Minerva*, *Venus*, *Luna*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemeſis*, and the *Deſtinies*, according to the different points of view. In one hand ſhe had a ſceptre, in the other a diſtaff; on her head rays and a tower; and ſhe was girt with the *ceſtus*, or girdle, of the celeſtial *Venus*. She was adorned with a great variety of gems, which had from time to time been preſented to her by *Egyptians*, *Ins*

[f] LUCIAN. Syr. dea, c. 28—37.

ſtory in *Juſtin* (16), that a king, from whom *Damaſcus* derived its name, had a queen called *Arathis*, whoſe ſepulchre was religiouſly frequented by the *Syrians*, who eſteemed her as their principal deity: and this queen, according to *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus*, was older than *Abraham*, whom he reckons among the kings of *Damaſcus*; as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve hereafter.

(16) *L.* xxxvi. *c.* 2.

dians,

dians, *Ethiopians*, *Medes*, *Armenians*, and *Babylonians*. But, of all theſe, the moſt remarkable was the *lychnis* ſhe wore at her ſide. This ſtone is ſaid to ſhine moſt by candle-light; and with it ſhe illuminated, ſays our author, the temple by night. In the day-time it had no remarkable luſtre, but only looked like fire. This ſtatue, on whatever ſide of it a perſon ſtood, ſtill looked at him[g]. Between *Jupiter* and *Juno* was another golden ſtatue, but with no characteriſtics, or peculiar enſigns, and only called the *Sign*. It is uncertain who was repreſented by this ſtatue; but, becauſe it had a golden dove on its head, ſome were willing to think it was *Semiramis*. Twice every year it was carried in proceſſion to the ſea-ſide[h]. On the left-hand, going into the temple, was the throne of the *Sun*, but it had no ſtatues; for they held it abſurd to make ſtatues of the *Sun* or *Moon*, who were ſo reſplendently viſible to mortal eyes; but reaſonable, on the other hand, to form the ſtatues of ſuch as were inviſible[i]. Next after this throne was the ſtatue of *Apollo*, not a ſtripling, but with a large beard; for they could not endure the thoughts of addreſſing themſelves to any god that was under age; and moreover, they covered this idol with cloaths, which was done to no other[k]. Next to *Apollo* ſtood *Atlas*, then *Mercury*, then *Lucina*; all which made the ſide furniture of the temple. On the right-hand, in entering the temple, was placed *Semiramis*, pointing to *Juno*; for that empreſs had had the arrogance to place herſelf above all other deities, not excepting even *Juno*; whereupon being ſeverely puniſhed by the gods, who perſecuted her with diſeaſes, and various calamities, to humble her pride, ſhe at laſt ſubmitted to the goddeſs; and, for this reaſon, was figured as pointing to *Juno*, in perpetual acknowlegement of her arrogant error; and to direct people, that the ſaid goddeſs was to be worſhiped, not herſelf. Next to *Semiramis* was *Helen*, then *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, *Paris*, *Hector*, *Achilles*, *Nereus* the ſon of *Aglaia*, *Philomel* and *Progne*, *Tereus* turned into a bird, another ſtatue of *Semiramis*, *Combabus*, *Stratonice*, a beautiful piece, *Alexander* done after the life, and *Sardanapalus*, in a peculiar habit and attitude. Under this temple they ſhewed the cleft where the waters drained off at *Deucalion*'s flood: on this place, ſaid they, did *Deucalion* erect an altar to *Juno*; and this tradition brought on an extraordinary ceremony, which we ſhall mention hereafter. This hole or cleft was but ſmall when our author ſaw it[l].

[g] Idem ibid. c. 32. [h] Id. ibid. c. 33. [i] Id. ib. c. 34.
[k] Ibid. c. 35. [l] Ibid. c. 38 & ſeq.

FINALLY,

FINALLY, within the incloſures of the temple they kept oxen, horſes, lions, bears, eagles; all which were no way noxious to men, but all ſacred and tame.

CLOSE to the temple was a lake, where ſacred fiſhes were preſerved and attended. Some of the largeſt had names, and came when called. One of theſe, our author particularly obſerved, had golden fins. The lake itſelf was deep, two hundred fathom, as the prieſts reported; and, in the midſt of it, ſtood a ſtone altar, which ſeemed to ſwim, as moſt thought it did; for the pillar, or what elſe ſupported it, was not eaſily to be diſcerned. This altar was for ever crowned, and reeking with incenſe, and daily frequented, as we ſhall ſee anon. Without the temple ſtood a large brazen altar, and ſtatues of kings and prieſts, almoſt innumerable.

THE oracle in the temple was quite extraordinary, and may ſerve to evince how deeply the prieſts were verſed in the myſtery of their profeſſion. Here were images that ſeemed to move, ſweat, and deliver oracles, as if alive; and noiſes were often heard in the temple, when it was ſhut up. *Apollo*, as we underſtand our author, was the chief oracle. Other idols delivered their anſwers by their prieſts: this *Syrian Apollo* did all himſelf. He, as we have already obſerved, was the only god that had cloaths; the reaſon of which was, as we apprehend, that a living perſon might the more eaſily be concealed under that covering, and act the part of the pretended deity. When he condeſcended to anſwer thoſe who conſulted him, he firſt began to move himſelf; upon which, he was immediately lifted up by the prieſts; for, if they did not run to his aſſiſtance, he ſoon fell into violent agonies and convulſions. However, the prieſts who came to his aſſiſtance he treated very roughly, till the high-prieſt, coming up to him, propoſed his queſtion. He had the direction of all matters ſacred and civil, being upon all occaſions conſulted; and he always declared the time when it was proper to carry the image we have called the *Sign*, in proceſſion to the ſea. In fine, our author aſſures us, that he ſaw this god walk in the air [a].

THE revenues and treaſure of this temple were in proportion to its ſplendor, to the great majeſty of the goddeſs, and to the mighty power and excellence of her kindred deities that attended her. *Arabia*, *Phœnice*, *Babylonia*, *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and *Syria*, paid to her their liberal contributions. Here were coſtly preſents ſhewn, in garments, and other things, of ineſtimable value, which were

[a] Ibid. c. 35.

carefully kept; ſo that, in this reſpect, it was a very *Loreto*.

As for the prieſts, they were of different ranks or orders, each aſſigned to particular taſks. Some killed the ſacrifices, ſome bore the drink-offerings, ſome carried fire, and ſome waited at the altar; and of theſe, above 300, in white habits, and with caps or bonnets on their heads, attended the ſacrifices. Beſides them, there were other conſecrated orders; as of minſtrels ſkilful in the touch of ſeveral inſtruments, *galli*, or eunuch-prieſts, and frantic women. The office of high-prieſt was annual, he wore purple, and a golden mitre. Other ſorts of holy perſons there were, of the ſeveral nations, who held the *Syrian* goddeſs in veneration, whoſe buſineſs it was to inſtruct their countrymen, who from time to time reſorted hither in pilgrimage, in the rules and cuſtoms of this holy city. They were called maſters, or inſtructors. *Riches of the temple.*

It is remarkable of their eunuch-prieſts, that they were emaſculated by the voluntary operation of their own hands. How this unnatural cuſtom came to prevail, is accounted for by the following ſtory: *Stratonice*, who built this temple, having for ſome time neglected the admonitions of the goddeſs, requiring her to undertake the work, was, in the end, by a grievous diſtemper, with which the goddeſs afflicted her, forced to comply [b]. The king, her huſband, readily agreed to her obeying the goddeſs, but committed the care of her to a beautiful youth, named *Combabus*; who, no way fond of his commiſſion, but dreading the conſequences of being ſo much alone with the beauteous queen, deprived himſelf of the marks of his ſex, and gave them, carefully ſealed up, to the king. Being afterwards tempted by the queen to betray his truſt, he acquainted her with the condition to which he had voluntarily reduced himſelf. However he was, thro' malice or envy, convicted of adultery, and condemned to expiate with his death his infidelity to the prince, and impiety to the goddeſs. As they were leading him to the place of execution, he called for the treaſure he had left with the king; which being produced, his intended puniſhment was converted into the moſt tender embraces in the arms of his prince, who, heaping honours and riches on him, granted him leave to finiſh the temple; where he paſſed the remainder of his life: and there ſtood his ſtatue in braſs, as we have already ſaid, the work of *Hermolaus the Rhodian*. And becauſe it was induſtriouſly reported, that ſome of his deareſt companions reſolved to undergo the *The ſtory of* Combabus.

[b] Ibid. c. 19.

ſame

ſame calamity for his ſake, or that *Juno* inſpired ſeveral with a rage of unmanning themſelves, that he might not be ſingle in his misfortune; many mad zealots, either in honour of *Combabus*, or to pleaſe *Juno*, performed the like operation on themſelves every year in the temple, as we ſhall hereafter relate. Furthermore, theſe *galli*, or devoted eunuchs, took on them the habit and offices of women; becauſe a ſtrange woman had fallen in love with *Combabus*, not knowing the violence he had done to his ſex; which to prevent for the future, he put on the outward appearance of a woman[c]. Such were the *galli*, their inſtitution, and their patron.

WITH reſpect to the ſacrifices, ceremonies, and cuſtoms peculiar to this holy city; they ſacrificed twice a day, to *Jupiter* in ſilence, to *Juno* with great noiſe of minſtrels and ſingers. Every ſpring they celebrated an extraordinary ſacrifice; for, felling ſome great trees, in the court of the temple, they garniſhed them with goats, ſheep, birds, rich veſtments, and fine pieces of wrought gold and ſilver: they then carried the ſacred images round theſe decorated trees, and ſet fire to them, and all was conſumed. At this ſacrifice there was always a great concourſe of people from all parts, every one bringing his ſacred images with him, made in imitation of thoſe in the temple. There was alſo a private ſacrifice made by every one that undertook the pilgrimage to the city of *Hierapolis*. The pilgrim killed a ſheep, cut it up in joints, and feaſted on it, ſpreading the fleece on the ground, and kneeling upon it. In this poſture, he put the feet and head of the victim upon his own head, and beſought the goddeſs to accept his ſacrifice, and vowed her a better. To theſe we may add, the offerings made upon the following occaſion: twice a year a man climbing up to the top of one of the *priaps* we have mentioned, continued there ſeven days. He let down a chain, to draw up what was given him; for many upon theſe occaſions brought their offerings, and declared their names, which one below took care to bawl out to the man ſitting above; who thereupon began a prayer, ſtriking a kind of a bell all the time. Finally, they had ſometimes a way of ſacrificing which was truly ſhocking and barbarous. They firſt crowned the victims with garlands, and then drove them out of the porch or court of the temple, one ſide of which was a ſteep precipice, where they periſhed. Nay, ſome were ſo mad as to tie up their children in ſacks, and then ſhove them down the ſame precipice[d].

[c] Ibid. c. 20—27. [d] Ibid. c. 57.

SOME

SOME of their feſtivals, if ſo they may be called, were obſerved in memory of *Deucalion*'s flood. Twice a year they went to the ſea-ſide, and thence brought water into the temple; in which labour, not only the prieſts were employed, but alſo all *Syria* and *Arabia*, ſays our author. This water they poured out in the temple, and it ran off by the hole or cleft we have already mentioned. This they did by a pretended command of *Deucalion*, as our author, after the *Greek* manner, calls him. What ceremonies they practiſed at the ſea-ſide we are not told; but it ſeems they were very extraordinary. Returning with their veſſels full of water, and ſealed up, they carried them firſt to a ſacred perſon, called *Alectryo*; who, receiving them, examined the ſeals, and taking his due from each votary for his pains, untied the ſtring, took off the ſeal, and returned his burden to each; who carried it into the temple, for the purpoſe before-mentioned. This *Alectryo*, whoever he was, received a conſiderable revenue for holy uſes upon theſe ſolemn days. They had another kind of feſtival, when their gods paid a viſit to the bottom of the lake we formerly mentioned. *Juno*, or the *Syrian* goddeſs herſelf, went down firſt, for the preſervation of her favourite fiſhes; which, had they ſeen *Jupiter*, would have died. Upon theſe occaſions, a remarkable farce was acted between the ſaid goddeſs and god. He offered to go down firſt, but ſhe interpoſed; and, after much ado, prevailed on him to return back. But, of all their holidays, the *great burning*, as we may call it, was the moſt conſiderable. Upon this occaſion, there came people from all parts, to aſſiſt at the great ſacrifice we have already deſcribed, and the other religious duties of the ſeaſon. This feſtival was of ſome days continuance, as we underſtand our author; and at particular times, while it laſted, the whole multitude was drawn into the temple, while the prieſts ſtood without; ſome of them mangling their bodies, ſome ſtriking violently each other, while others beat tabrets, or drums, founded muſical inſtruments, ſang out aloud, and propheſied. And it was in the midſt of all this uproar, the frenſy of caſtrating themſelves ſeized on many in the temple, who, crying out with a loud voice, and drawing their ſwords, performed the operation, and devoted themſelves to the goddeſs. *Feſtivals.*

THE religious cuſtoms, laws, and traditions of this place, were as extraordinary as any thing elſe we have hitherto ſeen. Twice a year a man went up to the top of one of the *priaps*, as we have ſaid, and there remained ſeven days. His manner of getting up was thus: he ſur- *Miſcellaneous matters.*

rounded the *priap* and himſelf with a chain, and aſcended by the help of that, and certain pegs, or pins, which ſtuck out of the ſides of the *priap* for that purpoſe, lifting up the chain after him at every ſtep he mounted. Here we cannot help taking notice of an obſervation of our author; *viz.* that they who had ſeen how they climb up the palm-trees in *Egypt* and *Arabia*, might readily underſtand him: whence we gather theſe *phalli*, or *priaps*, ſo monſtrouſly high, to have been ſo ſlender that a man might graſp them. Whether we reckon the height he gives them at 300 fathom, which is monſtrous, or even at 300 cubits, which is ſomewhat more credible, they were about as high as our monument. How ſo ſlender a body could be reared to ſuch an height, we leave thoſe to examine who are better ſkilled in ſuch matters than ourſelves. When the perſon had reached the top of the *priap*, he let down a chain, wherewith he drew up whatever was neceſſary for his maintenance, or to make himſelf a ſeat, or kind of neſt. It was given out, that, during the ſeven days, he had a more immediate intercourſe with the great goddeſs; and alſo, that this was done in memory of *Deucalion*'s flood, when men ſaved themſelves by climbing up mountains and trees. During theſe ſeven days the perſon never ſlept; and if at any time he happened to doſe, a ſacred ſcorpion, ſaid they, went and awaked him. Our author rather thinks, that the fear of falling kept him from ſleeping [e].

EVERY day many people ſwam to the altar in the midſt of the lake, there to perform their devotions.

THEY ſacrificed oxen, ſheep, and the like; but ſwine they held to be unclean.

BUT the ſacrifice was not performed at the temple. The victim was only preſented at the altar. The reſt was done at home.

FISH, and doves or pigeons, were accounted holy; the former to *Derceto*, the latter to *Semiramis* [f]; in memory of their different transformations.

THEY fed many doves in and about their houſes; and, if a man had touched one of them, he was unclean all the reſt of that day; as holy as they eſteemed them.

AS ſoon as any man had commenced *gallus*, or eunuch-prieſt, by diſmembring himſelf, he ran about the city with the part in his hand; till at length, throwing it into ſome houſe, he thence received a woman's attire, and, from that time forward, his life was intirely agreeable to his new dreſs.

[e] Idem ibid. c. 29—32. [f] See before, p. 285.

THE eunuch-prieſts, however, entertained a paſſion for women, and the women for them; which, far from being thought ſcandalous or portentous, was eſteemed pure and holy.

IT was unlawful for any *gallus*, or eunuch-prieſt, to enter into the temple.

WHOSOEVER took on him the pilgrimage to *Hierapolis*, this holy city, firſt ſhaved his head and eye-brows, then offered up a ſheep, in the manner already mentioned. After which, he was not allowed to bathe but in cold water, or to drink of any thing elſe, or lie upon aught but the cold ground, till he had reached the city.

THE pilgrims, being arrived, were entertained at the public charge, and lodged with people of their reſpective countries, here called inſtructors, or maſters; who were paid by the public, for inſtructing them in the rites and ceremonies of the place.

THE pilgrims were all branded with marks upon the neck and wriſts.

THE young men and boys conſecrated the firſt-fruits of their beards, and heads of hair; which, being ſhaved, or clipped, in the temple, were depoſited in a gold or ſilver box, with the name of the perſon it belonged to, and kept in the temple.

WHEN any of the *galli* died, their funeral was not performed in the ordinary manner. Their companions carried their dead bodies into the ſuburbs, where, ſetting them down, they hurled ſtones over them, and left them lying upon the bier; there they lay the ſpace of ſeven days, and then were conveyed into the temple; but to have done it before had been profane.

HE that had ſeen a dead perſon was not allowed to enter the temple that day: but the next he was abſolved from his uncleanneſs, if he purified himſelf.

ALL the family of any one deceaſed were to keep from the temple 30 days, and ſhave their heads [g].

THUS much we have thought neceſſary to ſay concerning the great *Syrian* goddeſs, and her worſhip; all which is very unhappily diſguiſed in a *Greek* dreſs. We cannot doubt, but that here we have great remains both of the doctrines and practices of the antient *Syrians*, though blended and confounded with many additional ſuperſtitions.

FOR the preſent, we ſhall add no more concerning the religions of *Syria*. We are not ſure that *Plutarch* means

[g] LUCIAN. ubi ſupra.

this *Syrian* goddeſs (for ſhe was not the only idol that ſeems to have borne the title), when he ſays, that ſhe puniſhed thoſe who eat of two certain ſorts of fiſh, with ulcers and boyls all over their bodies, and a diſſolution of the liver [g]. They are ſaid to have expiated this crime, by putting themſelves in a ſack, and rolling themſelves in the dirt [h].

Their temper. WE learn from *Plutarch*, that the *Syrians*, of his time at leaſt, were an effeminate people, prone to tears, and very remarkable for their way of mourning for their deceaſed, hiding themſelves from the light of the ſun, in caves, or other dark places, many days together. This tender and effeminate temper of mind may have always been one of the characteriſtics of the *Syrians*, as it ſtill is.

Their learning, and arts. WE can ſay nothing particular touching the cuſtoms of the antient *Syrians*, or their civil concerns. As to their arts and learning; they were by ſome [i] antiently joined with the *Phœnicians*, as the firſt inventors of letters; but, however true or falſe this may have been, certain it is, that they yielded to no nation that flouriſhed with them, in human knowlege, and ſkill in the fine arts. They were ſo happily ſituated, that they may, almoſt, be ſaid to have been in the centre of the old world; and as, in the ſunſhine of their empire, they were enriched by the ſpoils, tribute, and commerce, of the nations far and near, they certainly aroſe to a great pitch of ſplendor and magnificence, thoſe great encouragers of ingenuity and induſtry. The altar at *Damaſcus*, which ſo raviſhed *Ahaz* king of *Judah* [k], may ſerve as a noble ſpecimen of the ſkill of their artificers.

Their language. THEIR language is one of thoſe dialects we commonly call the oriental tongues, and is pretended to have been the mother of them all; concerning which, and for our thoughts thereon, we muſt refer the readers to what we have already ſaid [l]. It became a diſtinct tongue ſo early as the days of *Jacob*; for what his father-in-law and uncle, *Laban* of *Padan-aram*, or *Meſopotamia*, calls *Jegar-ſahadutha*, is by *Jacob* himſelf called *Galeed* [m]. The *Syriac* was not only the language of *Syria*, but alſo of *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea* (for there is no more difference between the *Chaldee* and *Syriac*, than between the *Engliſh* and *Scotch*), *Aſſyria*, and, after the *Babyloniſh* captivity, of *Paleſtine*.

[g] Περὶ Δεισιδαιμονίας, p. 170. [h] MENAN. apud Porphyr. Περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπόλλ. p. 113. [i] CLEM. ALEXANDR. ſtrom. l. i. p. 307. [k] 2 Kings xvi. 10. [l] See vol. i. p. 347, 348. [m] See Geneſ. xxxi. 47.

THERE

THERE are three dialects of the *Syrian* tongue: 1. The *Aramean*, or *Syriac*, properly ſo called, which is the moſt elegant of all, and uſed in *Meſopotamia*, and by the inhabitants of *Roha*, or *Edeſſa*, of *Harran*, and the outer *Syria*. 2. The dialect of *Paleſtine*, ſpoken by the inhabitants of *Damaſcus*, mount *Libanus*, and the inner *Syria*. 3. The *Chaldee*, or *Nabathæan* dialect, the moſt unpoliſhed of the three, and current in the mountainous parts of *Aſſyria*, and in the villages of *Irâk*, or *Babylonia*[n].

THE *Syriac* character is very antient, and ſuppoſed by ſome to have been in uſe above 300 years before the birth of CHRIST[o]. There are two ſorts of this character; the *Eſtrangelo* (G), which is the more antient and unpoliſhed, and chiefly found in the titles of books, as capitals with us; and that called the *Eſhito*, the ſimple or common character, which is much more expeditious and beautiful. There was a project ſet on foot by *Paul* of *Antioch*, for adding the letters that are wanting in the *Syriac* alphabet, as the *Greeks* had done; the execution of which he recommended to *James* of *Edeſſa*, who declined it, becauſe he feared that the books wrote in the imperfect character, or alphabet, might, by ſuch an innovation, be loſt[p].

The Syriac *alphabet.*

The common character.						*The eſtrangelo.*
Power.	Figure.				Names.	Figure.
	Joined to the foll. and prec.	Joined to the prec. only.	Joined to the foll. only.	Single.		
The ſupport of a vowel.		ܐ		܀	*Olaf.*	ܐ
B.	ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	ܒ	*Beth.*	ܒ
G.	ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	ܓ	*Gomal.*	ܓ
D.		ܕ		ܕ	*Dolath.*	ܕ

[n] ABU'LFARAG, hiſt. dynaſt. p. 11. [o] BERNARD. tab. alph. [p] ASSEMAN, biblioth. orient. tom. i. p. 479.

(G) This name is generally derived from the *Greek* word στρογγύλος, *round*, as if it was a round character, whereas it is rather ſquare; wherefore, if it muſt be derived from that word, we ſhould rather chuſe to take it in *Theophraſtus*'s ſenſe, who uſes στρογγύλα ξύλα (1), for rough unhewn timber, by reaſon of its rude and unpoliſhed form.

(1) *De plantis.*

The common character.						*The eſtrangelo.*
Power.	Figure.				Names.	Figure.
	Joined to the ſull. and prec.	Joined to the prec. only.	Joined to the ſoll. only.	Single.		
H.		ܗ		ܗ	*He.*	ܗ
W.		ܘ		ܘ	*Waw.*	ܘ
Z.		ܙ		ܙ	*Zain.*	ܙ
Hh.	ܚ	ܚ	ܚ	ܚ	*Hheth.*	ܚ
T.	ܛ	ܛ	ܛ	ܛ	*Teth.*	ܛ
Y.	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	ܝ	*Yūd.*	ܝ
C or *Kh.*	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	ܟ	*Coſ.*	ܟ
L.	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	ܠ	*Lomad.*	ܠ
M.	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	ܡ	*Mim.*	ܡ
N.	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	ܢ	*Nún.*	ܢ
S.	ܣ	ܣ	ܣ	ܣ	*Semcath.* ΔΔ	ܣ
ppt. of a vowbut a guttur.	ܥ	ܥ	ܥ	ܥ	*E.*	ܥ
F. or *P.*	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	ܦ	*Pe.*	ܦ
S { grosly pron.		ܨ		ܨ	*Sode.*	ܨ
K.	ܩ	ܩ	ܩ	ܩ	*Koſ.*	ܩ
R.		ܪ		ܪ	*Riſh.*	ܪ
Sh.	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	ܫ	*Shin.*	ܫ
T. or *Th.*		ܬ		ܬ	*Tau.*	ܬ

THE *Syriac* writing, like that of the other eaſtern tongues, was deſtitute of vowels till towards the latter end of the eighth century, when they were introduced, as

is generally ſuppoſed, by *Theophilus* of *Edeſſa*, chief aſtrologer to the khalif *al Mohdi*, who borrowed them from the *Greek* alphabet, and firſt made uſe of them to diſtinguiſh the *Greek* pronunciation of the names and *patronymics*, in his *Syriac* tranſlation of the works of *Homer* [p]. The marks to expreſs theſe vowels are ſtill nearly in the form of five of the *Greek* vowels; for they reject the *epſilon* and the *omicron*; there being no ſhort vowels in their tongue. But *James* of *Edeſſa*, who flouriſhed about a century before *Theophilus*, invented ſeven new characters for all the *Greek* vowels, at the deſire of *Paul* of *Antioch*, to whom he ſent them; and they are ſtill extant [q].

The *Syriac* is ſaid to have much degenerated, till *James* of *Edeſſa* reſtored it to its antient purity. He was the firſt that wrote a grammar in *Syriac* [r]. It is an eaſy and elegant, but not a very copious tongue, and has a great number of *Greek* words, which were incorporated with it, in the times of the *Seleucidæ*. There is a great number of books in the *Syriac*, very little known to the *Europeans*, of which a late writer [s] has given an ample account; but what this tongue is moſt to be valued for, are the excellent tranſlations of the Old and New Teſtament; which equal, if they do not ſurpaſs, thoſe in any other language.

Their trade.

PERHAPS no nation, of equal antiquity, had a more conſiderable trade than the antient *Syrians*. We cannot doubt but that they had ſhips on the *Mediterranean* as ſoon as any of their neighbours; and, by the vicinity of the river *Euphrates*, it is paſt diſpute, that they traded with the eaſtern regions upon that river very early. They had many valuable commodities of their own to carry into other parts. The eaſy and ſafe navigation of the *Euphrates*, when compared with that of the ſea, almoſt inclines us to conſider them as older merchants than the *Phœnicians*, or even the *Edomites*; who muſt have made very early attempts upon the *Arabian* gulf; in compariſon of which, the *Mediterranean* was a main ocean. *Herodotus* [t] reports, that the *Phœnicians* were much older navigators than either the antient *Syrians* or *Egyptians*; ſaying, that they carried on the commerce of *Aſſyria* and *Egypt* by their ſhipping. Here, by the way, is a ſtronger proof than any we have hitherto

[p] ABU'LFARAG. ubi ſupr. p. 147. ECHELLENSIS in not. ad catal. Ebedjeſw. p. 180. ASSEMAN. ubi ſupr. p. 522. [q] Apud BAR. HEBR. (vel ABU'LFARAG.) in libr. ſplendor. Vide ASSEMAN, ubi ſupr. p. 479. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] L. i. c. 1.

given, that *Syria* and *Aſſyria* were confounded together by the antients. For how ſhould the *Phœnicians* have ſailed to the coaſts of the proper *Aſſyria*, an inland country; a country they could not poſſibly have reached, but by doubling the cape of *Good-hope*, and entering the *Perſian* gulf? A voyage which could have anſwered no end, ſeeing they might have ſupplied that country, and have been ſupplied from thence, at an infinitely cheaper rate, by means of their next neighbours, the *Syrians*, who navigated the *Euphrates*; and who, it cannot well be diſputed, were the firſt that brought the *Perſian* and *Indian* commodities into the weſt of *Aſia*. *Syria* was therefore the moſt antient magazine for ſuch commodities, and chiefly ſupplied all the weſtern parts; nor can we think otherwiſe, than that the *Midianitiſh* merchants [u], who bought *Joſeph*, had loaded their camels in *Syria* with the aromatics, and other precious things, they were carrying into *Egypt*. Among which it is not unlikely that they had commodities of other countries beſides thoſe of *Syria*.

Now, becauſe the *Syrians* engroſſed this lucrative commerce, they may in great meaſure have neglected the *Mediterranean* navigation, chiefly intent upon their eaſtern trade, which drew merchants from all the weſtern parts to traffick in their country, as well for their own growth, as for foreign productions; and particularly the *Phœnicians*, their next and moſt induſtrious neighbours. So that *Herodotus* [w] may be in the right, when he talks of the trade they antiently carried on for *Aſſyria* [*Syria*], and *Egypt*. We might draw ſome natural parallels of this caſe, to render it more plain. The *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe*, who have engroſſed all the wealth, as it were, of the *Weſt-Indies*, make little or no uſe of ſhipping, if compared with the two trading nations, *England* and *Holland*, who may be ſaid to drive on the commerce of the whole world in their bottoms. The *Syrians* then, it is likely, neglected ſea-affairs, and therein fell much ſhort of the *Phœnicians*.

THIS was the ſtate of the antient *Syrian* trade and navigation, which we may ſafely ſuppoſe increaſed from time to time, till their king *Hazael*, as will be ſeen in his reign, graſped at the whole trade of both eaſt and ſouth, by ſeizing on the famous emporium *Elath*, on the *Red Sea*. The *Syrians* now had a commodious outlet to the ſouthernmoſt parts of *Arabia*, *Ethiopia*, and the more ſouthern ſhores of *Afric*, not to mention *Egypt*, which could not be very

[u] See before, p. 153. [w] Ubi ſupr.

fond

fond of her new neighbours, and may have been jealous of them, upon very juſt grounds. But this *Syrian* monopoly was of ſhort duration. They had ſcarce ſettled themſelves on the ſhores of the *Arabian* gulf, when they loſt their king *Hazael*, and with him *Elath*; which, however, they recovered again under their laſt king *Rezin*; but their empire was ſoon after extinguiſhed: and therefore, though the *Syrian* colony remained afterwards at *Elath*, we ſhall purſue their commerce no further, it being foreign to our preſent purpoſe; but we ſhall endeavour to confirm what we have here advanced, when we treat of the *Phœnician* affairs. In the mean time, let any one conſider the ſtate of trade in the *Mediterranean*, before the diſcovery or rediſcovery, as ſome[x] will have it, of the cape of *Good-Hope*, and, perhaps, he will be of our opinion. *Diodorus Siculus* numbers the *Syrians* among the mariners employed by *Semiramis* in her *Indian* expedition; but his author, *Cteſias*, is by no means to be relied on.

SECT. III.

Of the chronology of the antient Syrians.

BEFORE we proceed to the little we can ſay upon this obſcure ſubject, we will exhibit a ſeries of the races of the antient kings of *Syria*, according to different writers.

The kings of Zobah, *or* Sophene.

According to Scripture.	According to *Joſephus*.	Contemporary with
Rehob - - -	*Arach* - - -	*Saul.*
Hadadezer or *Hadarezer* (A) -	*Adrazar* - - -	*David.*

[x] Vid. HUET hiſtoir. du com. et de la navigat. des anc. c. 8.

(A) The difference between the *Hebrew* ד *d* and the *Hebrew* ר *r* is ſo little, that it is no wonder we find this king's name ſpelt theſe two ways (1).

(1) *In excerpt. Valeſ.*

The

The kings of *Damaſcus*.

According to Scripture.	According to *Nic. Damaſc.*
* * * * * * *	*Adad* I. - - - - - - -
Rezon - - - - - - -	*Adad* II. - - - - - -
Hezion - - - - - - -	*Adad* III. - - - - - -
Tabrimon - - - - - -	*Adad* IV. - - - - - -
Ben-hadad I. - - - - -	*Adad* V. - - - - - -
Ben-hadad II. - - - - -	*Adad* VI. - - - - - -
Hazael - - - - - - -	*Adad* VII. - - - - - -
Ben-hadad III.	*Adad* VIII. - - - - - -
* * * * * * *	*Adad* IX. - - - - - -
Rezin * * * * *	*Adad* X. - - - - - -

According to *Joſephus.*	Contemporary with
* * * * * * *	*David.*
Adad - - - - - - -	*Solomon.*
* * * * * * *	*Reheboam.*
Adad - - - - - - -	*Abijam.*
* * * * * * *	*Aſa.*
Adad - - - - - - -	*Jehoſhaphat* and *Jeboram.*
Hazael - - - - - - -	*Ahaziah* and *Joaſh.*
Adad - - - - - - -	*Amaziah.*
* * * * * * *	*Uzziah.*
Raſes or *Araſes* - - -	*Jotham* and *Ahaz.*

The kings of *Hamath*.

According to Scripture.	According to *Joſephus.*	Contemporary with
Toi - - - -	*Thanus* - - -	*David.*
Joram or *Hadoram* - - -	*Joram* - - -	* * * *
* * * *	* * * *	* * * *

The kings of *Geſhur*.

According to Scripture.	Contemporary with
Ammihud - - - - -	*Saul.*
Talmai - - - - - -	*David.*
* * * * * * *	* * * * * * *

WE have not minded the ſeniority of theſe kingdoms, by placing them either in an exact collateral, or ſucceſſive order; but have given the ſecond place to *Damaſcus*, becauſe it aroſe upon the ruins of *Zobah*; though *Hamath* and *Geſhur* were kingdoms before it.

WE cannot poſitively affirm, that *Zobah* coaleſced under one king in the days of *Saul*, and, conſequently, that *Rehob* was their firſt king; but only conjecture. Their kings had been vanquiſhed by *Saul*[x], and they thereupon may have come to the reſolution of ſubmitting to one, perceiving the *Iſraelites* to proſper under their new monarchy. The *Philiſtines* ſeem to have done the like[y], at the ſame time, and for the ſame reaſon. If this be granted, none is ſo likely to have been their firſt king, as *Rehob*, the father of the great *Hadadezer*, who, in the days of *David*, was ſo firmly ſeated on the newly-erected throne of *Zobah*, that he aſpired at the univerſal monarchy of *Syria*, and, in effect, was become a very great and mighty prince, as will appear in the hiſtory of his reign; and likewiſe, that if he was not the ſecond, he was certainly the laſt, king of *Zobah*; for we hear no more of that kingdom.

THE kingdom of *Damaſcus* roſe upon the ruins of the kingdom of *Zobah*. It was founded by *Rezon*, probably, in the latter part of *Solomon*'s reign[z], while that prince was taken up with his vanities, and had forgot both himſelf and his people.

JOSEPHUS, as may be obſerved in the table, makes one *Adad*, king of *Damaſcus*, contemporary with *David*; in which he is a ſtrict follower of *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus*, whom, in the next reign, he drops. That writer[a], inſtead of allowing *Rezon* to have made himſelf king of *Damaſcus*, ſeems to inſinuate, that he made *Hadad*, the *Edomite*, king there, or ſomewhere elſe in *Syria*.

NICOLAS of *Damaſcus* ſeems to agree well enough with the Scripture accounts of the *Damaſcene* kings, and particularly, if we ſuppoſe his firſt *Adad* to have been *Hadadezer* of *Zobah*; and that he was, is pretty plain: nor ought we to wonder at that writer's making his native city the metropolis of a kingdom, by one reign only, more antient than it really was. Beſides, he may not be altogether miſtaken, in calling his firſt *Adad* king of *Damaſcus*; for, as may be obſerved hereafter, he certainly was king or chief over that province, though he did not reſide

[x] 1 Sam. xiv. 47. [y] See before, p. 244. [z] See 1 Kings xi. 24. [a] Antiq. l. viii. c. 2.

there. By calling his firſt *Adad* the *Hadadezer* of *Zobah*, we reconcile him with the Scripture.

It is impoſſible to determine the exact number of years each king reigned: wherefore we have only placed them over-againſt the princes of *David*'s line, or the kings of *Judah*.

We have on purpoſe avoided a dry diſcuſſion of this point; for there is no certainty to be expected in what concerns the ſucceſſion of theſe kings, and the length of their reigns.

The kingdom of *Hamath* roſe together with that of *Zobah*, as appears pretty plain by the wars between them. But that *Toi*, or *Thermes*, as *Joſephus* ſtiles him, was ſucceeded by his ſon *Joram*, is only our conjecture.

The kingdom of *Geſhur* ſeems to have riſen together with *Zobah* and *Hamath*. We are not ſure, that *Ammihud* preceded his ſon *Talmai* in the kingdom; but it is very likely he did.

SECT. IV.

The reigns of the kings of the antient Syrians.

The KINGS of ZOBAH.

Rehob. *REHOB* we ſuppoſe to have been the firſt ſole king of *Zobah*, and to have laid the foundations of his ſon's grandeur.

Hadadezer. Hadadezer, or *Haderezer*, the ſon of *Rehob*, was a great and ambitious prince, and remarkable for his unfortunate wars with king *David*. He had warred with advantage againſt the king of *Hamath*; but, when he oppoſed *David*'s progreſs towards the reduction of the land, which had been promiſed to *Abraham*, and his ſeed, quite to the *Euphrates*[a], his good fortune left him. In the firſt battle he fought with *David*, he loſt one thouſand chariots, ſeven thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot. The *Syrians* of *Damaſcus* then ſent their army to reinforce him. But, nevertheleſs, in the ſecond battle, he loſt two-and-twenty thouſand men. The conqueror, taking advantage of ſo ſignal a victory, poſſeſſed himſelf of great part of *Syria*, and, particularly, of *Damaſcus*. *Hadadezer* now loſt his golden ſhields; for ſuch he had in his treaſury, we ſuppoſe; his two cities *Betah* and *Be-*

Year of the flood 1304. Bef. Chriſt 1044.

[a] See Geneſ. xv. 18.

rothai,

rothai, exceedingly rich in braſs, were plundered [b], and his kingdom greatly diminiſhed. But, it is likely, nothing perplexed him more than the defection of *Rezon*, afterwards king of *Damaſcus*; who, leading the forces ſent him from that province, or *Hadadezer*'s own, abandoned him to his adverſe fortune; and, gathering a band of men about him, employed them in the purſuit of his own ambitious views [c].

It is not expreſſed, that *Hadadezer* became tributary to king *David*, nor, indeed, is it likely that he did, at leaſt on this occaſion. For he furniſhed *Hanun*, king of *Ammon*, with twenty thouſand men againſt *David*; but they, with the other auxiliaries of that war, were put to a ſhameful flight by *Joab* [d]. Though he was paid for theſe twenty thouſand men, and was by no means a principal in this war, yet, the next year, he ſeems to have made himſelf ſo [e]. He called in all the petty kings, that owed him homage, on the other ſide the *Euphrates*; and everywhere elſe, as far as his power extended, he levied forces. By which means, he got together a very conſiderable army, which he committed to the conduct of *Shobach*, his general, to aſſiſt *Hanun* againſt *David* a ſecond time; or rather, to make a deſperate effort to retrieve his own loſſes, or to humble *David*. But this great hoſt, too, was routed at a place called *Helam*; about 40,000 of the *Syrians* were ſlain; and, among the reſt, *Shobach* himſelf. The petty princes, that ſerved *Hadadezer* in this fatal warfare, made their peace with *David*, and became his tributaries [f], as did, in all likelihood, *Hadadezer* himſelf; concerning whom, or the kingdom of *Zobah*, we find no further account.

The KINGS *of* DAMASCUS.

The kingdom of *Zobah* being overthrown, that of *Damaſcus* roſe upon the ruins of it. *Rezon* was the firſt king, the ſame who deſerted from *Hadadezer* king of *Zobah*. He ſeized on *Damaſcus*, founded that kingdom, and proved a very troubleſome and inveterate enemy to *Solomon* [g]. Rezon.

Hezion ſucceeded *Rezon*; but whether he was his ſon, Hezion,

[b] 2 Sam. viii. 3—8. [c] 1 Kings xi. 23, 24. [d] See before, p. 146. [e] See before, in the notes, p. 147. [f] 2 Sam. x. 15—19. [g] 1 Kings xi. 23—25.

or

or any otherwiſe related to him, we know not (A). He lived at peace and amity with the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* [h].

TABRIMON (B) the ſon of *Hezion*. Neither he, nor his father, had any miſunderſtanding with the kings of *Judah* and *Iſrael* [i].

Ben-hadad I. Year of the flood 1408. Bef. Chr. 940.

BEN-HADAD the ſon of *Tabrimon*. Embaſſadors came to him with large gifts from *Aſa* king of *Judah*, by whom he was induced to make war upon *Baaſha* king of *Iſrael*; from whom he took *Ijon*, *Dan*, *Abel-beth-maacah*, all *Cinneroth*, and the land of *Naphtali* [k].

Ben-hadad II. Year of the flood 1447. Bef. Chr. 901.

BEN-HADAD, the ſon of *Ben-hadad*. He vigorouſly proſecuted the enmity his father had ſo ſucceſsfully begun againſt *Iſrael*; but therein was twice very remarkably baffled by the interpoſition of heaven. When he firſt marched againſt *Iſrael*, he had no fewer than thirty-two kings in his army; and, with them, an incredible number of horſe, foot, and chariots. With this powerful hoſt he ſat down before *Samaria*, and ſtrait ſummoned *Ahab* the king to acknowlege himſelf his vaſſal, and deliver up to him all his ſilver and gold, and, likewiſe, his wives and children (C). To this inſolent meſſage the puſillanimous prince returned a moſt ſubmiſſive anſwer; *viz.* That he, and all he had, was at his diſpoſal; which, however, did not ſatisfy the haughty and inſulting enemy. For, he immediately acquainted the timorous king, by a ſecond meſſage, That the next day, about the ſame time, he intended to ſend ſome of his officers to ſearch his palace, and the city, and bring away all his wealth, and whatever was pleaſant in his eyes. To this indignity the king of *Iſrael*, animated by the elders, refuſed to conſent;

[h] Ibid. xv. 18. [i] Ibid. [k] Ibid. ver. 20.

(A) It is the joint opinion of Sir *John Marſham* (1), Sir *Iſaac Newton* (2), and archbiſhop *Uſher* (3), that *Rezon* and *Hezion* are different names for the ſame king.

(B) Sir *Iſ. Newton* (4) reckons him to have been ſubject to the *Egyptians*, who, under *Seſac* or *Shiſhak*, conquered *Syria* (5), in this king's reign, according to his hypotheſis; and that his ſon *Ben-hadad* ſhook off the yoke.

(C) This laſt particular is aggravated by ſome (6) into a great piece of inſolence and brutality; as if he ſent to *Ahab* for his moſt beautiful male children to abuſe them.

(1) *Canon chronic. ſecul.* 13. (2) *Chronol. of ant. kingd. amended*, p. 221. (3) *Ad ann. mund.* 3064. (4) *Ubi ſupr.* (5) *See before, in the notes*, p. 55. (6) *Vide Cleric. in Reg.* xx. 3.

which

which gave occaſion to a third meſſage from the haughty *Syrian*, which was, That he wiſhed himſelf in a worſe condition than *Ahab*, if he did not bring ſuch an army before *Samaria*, that, every ſoldier taking but a handful of it (D), there ſhould be no ſigns of it left. *Ahab*, in anſwer to this vain menace, adviſed him to wait the event of things before he reckoned upon them [1].

THE *Syrian* army was now ordered to inveſt the city of *Samaria* in form, and get all ready for the aſſault. In the mean time, *Ben-hadad*, who ſeems to have been a very voluptuous prince, and much given to drink, followed his pleaſures, fearleſs of all danger, for he could apprehend none. As he was in the midſt of his ſecurity and carouſals, he was told, that a party was drawing near from the city, which at firſt cauſed a ſmall alarm in the camp; and diſturbed *Ben-hadad* himſelf. But, upon farther information, he ordered thoſe, who were coming, to be brought before him alive, whatever their deſigns were; and then returned to his pleaſures. The party, which was coming out of the city, was *Ahab* and a choice company of 132 young men with him; who, though it was noon-day, were encouraged by a prophet to fall upon the great hoſt of the *Syrians*, and promiſed certain victory. The *Syrians*, on the other hand, dreaming of nothing leſs than an aſſault, thought they ſhould have nothing to

[1] 1 Kings xx. 1—21.

(D) This proud meſſage is very variouſly interpreted. The words of the text itſelf are, *The gods do ſo unto me, and more alſo, if the duſt of Samaria ſhall ſuffice for handfuls, for all the people that follow me* (7); or, as it is in the margin, are *at my feet*. This, according to *Joſephus* (8), means no more, than that he had ſo numberleſs a multitude with him, that each, taking but an handful of earth, could encompaſs *Samaria* with works that ſhould overtop the wall of the city. Others (9) take it much as we do; that if each man in his army took but a handful of the ruins of *Samaria*, they might carry the whole place away with them. Others (10) again ſuppoſe his meaning to have been, that he would return with ſuch an army, that if each ſoldier took but a handful of his country, nothing of it ſhould be left remaining. Take it which way you will, it was a high vaunt, and paſſionately ſpoken to ſet off the greatneſs of his kingdom.

(7) 1 *Kings* xx. 10. 1 *Reg. ubi ſupr.*
(8) *Antiq. l.* viii. *c.* 8.
(9) *Cleric. in*
(10) *Patrick upon* 1 *Kings* xx. 10.

do,

do, but to conduct them to their king. But when *Ahab* and his followers came up, and fell furiouſly upon them, they fled; and a panic fear ſpreading itſelf all over the camp, there was no one that thought of any thing elſe but ſaving himſelf; *Ben-hadad* mounted his horſe, and rode away with the reſt, inſtead of rallying and confirming his people. The flight was general, and the *Iſraelites* purſued them with great ſlaughter.

THE *Syrians* were covered with ſhame at ſo inglorious a flight, and would gladly have found out ſome excuſe to palliate it. They pretended, that the gods of the *Iſraelites* being the gods of the hills, it was no wonder that ſuch a misfortune had befallen them; and, to comfort their king, aſſured him, that if he could but draw out the *Iſraelites* upon a plain, his gods would prevail in their turn, as they preſided over the plains (E). They moreover laid ſome blame upon the two-and-thirty kings, as not hearty in his cauſe, or ſubmiſſive enough to diſcipline; and deſired that truſty, skilful officers might be ſubſtituted inſtead of them. They then adviſed their king to levy juſt ſuch an army as the former, chariot for chariot, horſe for horſe, and not to doubt of ſucceſs.

BEN-HADAD hearkened to all this, and bore his diſhonour as uneaſily, we may ſuppoſe, as any of his ſubjects. The following year, he marched towards the king of *Iſrael* with ſuch an army, as if he meant to make good his menaces againſt the city of *Samaria*. He pitched in *Aphek*, in a plain, without doubt, to be under the protection of his own gods; and *filled the country*, as it is expreſſed. Seven days he lay here encamped, over-againſt the deſpicable numbers of the *Iſraelites* (F). Upon the

Year of the flood 1448. Bef. Chr. 900.

(E) So early was the notion of topical deities, and of the gods fighting in favour of the men who worſhiped them. However, they muſt have known, that the *Jewiſh* law was delivered on a hill; that the temple of *Jeruſalem* ſtood on a hill. They could not but know, that the enemy's country was very hilly, and that the *Iſraelites* were particularly fond of ſacrificing and worſhiping *in high places*. Knowing all this, it is no wonder, that the *Syrians*, conſidering the theology of the times, ſhould talk after ſo wild a rate.

(F) It may be very well asked, why the *Syrians*, ſeeing the advantage of numbers ſo greatly on their ſide, lay idle ſo long? But it may be anſwered, that the *Iſraelites* were encamped on a hill, and therefore they would not venture to attack them, chuſing to ſtay till they ſhould ſhift their quarters.

ſeventh

ſeventh day they came to a battle, in which the *Syrians* loſt, of foot only, one hundred thouſand. The reſt fled with precipitation to the city of *Aphek*, which was near, where twenty-ſeven thouſand of them were cruſhed to death by the city wall, which fell on them (G).

BEN-HADAD now gave all over for loſt, and was not a little ſurpriſed, perhaps, that his gods had failed him. In deſpair, therefore, he concealed himſelf in the city of *Aphek*; but his officers, reminding him that the kings of *Iſrael* had been generous enemies, adviſed him to throw himſelf upon *Ahab*'s mercy, and offered to prepare the conqueror to receive him kindly, by appearing before him with ſackcloth on their loins, and ropes about their necks. In this humble diſguiſe they accordingly went and accoſted *Ahab*, and intreated him in behalf of their king. *Ahab*, overjoyed at his victory, was in admirable temper to receive them, and, in a kind of tranſport, called *Ben-hadad* his *brother* and declared, he was glad to hear he was living. The artful *Syrians* made the beſt uſe they could of that kind expreſſion for the ſervice of their diſconſolate king. *Ben-hadad* then was brought to *Ahab*, who took him into his chariot; when the *Syrian*, courting the friendſhip of the conqueror, promiſed to deliver up all his father had wreſted from *Iſrael*; and, moreover, to allow *Ahab* the ſame authority in *Damaſcus*, which his own father had enjoyed in *Samaria* (H). By theſe fair ſpeeches

(G) This is ſo extraordinary a caſualty, that it may be well aſked, how it came to paſs? It is ſuppoſed, they ranged themſelves round the walls of the city to make a defence; and that the walls were beaten down upon them by the *Iſraelites*, or ſhaken down by an earthquake (11); in a word, that GOD was immediately concerned in this deſtruction (12). It need not be ſuppoſed, they were all deſtroyed, but partly killed, and partly wounded or diſperſed.

(H) What privilege or authority *Ben-hadad* promiſes to *Ahab* is very doubtful. What privilege or authority *Ben-hadad*'s father enjoyed in *Samaria*, is a queſtion we ſhould be glad to clear up, were it poſſible. *Joſephus* (13) has it, that *Ahab* ſhould have as full liberty in *Damaſcus* as his father had in the city of *Samaria*, which was built but a few years before by *Omri* king of *Iſrael*. It is moſt likely, according to the LXX, and the *Vulgate*, that he promiſes *Ahab*,

(11) *Patrick upon* 1 *Kings* xx. 30.

(12) *Cleric. in* 1 *Reg.* xx. 30.

(13) *Antiq. ubi ſupr.*

ſpeeches he ſo wrought upon the mind of *Ahab*, that he was immediately reſtored to his liberty, and a peace was concluded[m].

How ſtrictly ſoever *Ben-hadad* adhered to his word with *Ahab* in other reſpects, he kept poſſeſſion of *Ramoth-gilead*, which was the ſubject of a freſh war, in which *Ahab* prevailed on *Jehoſhaphat*, king of *Judah*, to join him. The two kings led their forces againſt *Ramoth-gilead*; where they found the *Syrians* prepared to receive them; but *Ahab*, having ſufficient reaſon to fear, that the enemy would mark him out for deſtruction, diſguiſed himſelf before the battle, while the king of *Judah* put on his royal robes. The apprehenſions of *Ahab* were not without foundation; for the king of *Syria* commanded his two-and-thirty captains, who had rule over his chariots, to direct their arms only againſt the king of *Iſrael*. This had like to have proved fatal to *Jehoſhaphat*; for the officers, miſtaking *Jehoſhaphat* for *Ahab*, purſued him cloſe, and would have ſlain him, had they not diſcovered in time, that he was not the perſon they had in commiſ-

[m] 1 Kings xx. 1—34.

the *Iſraelites* ſhould live free in *Damaſcus*, with all the liberties they enjoyed at home; that they ſhould have free ingreſs and egreſs [ἔξοδον], according to the former, or build them ſtreets to live together, by their own country laws, according to the latter; and the ſame, it ſeems, had been enjoyed by the *Syrians* in *Samaria*: this is the apparent ſenſe of our own verſion of this paſſage, and the moſt ſtrictly agreeable with the original. "Some "think, by *ſtreets*, he means "market-places, where commodities were ſold, the toll "of which ſhould belong to "*Ahab*. Others think he "means *courts of judgment*, "where he ſhould maintain a "juriſdiction over *Ben-hadad's* "ſubjects; or, what we now "call a piazza, of which "*Ahab* ſhould receive the rents. "But commonly interpreters "think he means *fortifications*, "whereby he might bridle the "chief city of the kingdom "of *Syria*; that they might "not make irruptions into the "land of *Iſrael*; citadels, as "we now ſpeak, to keep them "in awe, and to be a check to "them, if they attempted any "thing againſt the *Iſraelites*: "yet, after all, *Goſ. Vallan-dus* hath ſaid a great deal "to prove, that the *Hebrew* "word ſignifies *palaces*; which "he being allowed to build, "was a great token of ſubjection (13)."

(13) *Patrick upon* 1 *Kings* xx. 34.

ſion

ſion to deſtroy. But *Ahab*'s precautions could not ſave him; for one of the *Syrians* (I), drawing a bow at a venture, ſmote him betwen the joints of his harneſs: upon which he ordered his charioteer to carry him out of the field of battle, and died in the evening. The battle was bloody and obſtinate, and laſted till night; under the covert of which, each ſide drew off with equal loſs, and doubtful victory [n]. The general, who, on this occaſion, had the chief command of the *Syrian* army, was the celebrated *Naaman*, who was miraculouſly cured, by the prophet *Eliſha*, of the leproſy, with which he was grievouſly afflicted, as is related at length in holy writ [o] (K). As he was

Year of the flood 1451. Bef. Chr. 897.

[n] 1 Kings xxii. 3—35. [o] 2 Kings v. per tot.

(I) The *Syrian* who drew this bow is, by *Joſephus*, called *Aman*. According to the ſame hiſtorian, *Ben-hadad* was in this battle himſelf; to us it ſeems, that he did not command in perſon, but committed the conduct of this war to *Naaman*.

(K) *Eliſha* ordered him to waſh himſelf ſeven times in the *Jordan*. It is to be obſerved, that by the laws of *Moſes* lepers were ſprinkled ſeven times (14). It is ſuppoſed, that there was ſomething peculiarly efficacious in a ſevenfold repetition, as the Almighty went through the great and beneficent work of creation within ſeven days (15); that accordingly, it was injoined in honour of GOD; and, being performed, had its proper effects.

This, ſays biſhop *Patrick* (16), was the only cure of a leproſy we read of, till CHRIST, the great prophet, came into the world. It was, and ſtill is, in thoſe parts, as loathſome a diſeaſe, as it is inveterate. It differs much from the leproſy which is ſeen among us. It defiles the whole ſurface of the body with a foul ſcurf, deforms the joints, particularly at the wriſts and ankles, which ſwell out with a gouty ſcrophulous ſubſtance, very loathſome to look on; the legs of thoſe afflicted with it look like thoſe of old battered horſes: in ſhort, it may paſs for the utmoſt corruption of the human body on this ſide the grave (17).

Naaman intreated the prophet to grant him two muleloads of earth, being reſolved to *ſacrifice to no other god, but unto the* LORD (18).

It is not ſaid in the text, that *Eliſha* granted this his requeſt; but our tranſlators, in their argument to the chapter, where this whole ſtory is found, imagine that he did. From the words which follow, it ap-

(14) *Levit.* xiv. 7. (15) *Cleric. in* 2 *Reg.* v. (16) *Upon* 2 *Kings* v. 14. (17) *Maundrell's journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ. in the append. letter* ii. (18) 2 *Kings* v. 17.

was ſenſible of the miracle, and by what hand it was wrought; he returned with great joy to the prophet, and, renouncing idolatry, acknowleged, *that there was no god in all the earth but in Iſrael* [p] (L).

Soon after *Naaman*'s return to *Damaſcus*, *Ben-hadad* began to execute ſome private deſigns againſt *Jehoram* king of *Iſrael*; whence it may be naturally enough gathered,

[p] Ibid. ver. 15.

pears, that he wanted this earth to raiſe an altar with it; a pious motive, though miſtaken.

He alſo conſulted *Eliſha*, whether or no he might attend his maſter in the temple of *Rimmon*, his office requiring him to ſupport his prince at his devotions; ſo that he could not avoid bowing down, when he bowed. But, with reſpect to this ſcruple, we have not the prophet's deciſion. The leproſy which afflicted *Naaman*, was entailed upon *Gehazi*, and his poſterity (18); which is ſaid, but by a mere tradition, to have given this generous *Syrian* an opportunity of diſplaying a noble inſtance of his generoſity, the good effects of which are ſaid to ſubſiſt to this day, in an hoſpital, by the walls of *Damaſcus*, richly endowed, for the reception of lepers, and ſaid to have been founded by *Naaman* for *Gehazi* (19).

(L) A late writer (20) tells us, that *Naaman* loſt his great office of general, for refuſing to worſhip *Rimmon*; but the argument he builds on, ſeems to be but weak.

The words of the text (21) itſelf are; *Then the king of* Syria *warred againſt* Iſrael, *and took counſel with his ſervants, ſaying, in ſuch and ſuch a place* ſhall be *my camp*; and, by what follows, he injoined them ſtrict ſecrecy. From hence the writer (22) we juſt now mentioned, affirms, that *Naaman* was diſplaced; for which reaſon, the king of *Syria* now commanded his army in perſon, and, being not uſed to ſuch exerciſes, he on all occaſions conſulted his general officers. Did not *Benhadad* command his army twice in perſon before; once at *Samaria*, and once in the fatal day of *Aphek*? why then ſhould he not command it a third time? and why muſt he be ſo ignorant in military affairs? if he committed his army for once to the conduct of another, muſt it be thought he did it always? Finally, what wiſe king was there ever, who did not, on all occaſions, conſult his general officers? It is certainly wrong in an hiſtorian to be poſitive in matters of palpable darkneſs, to be fond of an hypotheſis, that is, to write by the ſpirit.

(18) *Ibid. ver.* 27. (19) *Thevenot's travels into the Levant, part* ii. *book* i. *chap.* 4. (20) *Bedford's Script. chron. p.* 627. (21) 2 *Kings* vi. 8. (22) *Bedford ubi ſupr.*

that

that *Naaman* either died, reſigned, or was diſgraced. But the king was diſappointed in all his aims, and thereupon began to ſuſpect the fidelity of thoſe about him; who, to remove ſo dangerous a ſuſpicion, told him, that none but *Eliſha* could thus diſconcert all his meaſures, he being indued with ſuch a degree of knowlege, that nothing could be concealed from him, tho' done in the greateſt privacy. *Ben-hadad* had heard enough concerning that prophet, to believe what he was told; and, therefore, being reſolved to ſeize him, he detached a ſtrong party to *Dothan*, where he underſtood him then to be. They came to that city in the night, and the next morning were, by the prophet, ſmitten with blindneſs, and led by him into the very heart of the city of *Samaria*, where their eyes were opened, that they might behold their ſituation. Here, inſtead of being made priſoners of war, they were hoſpitably entertained, and generouſly diſmiſſed; and, making their report to *Ben-hadad* of all that had happened, of the prophet's power, and the king's humanity, a ſtop was put to the war [o] (P).

THIS peaceful diſpoſition was but ſhort-lived, and *Ben-hadad* marched againſt *Samaria* [p] once more, and, having beſieged it with his whole force, reduced it to the greateſt ſtreights, and was on the point of taking it by famine; ſo that either the ſiege was long and obſtinate, or elſe the place was poorly ſtored. But in the mean time he was alarmed in the night, by a noiſe like that of a great army ruſhing upon him; whereupon, apprehending, that *Joram* had hired the kings of the *Hittites* (Q) and *Egypt* to come to his relief, he raiſed the ſiege with ſuch precipitation, that his army did not ſo much as take time to mount, but left their horſes and every thing ſtanding in

[o] 2 Kings vi. 12—23. [p] 2 Ibid. 24—29.

(P) According to *Joſephus* (22), upon the report they made to their king, he gave over his private deſigns; and ſtrait reſolved, inſtead thereof, to wage open war with *Jehoram*.

(Q) Who theſe kings of the *Hittites* were, is very uncertain. *Joſephus* (23) calls them the kings of the iſlands. That any remnant of the *Canaaniti/h Hittites* ſhould at this time be formidable in any of theſe parts, is paſt our underſtanding, tho' ſome think they were (24). We are told, the remnant of them was reduced to the moſt abject degree of ſervitude by *Solomon* (25).

(22) *Antiq. l.* ix. *c.* 2. (23) *Ubi ſupr.* (24) *Patrick upon* 1 *Kings* x. 29. *Cleric. in* 2 *Reg.* vii. 6. (25) *See before, p.* 216.

the camp, juſt as it was when they took the alarm; dropping what was in the leaſt cumberſome to them in their flight q.

BEN-HADAD muſt at this time have been well advanced in years; and, whether he had contracted ſome illneſs by the fatigue of his flight, and violence of his ſurprize, or, whether his ſpirits were broken by ſuch frequent misfortunes, he took to his bed. As he lay ſick, it was told him, the prophet *Eliſha* was coming to *Damaſcus* (R); whereupon he ſent *Hazael* with forty camels load of the choiceſt productions (S) of *Damaſcus*, to conſult the prophet concerning his indiſpoſition. *Hazael* accoſted him in the moſt reſpectful manner, on the behalf of *Ben-hadad*. But the anſwer he received was, that *Ben-hadad* might recover, but ſhould ſurely die. The prophet, having thus expreſſed himſelf, fixed his eyes upon *Hazael*, till he put him out of countenance (T); and ſuddenly burſt into tears. *Hazael*, amazed at this, and humbly deſiring to know, what might be the cauſe of it, was told, That he was to ſucceed *Ben-hadad*, and to be a cruel and mercileſs perſecutor of the children of *Iſrael*; that he would ſet their ſtrong holds on fire, ſlay their young men with the ſword, daſh their children, and rip up their women with child. *Hazael* profeſſed not to underſtand what the prophet meant, nor could conceive how ſo inconſiderable a perſon as himſelf could ever have it in his power to commit ſuch outrages (U): whereupon he was aſſured anew by the prophet, that he ſhould be *king over* Aſſyria. He then

q Ib. vii. 6, 7.

(R) By *Joſephus* (26), the prophet was not yet arrived at *Damaſcus*, and *Hazael* was ſent out to meet him. Some (27) ſuppoſe he was juſt coming into the city.

(S) By the largeneſs of this preſent, it is thought *Eliſha* was accompanied by many of the ſons of the prophets, or that even four camels load had been ſufficient (28).

(T) This ſeems to be the moſt natural explication of the text. *Hazael* beheld the prophet with an eye of veneration, and as one infinitely his ſuperior, and therefore was abaſhed when *Eliſha* fixed his eyes ſo ſtedfaſtly upon him.

(U) The text runs; *But what, is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this great thing?* Whereby moſt have underſtood, that he diſclaimed ſuch barbarity as the prophet foretold of him; but the real meaning of this paſſage is, *But*

(26) *Ubi ſupr. in 2 Kng.* viii. 9.

(27) *Patrick upon 2 Kings* viii. 7.

(28) *Cleric.*

then returned to his maſter, and flattered him with hopes of recovery; but the next day ſtifled him with a thick cloth dipped in water [r]. So ended the reign of the great *Ben-hadad*; who, having adorned *Damaſcus* with fine ſtructures, as is ſaid, and added to the glory of *Syria*, was ranked among the gods, and honoured with divine worſhip [s] (X).

HAZAEL, having thus murdered his lord, aſcended his throne, to which, by the wiſe providence of GOD, he had been nominated ſome years before, and the prophet *Elijah* had orders to anoint him [t]. He was a ſcourge in the hand of GOD, to chaſtiſe the kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael*, and under him the *Syrian* monarchy aroſe to its meridian. However, he ſeems to have reigned very peaceably, till he was provoked by *Joram* king of *Iſrael*, and *Ahaziah* king of *Judah*, who leagued to wreſt *Ramath-gilead* out of his hands, in imitation of what their fathers had attempted in the reign of *Ben-hadad*. In this attempt they were attended with ſucceſs, though *Joram* was dangerouſly wounded. But *Hazael* made himſelf ample amends, by invading both the kingdoms of *Judah*

Hazael. Year of the flood 1464. Bef. Chriſt 884.

[r] Ibid. viii. 7—17. [s] JOSEPH. antiq. l. ix. c. 2. [t] 1 Kings xix. 15.

what is thy ſervant, a dog? alluding to his mean condition, which would never allow him to commit what only a great prince had power to do (29). This is confirmed by the prophet's anſwer, that he was to be king of *Syria*; which comes in very naturally.

(X) We are almoſt tempted to think, that *Hazael* may have been the chief promoter of this deification, to cover his own guilt. He ſeems to have been afraid it ſhould be known he was the murderer of his maſter, by his manner of diſpatching him. *Joſephus* calls this *Ben-hadad* by the names of *Adad*, *Adar*, and *Ader*; which difference ariſes from the near ſimilitude of the *Hebrew r* and *d*, as we have already (30) noted. According to Sir *Iſaac Newton* (31), the *Damaſcus* and *Arathes* we formerly mentioned (32), were this *Ben-hadad* and his queen, who were worſhiped in their ſepulcres or temples. But, by this ſuppoſition, it ſhould ſeem, that idolatry was yet in its nonage among the *Syrians*, whereas *Joſephus* (33) talks of ſtately temples erected by *Ben-hadad* in his life-time (34).

(29) *See Patrick upon* 2 *Kings* viii. 13. *Vid. etiam Cleric. in* 2 *Reg.* viii. 13. & *Joſeph. antiq. ubi ſupr.* (30) *See before in the notes, p.* 297. (31) *Short chronol. p.* 32. (32) *See before, in the notes, p.* 284. (33) *Ubi ſupr.* (34) *See Sir Iſaac Newton's chron. of ant. kingd. amend. p.* 222.

and *Israel*, and pursuing them almost to destruction. He began with *Jehu* king of *Israel*, and subdued whatsoever belonged to the kingdom of *Israel*, on the other side *Jordan*, the countries of *Gilead* and *Bashan*, the two tribes, *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half-tribe of *Manasseh* [u]. In the prosecution of this conquest, he, no doubt, punctually fulfilled, by his cruel rage, what the prophet had foretold him, in the remarkable conversation they had together (Y).

WITH the same fury and success he waged war upon *Jehoahaz*, the son of *Jehu*, till he had left him but fifty horse, ten chariots, and ten thousand foot; for the rest had perished in battle against *Hazael*, who, as it is strongly expressed, *made them like the dust by threshing*; and, to conclude, he oppressed *Israel* all his days [x].

HAZAEL having thus chastised *Israel*, turned his arms against the kingdom of *Judah*; for they had both confederated against him; so that he had a fair pretence for attacking both. He crossed the *Jordan*, therefore; and, after several successful attempts upon other places, as we may suppose, made himself master of the strong and royal city of *Gath* [y], which had been the seat of the *Philistine* kings, but was now possessed by the house of *David* [z]. His next thought was to attempt *Jerusalem* itself; but, as he was meditating this great enterprize, he was diverted from it by the rich gifts of the weak and apostate *Jehoash*, who then reigned at *Jerusalem*; and who, dreading the *Syrian* power, sent *Hazael* all the treasure and rich moveables that had been set apart and dedicated by his father for sacred and other uses. *Hazael* was pacified with so noble a present, and desisted from his designs against *Jerusalem* [a] for a while.

BUT it was not long ere he renewed the war against that city, which had not yet been sufficiently punished. For he detached, towards the end of the same year, as we apprehend, a party to reduce *Jerusalem*. This party is expressly remarked to have been very small; but yet it prevailed against the great host of *Jehoash* king of *Judah*, sacked *Jerusalem*, slew all the princes of the people there,

[u] 2 Kings x. 31—33. [x] Ibid. xiii. 3, 7, 22. [y] Ibid. xii. 17. [z] See before, in the notes, p. 249, 253, 254. [a] 2 Kings xii. 17, 18.

(Y) *Josephus* (35) assures us, he did; that he neither spared man, woman, or child, wherever he came, but put all to fire and sword,

(35) *Ubi supra*, c. 8.

and

ſent their ſpoil to *Hazael* at *Damaſcus* (Z). And this expedition did *Hazael* alſo make himſelf maſter of *Gath* on the *Red Sea*, as appears, and as we ſhall endeavour to confirm hereafter, in the hiſtory of *Rezin* the king of *Syria*. *Hazael*, having thus ſubdued, and reigned over the kingdoms of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, died, was deified (A).

He left behind him a ſon and ſucceſſor, called *Ben-hadad* who ſuffered a total reverſe of his father's fortune, after he had reigned long (B). Thrice was he defeated by *Jehoaſh*, Ben-hadad III.

(Z) *Joſephus* (36) makes but one expedition of theſe two. According to him, *Hazael* having taken *Gath*, ſtrait beſieged *Jeruſalem*; whence he was prevailed on to depart, by the preſents bribes mentioned in Scripture. But it is impoſſible, what is ſaid of *Hazael*'s war with *Judah*, as it is related in the ſecond book of *Kings* (37), and in the book of *Chronicles* (38), ſhould have happened otherwiſe than we have repreſented. Nothing is plainer than that thoſe two books relate of two very different wars.

(A) It is no wonder, conſidering the blindneſs of the times, that they deified ſo forein and ſo great a prince as *Hazael*. He, as well as his predeceſſor *Ben-hadad*, adorned *Damaſcus* with temples, and their ſtatues were carried about in proceſſion in the days of *Joſephus* (39), the Syrians boaſting their antiquity. And hence there is room to imagine theſe two to have been the primary deities, and that the temples they are famed for building, were no more than noble ſepulchres for themſelves (40); but we forbear to expatiate on this ſubject; and, having given the hint, ſubmit it to better judges.

(B) It is ſaid (41), *The anger of the* LORD *was kindled againſt Iſrael, and he delivered them into the hand of Hazael king of Syria, and Ben-hadad the ſon of Hazael, all their days.* Whence it might be imagined, that *Ben-hadad* kept *Iſrael* under as long as he lived. But the word *their* is not in the original; and, by what follows (42), it is evident, that the text means no ſuch thing, referring only to the days of *Hazael* himſelf. To ſolve this matter, however, it is likely, that *Ben-hadad* was taken into the government by his father, as his collegue; and that as long as they reigned together, they kept *Iſrael* under. St. *Jerom* (43) writes, that all the ſubſequent kings of *Syria* were called *Ben-hadad*, from this prince, the third of the

(36) *Ibid.* (37) xii. 17, 18. (38) xxiv. 23, 24. (39) *Ubi ſupra*, c. 2. (40) *See Sir Iſaac Newton's chron. of ant. kingd. amend.* p. 282---284. (41) 2 *Kings* xiii. 3. (42) *Ver.* 22. (43) *Amos* i.

name,

Year of the flood 1512. Bef. Chr. 836.

Jehoash, the ſon of *Jehoahaz* king of *Iſrael*, whereby he loſt all whatever his father had wreſted from *Iſrael*; which is all we know of this obſcure and unfortunate reign. However, nothing is more likely, than that this *Ben-hadad* became tributary to *Jeroboam*, the ſon of *Jehoaſh* king of *Iſrael*, who kept *Syria* in ſubjection during his reign, which was very long.

Rezin. Year of the flood 1606. Bef. Chr. 742.

The *Syrians* recovered themſelves again amidſt the diſorders which reigned in the kingdom of *Iſrael* upon *Jeroboam*'s death; but not ſo perfectly, as to be quite a free people; for, we are apt to think, they were under conſiderable acknowlegements to the newly-erected empire of *Aſſyria* (C). But, not to dwell on this uncertainty, *Rezin* was their laſt king. Towards the latter end of his reign, he entered into a league with *Pekah* king of *Iſrael*, againſt *Ahaz* king of *Judah*. They were ſtirred up by heaven to puniſh *Ahaz*, and their deſign was to dethrone him, and make room for a ſtranger to *David*'s line, called *Tabeal* [b]. With this intent they beſieged *Ahaz* in *Jeruſalem*, but were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, without prevailing in the enterprize. *Rezin*, however, that he

[b] Iſa. vii. 1—6.

name, according to Scripture. This we take notice of, as it is apparently a great miſtake. This prince borrowed the name of *Ben-hadad* from the firſt race of the *Damaſcene* kings, to which his father was an alien. The names *Hadad* and *Ben-hadad* were affected, as it ſeems, by all the kings of *Syria*, from *Hadadezer* of *Zobah* downwards. *Ben-hadad* ſignifies only the ſon of *Hadad*. The father of the firſt prince of this name is called *Tabrimon*; but, by his ſon's name, it may to ſome appear, that he was alſo ſtiled *Hadad* (44). *Joſephus* call him *Adad*.

(C) This is a conjecture, which we apprehend to have ſome tolerable foundation. The kingdom of *Damaſcus* had been weakened by its ſubjection to *Iſrael*; and when *Pul* king of *Aſſyria* was ſtirred up againſt *Menahem*, the third that bore the title of king in *Iſrael* after *Jeroboam*, we cannot conceive, but he muſt have marched through *Syria*, and made himſelf maſter of it in the firſt place. It is plain, he was bent upon extending his dominion; and how he could think of reducing *Iſrael* before he had ſecured *Syria*, which lay between him and his projected conqueſt farther weſtward, is what we cannot conceive. It is likely, that *Syria* ſubmitted to him, and now firſt became a province of *Aſſyria*.

(44) *See before*, p. 302.

might

might not be wholly a ſufferer by this diſappointment, marched his army into *Edom*, and made himſelf maſter of *Elath* on the *Red Sea*, which he annexed once more to the dominion of *Syria* (D); and there he planted a colony of his own (E), which ſubſiſted many years after the ſubverſion of the kingdom itſelf of *Syria* [c].

THE next year *Rezin* and *Pekah* proſecuted the war againſt *Ahaz*; and, to diſtract him the more, divided their forces into three bodies, with a deſign to invade him in three different places at once. *Rezin*, for his part, ſucceeded well by this diviſion; for he loaded his army with ſpoils, and led away multitudes of captives, wherewith his avarice being pretty well glutted, he returned to *Damaſcus* [d]. Year of the flood 1607. Bef. Chr. 741.

BUT this acquiſition proved fatal to *Rezin* and his kingdom: for *Ahaz*, grown deſperate, and bent upon revenge,

[c] 2 Kings xvi. 6.

[d] See 2 Chron. xxviii. 5.

(D) Our verſion ſays, he *recovered* Elath *to* Syria; ſo, ſays the *Vulgate*; *in tempore illo reſtituit Raſin rex Syriæ Ailam Syriæ.* Whence we gather, it muſt have been conquered to *Syria* by *Hazael*, when he ſent part of his army againſt *Jeruſalem* (45). *Ben-hadad* II. his predeceſſor, had no war, that we read of, with the king of *Judah*; and, after *Hazael*'s death, *Syria* was unable to make her own cauſe good, and therefore but ill qualified to extend her dominion. *Azariah* king of *Judah* reſtored it to *Judah* (46), and drove out the *Syrians* (47), when they were ſubdued by *Jeroboam* king of *Iſrael*. *Le Clerc*, in his verſion, will have it, that he reſtored this noble emporium to the *Edomites*, taking on him, by a little too much preſumption, to alter the reading of the text from ארם *Laaram*, to ארום *Leedom*. It had been but common juſtice in *Rezin* to have reſtored it to its natural lord; but we cannot enter into *Le Clerc*'s notion, that he did it, becauſe the place was too far out of his reach to keep. He was ſtronger than the king of *Judah*, and might, upon that account, have kept it long enough, had he lived.

(E) Both the LXX and the *Vulgate* agree, that *Rezin* having ſubdued this place, the *Edomites* took poſſeſſion of it. But it is not to be imagined, that *Rezin* could ſo eaſily part with ſo fine an acquiſition. If any heed may be given to *Joſephus* (48), he agrees with our reading and tranſlation, ſaying, that *Rezin* planted a colony of *Syrians* in *Elath*.

(45) *See before*, p. 312, *Patrick upon* 2 *Kings* xvi. 6.

(46) 2 *Kings* xiv. 22.

(47) *See*

(48) *Ubi ſupr. c.* 12.

ſent

f ſent all he had to *Tiglath-pileſar* king of *Aſſyria*, there-
d with to bribe him againſt *Rezin*. Hence it was (F) that
. *Rezin* was invaded by *Tiglath-pileſar*, who ſlew him, and
ır. carried *Damaſcus* (G) away captive to *Kir*, whither they were tranſplanted[e]. Thus was the empire of the antient *Syrians* aboliſhed, according to the prophets; *Behold, Damaſcus is taken away from* being *a city - - - - and the kingdom* ſhall ceaſe *from Damaſcus, and the remnant of Syria*[f]. *- - - I will ſend a fire into the houſe of Hazael, which ſhall devour the palaces of Ben-hadad. I will - - - - cut off - - - - him that holdeth the ſceptre from the houſe of Eden: and the people of Syria ſhall go into captivity unto Kir, ſaith the* LORD[g].

The KINGS of HAMATH.

WE have but a very ſhort and imperfect account of theſe kings, both as to their eſtabliſhment, and their continuance; nay, there is even ſome doubt concerning the ſituation of their city (H). They ſeem to have drawn their

[e] 2 Kings ubi ſupr. ver. 9. [f] Iſai. xvii. 1—3. [g] Amos i. 4, 5.

(F) Not for this reaſon only; there may have been another. We apprehend, that *Rezin*, being a turbulent enterpriſing prince, gave umbrage to *Tiglath-pileſar*, to whom he was certainly tributary, or under ſome other obligation. For *Tiglath-pileſar* had warred in theſe parts before, with great ſucceſs, againſt the *Iſraelitiſh* dominions (49). He may have been prompted to deſtroy *Rezin*, as he looked on him with a jealous eye, as well as to earn *Ahaz*'s bribe, who promiſed beſides to become his tributary.

(G) *Joſephus* (50) makes but one action of this and the foregoing.

(H) This city was called *Hamath*, and ſometimes *Hamath the Great* (51); whence ſome have conceived there were two *Hamaths*, or cities ſo diſtinguiſhed; but, for the ſame reaſon, they ought to think, there were two *Sidons*, which were ſometimes called *Sidon*, and ſometimes *Sidon the Great* (52). *Joſephus* (53) places *Hamath* to the north of the land of *Canaan*; and *Abu'lfeda* (54), who reigned in *Hamath*, and who, being ſo learned a prince as he was, ſhould know, at leaſt as well as any other, places *Hamath* upon the *Orontes*, between *Hems* and *Apamea*, that river ſurrounding it on the eaſt and north. There

(49) *See* 2 *Kings* xv. 29. (50) *Ubi ſupr.* (51) *Amos* vi. 2. (52) *Joſh.* xi. 8. (53) *Antiq. l.* ix. *c.* 11. (54) *Vid. Schult. comment. geogr. in vit. Salad. ad voces Fluvius Orontes & Hamata.*

origin from the *Syrians* of the *Canaanitiſh* blood (I), e ſame time that the *Syrians* of *Zobah*, who, we , were *Aramites*, erected their kingdom. And this did, perhaps, to defend themſelves againſt the am- is views of that new monarchy, and to keep them- in one diſtinct and intire body. But however this for we are intirely in the dark concerning it; thus certain, that *Toi*, their firſt king we read of, was ged in an unequal war with *Hadadezer*, the great of *Zobah*; the ground of which we can appre- to have been nothing elſe but his refuſal to ſubmit e power of that ambitious prince, to whom he was ably on the point of ſubmitting, when *Hadadezer* elf yielded to the ſuperior might of *David*; who, humbling the pride of *Zobah*, was looked upon by s his preſent deliverer, and his future protector. In : therefore to ſecure himſelf on the throne, he ſent his *oram* with a coſtly preſent, in veſſels of gold, ſilver, braſs, therewith to court the favour of the conqueror, ongratulate him on his ſucceſſes, and return him ks for the deliverance he owed him [h]. From all this onclude, that *Toi* thenceforth became the creature of *id*, and tributary to his throne.

Year of the flood 1304. Bef. Chr. 1044.

WHOEVER ſucceeded *Toi*, whether his ſon *Joram*, or *oram*, or any other, it is likely he cultivated a good ligence with the kings at *Jeruſalem*, till *Rezon*, the der of the *Damaſcene* kingdom, aroſe. At this time, likely, the king of *Hamath* ſubmitted to a new maſter,

[h] 2 Sam. viii. 9, 10.

a country of *Hamath*, ſur- d *Zobah*, which lay to eaſtward of the land of *an*, about *Palmyra* or *Tad-* (55); ſo that here may been another city of the e, whence, after all, may been derived the diſtinct- of *Hamath the Great*.

) We have already offered thing from the orientals, in f that ſome of *Canaan*'s endants ſettled in *Syria* (56); to which we will now add from *Abu'lfeda* (57), that this whole country was called *Shâm*, be- cauſe many of the ſons of *Ca- naan Taſhâmu* travelled to- wards the left hand in migrat- ing thither; for *Syria* lies to the left of the *Caaba* at *Mecca*. This is one way of accounting for the name of *Shâm*; there are others, which may be re- marked hereafter.

;) *See* 2 *Chron.* viii. 3, 4. 1 *Kings* ix. 18. (56) *See before, in the* p. 280. (57) *Vid. Schult. ubi ſupr. ad vocem Syria.*

or

or protector. Be that as it will, this kingdom was certainly subject to the kings of *Damascus*, as was the rest of *Syria*, till *Jeroboam* king of *Jerusalem* prevailed against it[l]. Upon the reduction of *Damascus*, when the inhabitants of that city were carried into captivity, it may have lifted up its head a little[k]; but the *Hamathites* were, in their turn, conquered and transplanted, by *Sennacherib* and *Esarhaddon*[l] kings of *Assyria*. Thus ended the antient kingdom of *Hamath*.

The KINGS of Geshur.

THE kings of *Geshur*, if compared with those of *Zobah*, *Damascus*, and *Hamath*, were, it is likely, but petty princes (L). Perhaps they were more considerable for the alliance *David* made with their family, than for the extent of their dominion. We take them to have been one of the royal families which, in antient times, divided the whole country of *Syria* among them. The first of them we meet with is called *Ammihud*, who was the father of *Talmai*[m]; and as *Talmai* is expressly said to have been king of this part, we venture to give him the same title.

Year of the flood 1318. Bef. Chr. 1030.

TALMAI had a daughter named *Maacha*, who was wife to *David*[n], and the mother of *Absalom*, whom he sheltered three years[o], when he fled to him for the murder of his brother *Amnon*. We cannot doubt, but that *Geshur* bore the *Damascene* yoke, till they finally changed it for the *Assyrian*, and were transplanted; as were all the other *Syrians*.

[l] 2 Kings xiv. 28. [k] 2 Kings xviii. 34. xix. 11, 13. [l] Compare Ezra iv. 2. with 2 Kings xvii. 24. [m] 2 Sam. xiii. 37. [n] Ibid. iii. 3. [o] Ibid. xiii. 37, 38. xv. 8.

(L) *Josephus* (59) does not allow them to have been kings, but only a family of note and figure in the country where they dwelt.

(59) *Antiq. l.* vii. *c.* 8.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The history of the Phœnicians.

SECT. I.

The description of Phœnice.

THE tract we commonly call *Phœnicia*, is, more accurately, *Phœnice*; which being sufficiently known to the learned, we shall not multiply words about it, but hasten to what is more material.

Name. WHENCE it borrowed the name of *Phœnice* is not determined. Some [a] derive it from one *Phœnix*: others [b], from the *Greek* word *phœnix*, signifying a palm, or date; as if that tree remarkably abounded here: some [c] again suppose, that *Phœnice* is originally a translation of the *Hebrew* word *Edom*, from the *Edomites*, who fled hither [d] in the days of *David*. By the contraction of *Canaan* (for it was a part of that land) it was also called *China* [e], and anciently *Rhabbothin*, and *Colpitis* [f] (A). The *Jews* commonly called it *Canaan* [g]; though some part of

[a] SYNCELL. p. 152. [b] Chron. Alex. p. 158. [c] Sir ISAAC NEWTON's chron. of ant. kingd. amended. [d] See before, p. 175, 176. [e] See vol. i. p. 317, in the notes. [f] STEPH. BYZAN. ad vocem Φοινίκη. [g] Vid. Matt. xv. 22.

(A) This last name is a translation of the first. רבתים *Rabbotsen* is, in *Hebrew*, a great gulf, or bay. From *rabbotsen*, by changing the *Hebrew tſ* into the *Greek t*, comes *rabboten*; and, with a little variation, *rhabbothin*. Κόλπος, *Colpos*, is *Greek* also for a bay or gulf; whence it appears, that *colpitis*, or *colpites*, is a translation of *rhabbothin*. *Bochart* (1) therefore is of opinion, that these names did not properly belong to the eastern *Phœnice*, or the country properly so called, but to the *Phœnician* colonies in *Africa*, whose principal cities stood upon great and deep gulfs, or bays. However, he is not wholly unwilling to allow, that these names may have distinguished a part of the proper *Phœnice*, near *Libanus*, as he expresses himself, because it had a deep gulf or bay, according to *Mela*. *Tripoli* stands in the deepest bay, at present, on this coast.

(1) *Geogr. sacr. l.* ii. *c.* 13. *col.* 746.

it,

it, at leaſt, they knew by the name of *Syrophœnice* [h] (B). Theſe were the names peculiar to the ſmall country before us; though, of them, *Phœnice* was ſometimes extended to all the maritime countries of *Syria* and *Judea*; and *Canaan* to the *Philiſtines* [i], and even to the *Amalekites* (C). On the contrary, theſe two names, and the reſt, were moſt generally ſwallowed up by thoſe of *Paleſtine* [k] and *Syria* (D).

THE proper *Phœnice*, ſo far as we can gather from the antient geographers, lay between the 34th and 36th degrees of north latitude; and was bounded by *Syria* on the north and the eaſt, by *Judea* on the ſouth, and by the *Mediterranean* on the weſt. There is ſome diſagreement

[h] Vid. Mark vii. 26. [i] Zephan. ii. 5. [k] See before, p. 220, 261.

(B) *Bochart* (2) clears up this matter thus: he ſuppoſes, that the borderers, both upon the *Phœnician* and *Syrian* ſide, were called by the common name of *Syrophœnicians*, as partaking equally of both nations. Some (3) would have it, that the *Phœnicians* of *Aſia* in general were called *Syrophœnicians* to diſtinguiſh them from the *African Phœnicians*. Others (4) take the *Syrophœnicians* and *Cæleſyrians* for the ſame people.

(C) Accordingly *Philo* (5) includes the *Amalekites* under the denomination of *Phœnicians*.

(D) Or rather *Phœnice*, *Paleſtine*, and *Syria*, were promiſcuouſly uſed for each other, and particularly the two former. *Phœnice* and *Paleſtine*, ſays *Stephanus Byzantinus* (6), were the ſame. As for *Syria*, we have already obſerved, that, in its largeſt extent (7), it ſometimes comprehended *Phœnice* and *Cæleſyria*. *Herodotus* plainly confounds theſe three names; we mean, uſes one for the other indifferently. Firſt, he ſays, the *Phœnicians*, coming into *Syria* from the *Red Sea*, ſettled in the maritime parts of *Syria*, and that the *Phœnicians* dwelt in *Syria* (8). In the next place, he ſays, that *Phœnice* was a part of *Paleſtine*; which, according to him, ſtretched along the ſeaſhore, quite to *Peluſium* in *Egypt* (9). Thirdly, he places *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, in *Syria* (10), and *Aſcalon* in the *Paleſtine Syria*; but yet its inhabitants he calls *Phœnicians* (11). In a word, we could wiſh, that the geography, ſince *Herodotus*'s time, had been leſs confuſed than his is in many caſes.

(2) *Geogr. ſacr. p.* 349. (3) *Apud Bochart, ubi ſupr. p.* 350. (4) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (5) *L.* i. *p.* 636. (6) *Ad vocem* Ἰουδαία. (7) *See before, p.* 255. (8) *L.* vii. *c.* 89. (9) *Ibid. & l.* ii. *c.* 104. (10) *Ibid. c.* 157. (11) *l.* i. *c.* 105.

among authors, with respect to the northern limits of this country. For *Ptolemy* makes the river *Eleutherus* the boundary of *Phœnice* to the north; but *Pliny* [a], *Mela* [b], and *Stephanus*, place in it the island of *Aradus*, lying north of that river. *Strabo* only says, that some will have the river *Eleutherus* to be the boundary of *Seleucis*, on the side of *Phœnice* and *Cœlesyria* [c]. On the coast of *Phœnice*, and south of the river *Eleutherus*, stood the following cities: *Simyra*, *Orthosia*, *Tripolis*, *Botrys*, *Byblus*, *Palæbyblos*, *Berytus*, *Sidon*, *Sarepta*, *Tyrus*, *Palætyrus*. *Simyra* is mentioned by *Pliny* [g] and *Mela* [h], as standing at a small distance from the river *Eleutherus*. *Strabo* calls it *Taxymera* [i]; which is supposed to be a mistake. Next to *Simyra* *Pliny* and *Mela* place *Marathos*, which the latter calls a city of some note; but neither *Ptolemy* nor *Strabo* take notice of it. *Orthosia*, or *Orthosias*, is mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* [k].

SIDON we may properly enough call the metropolis of *Phœnice*, since it seems to have been the oldest city of this part, borrowing its name from *Sidon*, the eldest son of *Canaan*, by whom they [l] pretend it to have been built; which is not unlikely: though all are not agreed in the derivation of that name (E). Sidon.

[a] PLIN. l. v. c. 20. [b] MELA, l. ii. c. 7. [c] STRABO, l. xvi. p. 518. [g] PLIN. ib. [h] MELA, l. i. c. 12. [i] STRABO, ib. [k] MACCAB. l. i. c. 15. ver. 37. [l] JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 7.

(E) *Trogus* (12) derives the name from a *Phœnician* word, *Sidon*, signifying a fish. And this *Bochart* (13) gives into; for *Seid*, the name of this city at present, is, as we may render it, a fishing-place. The same *Bochart* (14) seems to doubt whether or no *Canaan*'s son was called *Sidon*; for, by that name, *Moses* (15) meant, according to him, the city itself, denoting thereby the father of the *Sidonians*, or the founder of that city, whatsoever his name was: but why the name of the eldest son should be passed over and the rest specified, is what we are not able to conceive. Others (16) again derive the name of this city from *Sida*, the daughter, as they pretend, of *Belus*.

(12) *Just. l.* xviii. *c.* 3. (13) *Geogr. sacr. p.* 302. (14) *Ibid.* (15) *See before, p.* 188. (16) *Vid. Sand. trav. p.* 210.

THIS city was ſeated on the ſea-ſide, and is ſaid to have had a ſummer and winter harbour [p] (F), or one much more land-locked, or incloſed, than the other; which we take to be a miſtake (G) that may be tolerably accounted for (H). It is now called *Seyde*.

TYRE, antiently *Sor* (I), is commonly called the daughter of *Sidon*, and ſtood alſo upon the ſea, two hundred ſtades, or furlongs, to the ſouthward of *Sidon*. *Tyre* muſt be diſtinguiſhed into three different cities in order of time [q]: as *Tyre* on the continent, or *Palætyrus* [old *Tyre*], *Tyre* on the iſland, and *Tyre* on the peninſula, after the iſland was joined to the main land (K). It had two ha-

[p] ACHILL. TAT. apud Reland. Palæſt. illuſtr. [q] Vid. Palæſt. illuſtr. vol. ii. ad vocem Tyrus.

(F) This we imagine, becauſe we find no mention made of a double harbour by any of the moſt accurate travellers and geographers; whereas, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter, there are ſtill viſible marks of this at *Tyre*. This city had a mole, till *Faccardine*, the emir of the *Druſes*, demoliſhed it, to free himſelf from the viſits of the *Turkiſh* galleys; ſo that now the ſhipping have no other ſhelter, than a ſmall ledge of rocks, about a mile diſtant from the ſhore, on the north ſide of the city (17).

(G) It is obſerved, that *Sidonian* and *Tyrian* were ſynonymouſly uſed (18). Whether or no the ſeeming miſtake, here noted, may not have ariſen from ſome ſuch uſage, we leave the reader to judge.

(H) It is, at this day, pretty well ſtocked with inhabitants, but much ſhrunk from its antient extent, and more from its ſplendor; as appears from the veſtiges of the antient city that are left (19).

(I) From hence this city came to be called *Sarra*, by the *Latins*, and not from *Sor*, a fiſh, as *Servius* upon *Virgil* intimates (20). From hence alſo, ſay they, is derived (21) *Tyre*; it being the *Syrian* way to convert the *TS*, or *S*, into *T*. So that the *Syrians* pronounced it *Tor*, *Tur*, *Tyr*; and hence the *Greeks*, adding their termination, formed Τύρος, in *Latin*, *Tyrus*. Some pretend, that this city gave name to the whole country of *Syria*, and that *Syria*, *Tyria*, and *Aſſyria*, were indifferently uſurped for each other (22); to which we cannot aſſent. This name ſignifies a rock (23); for it ſtood upon what may be called a rock.

(K) There were four different places in *Phœnice*, which bore the name of *Tyre* (24).

(17) *Maundr. journ. from Alep. to Jeruſ. p.* 45. (18) *Vid. Rel. Pal. il. p.* 956. (19) *Maund. ubi ſupr.* (20) *Vid. Bochart. ubi ſupr. p.* 735. (21) *Vid. Cell. geogr. antiq. tom.* ii. *l.* iii. *c.* 12. *p.* 277. (22) *See Sir Iſaac Newton's chronol. of ant. kingd. amend.* (23) *Vid. Bochart. ubi ſupr.* (24) *Vid. Scyl. peripl. in minor. Hudſon, vol.* ii.

vens (L), the one looking towards *Sidon*, the other towards *Egypt* [r]. This city, including *Palætyrus*, was 19,000 paces in circumference (M); but by itſelf was only 22 furlongs, or not quite three of our miles [s]; which is even allowing it conſiderably too much, if our modern accounts may be relied on (N). However, it appears, that this famous emporium was

[r] Strab. l. xvi. p. 757.

[s] Plin. hiſt. nat. l. v. c. 19.

(L) Theſe were formed by the iſthmus, which joined the iſland to the main land; and were called, the one *Open*, and the other *Cloſe*. The former looked towards *Egypt*; was the ſouthernmoſt of the two; and was accordingly called the *Egyptian* port (25). The ſharif *Edryſy* ſays, that one of theſe ports had an arch over the entrance of it, thro' which the ſhipping paſſed, and that it was fortified with a chain, drawn acroſs it (26). Theſe bays, or ports, are ſtill pretty large, and, in part, defended from the ocean, each by a long ridge, reſembling a mole, ſtretching directly out on both ſides, from the head of the iſland; but whether theſe ridges are walls, or rocks, is uncertain (27); it is moſt likely, however, that they are walls.

(M) From hence it ſeems plain, that *Tyre* on the iſland, and old *Tyre* on the main, were conſidered as but one city, after the iſthmus was thrown up between them; and poſſibly they may have had buildings contiguous to each other. If *Pliny*'s numbers are right, the old city muſt have been by much the moſt extenſive part of the whole, and eſpecially as the place appears at this day. According to *Pliny* (28), the iſland was but 700 paces from the continent; according to *Strabo*, (29) it was 30 ſtades, or ſomewhat better than three of our miles, from *Palætyrus*; and, according to the ſame geographer (30), *Tyre* was wholly an iſland, after the ſame manner as *Aradus*, excepting the artificial iſthmus, which formed it into a peninſula. Not to loſe time upon ſo obſcure a ſubject, as whether *Tyre* and the old town were joined by buildings acroſs the iſthmus, we ſhall only repeat what we advanced at firſt, and which we ſhall endeavour to make out in the next note, that old *Tyre* was much larger, that is, ſtood upon more ground than the new, if *Pliny*'s circumference be allowed of.

(N) By them it appears, that *Tyre* itſelf was but a ſmall city in extent, though it covered the whole iſland; and the ſcantineſs of their ground was, doubtleſs, what induced them

(25) *Strab. ubi ſupr. p.* 757. *Suidas. ad voccm Tyrus.*

(26) *Vid. Albert. Sckult. Ind. geogr. in vit.*

(27) *Maund. ubi ſupra.*

(28) *Hiſt. nat. l. v. c.* 19.

(29) *L. xvi. p.* 521.

(30) *Ibid. p.* 520.

was never of very great bigneſs. It could extend its walls no farther than to the borders of the iſland. For this reaſon it muſt have been, that they built their houſes very lofty, and with more ſtories, as we are told, than the houſes had at *Rome*[t]. The buildings of this city in general were ſpacious and magnificent; and, above the reſt, appeared the temples built by *Hiram* to *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Aſtarte*[u]. Its walls were 150 feet high, proportionably broad, and firmly built, of large blocks of ſtone, bound together with white plaſter[x]. It is now called *Sûr* (O).

Aradus. ARADUS (P) was not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, a city of *Phœnice*. It was an iſland-city, like *Tyre*, and ſtood oppoſite to the ſouthern limits of the ſea-coaſt of *Syria*[y]. That the *Phœnicians*,

[t] STRABO, ubi ſup. [u] MENAND. & DIUS apud Joſeph. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. & apud eund. contr. Ap. l. ii. [x] ARRIAN de exped. Alex. magn. l. ii. [y] BOCHART. phaleg. l. iv. c. 36. col. 305.

to raiſe their buildings ſo high as they did; a method they would otherwiſe have avoided, for fear of earthquakes, which had threatened them with deſtruction (31). At preſent, the iſland appears to have been, in its natural ſtate, of a circular form, hardly containing 40 acres of ground; and the foundations of the wall which ſurrounded it, are ſtill to be ſeen at the utmoſt margin of the land (32). If then it be true, that the whole circuit of the old and new *Tyre* was 19,000 paces, or 19 *Roman* miles (33); and that they were diſtant from each other but 33 ſtades, or three of the ſame miles, and three quarters (34); it muſt be evident, that the old city ſtood upon much more ground than the new. A good part of the iſland was made ground (35), as we call it.

(O) It is now a mere *Babel* of broken walls, pillars, vaults, *&c.* there being no ſuch thing as one intire houſe left. Its preſent inhabitants are only a few poor wretches, who harbour themſelves in vaults, and ſubſiſt chiefly by fiſhing (36).

(P) *Bochart* (37) takes this, and that part of the continent oppoſite to it, to be the ſeat of the *Canaanitiſh* tribe, called *Arvadites* (38); and we are very much inclined to ſubſcribe to his judgment upon this head. The iſland of *Aradus* is about 20 ſtades, or two *Roman* miles and an half, from the ſhore, and about ſeven eighths of a *Roman* mile in circumference. The

(31) *Strabo ubi ſupr.* (32) *Maund. ubi ſupr. p.* 50. (33) *Plin. hiſt. nat. l.* v. *c.* 19. (34) *Strab. ubi ſupr. p.* 758. (35) *Menand. & Dius, apud Joſeph. l.* viii. *c.* 2. (36) *Maundr. ubi ſupr. p.* 48, 49. *De Bruyn. voy. au Lev. tom.* ii. *in* 4*to. p.* 341. (37) *Phaleg, l.* iv. *c.* 36. *col.* 305. (38) *See before, p.* 188, 189, *and* 201, *in the notes.*

Phœnicians, however, reckoned this city as a part of their country, is plain from the authors we have quoted above. There are ſome remains of it extant (Q).

TRIPOLI, on the ſea-coaſt of the continent, derived its origin from the joint contribution of the three cities before-mentioned, *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Aradus*. Accordingly it was at firſt three diſtinct cities, a furlong diſtant from each other, inhabited by three different draughts, or colonies, but all within one common incloſure, or wall [y]. It is ſtill a conſiderable place (R), and bears its old name. Tripoli.

BYBLUS is reported to have been the firſt city built in this country [z]; but whether we are here to underſtand the *Byblus* which ſtood on the ſea, or the old *Byblus* [*Palæbyblus*], which was within the land, would be a needleſs inquiry (S). Byblus.

BERYTUS muſt not have been much inferior to *Byblus* in antiquity, ſince it is ſaid to have been ſtanding in the days of *Cronus* [a]. Under the *Roman* emperors, it was no leſs famous for the ſtudy of the law in the eaſt, than *Rome* was in the weſt; whence it was ſtyled, by the emperor *Juſtinian*, *the mother and nurſe of the laws*. The civil law was there taught in *Greek*, as it was at *Rome* in *Latin*. By whom this academy was founded is not certainly known; but that it flouriſhed long before the reign of the emperor *Diocleſian* is manifeſt from a de- Berytus.

[y] DIOD. SIC. l. xvi. c. 41. PLIN. ubi ſupr. &c. [z] See vol. i. p. 309. [a] See vol. i. p. 316.

buildings were, like thoſe of *Tyre*, many ſtories high (39). By the ſame pen we are told, as a very remarkable thing, that the *Arabians*, when beſieged, could, by the help of long tubes, draw up freſh water from the bottom of the ſea (40).

(Q) It ſeems to the eye to be not above two or three furlongs in length; and is wholly filled up with tall buildings, like caſtles. The *Turks* call it *Rw-ad* (41).

(R) And there are ſome remains of the antient city, or cities, ſtill to be ſeen, in the fields near the ſhore; and many heaps of ruins, and pillars of granite (42).

(S) *Byblus* was the city and ſeat of the famous ſuperſtition in memory of *Adonis*. It is pleaſantly ſituated; but at preſent it is but ſmall; though ſmall as it is, its handful of inhabitants have room to ſpare (43).

(39) *Strab. l.* xvi. *p.* 528, 754, &c. (40) *Idem ibid. Vid. etiam Phn. hiſt. nat. l.* ii. *c.* 103. *l.* v. *c.* 31. (41) *Maundr. ubi ſupr. p.* 29. (42) *Idem ibid. p.* 31. (43) *Idem ibid. p.* 38.

cree of that prince [a]. From this academy the two famous civilians *Dorotheus* and *Anatolius* were called by *Juſtinian*, that jointly, with others, they might have a ſhare in compoſing the *digeſts*; and that prince would allow no other academies but thoſe of *Rome*, *Berytus*, and *Conſtantinople*, to explain the laws [b]. It is now called *Barût*, or *Beroot* (T).

Sarepta. SAREPTA, as it is called by St. *Luke* [d], and by *Pliny* [e], or *Zarpath*, as we read in the *Hebrew*, and, in our verſion, *Zarephath* [f], where the prophet *Elijah* dwelt ſome time, and raiſed the widow's ſon [g]: it ſtood between *Sidon* and *Tyre*, but was ſubject to the former city; whence it is called a city of *Sidon* [h]. *Joſephus* writes it *Sarephtha* [i]. The wine of *Sarepta* is commended by ſeveral writers of the later ages [k]. Between *Sarepta* and *Tyre* a river empties itſelf into the ſea, which the modern geographers call *Eleutherus*; but no river between theſe two cities, bearing that name, was known to the antients. *Phœnice* extended, according to *Ptolemy*, even beyond mount *Carmelus*: for that geographer places in *Phœnice* not only *Ecdippa* and *Ptolemais*, but *Sycaminum* and *Dæra*, which ſtand ſouth of that mountain. But, as they belonged, properly ſpeaking, to *Paleſtine*, we ſhall have occaſion to mention them hereafter.

Phœnicia Mediterranea. WE will not take upon us to mark out the bounds of the midland *Phœnice*. *Ptolemy* reckons in it the following towns; *Arca*, *Palæbyblus* [old *Byblus*], *Gabala*, and *Cæſarea Paniæ*. This province was conſiderably extended in the times of Chriſtianity; when, being conſidered as a

[a] Cod. leg. i. l. 10. [b] JUSTIN. præem. digeſt. [d] Luke c. iv. ver. 26. [e] PLIN. l. v. c. 19. [f] 1 Kings c. xvii. ver. 9, 10. [g] Ib. [h] Ib. [i] JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 7. [k] SID. APOLL. car. xvii. FULGENT. mytholog. l. ii. c. 15.

(T) "At preſent it retains nothing of its antient felicity, except the ſituation; and in that particular it is indeed very happy. It is ſeated on the ſea-ſide, in a ſoil fertile and delightful, raiſed only ſo high above the ſalt-water, as to be ſecure from its overflowings, and all other noxious and unwholſome effects of that element. It has the benefit of good freſh ſprings, flowing down to it from the adjacent hills (44)."

(44) *Idem ibid.*

province

province of *Syria*, it included not only *Damaſcus*, but *Palmyra* alſo [c].

THE ſoil of this country is good, and productive of many neceſſaries for food and cloathing. The air is wholſome. The climate is of the beſt. It is plentifully watered by ſmall rivers; which, running down from mount *Libanus*, are ſubject to ſwell to an immoderate degree; either increaſed by the melting of the ſnows on that mountain, or by heavy rains. Upon theſe occaſions they overflow, to the great danger and hindrance of the traveller, and damage of the country. Among theſe rivers is that of *Adonis*; which we ſhall have occaſion to mention anon. *Soil and climate.*

THE ſea on this coaſt formerly abounded with ſuch fiſh as, in an extraordinary manner, redounded to the honour and profit of *Tyre* in particular. Therewith they dyed the choiceſt purple. And on the ſhore there was a ſand wherewith the firſt and beſt glaſs was made (U); a ſtaple manufacture of this antient country. To theſe we ſhall add a remarkable property of the river *Adonis*. At certain ſeaſons, and upon certain occaſions, it appears bloody. Hence was continued, at leaſt, the ſuperſtitious ceremony performed in memory of *Thammuz*, or *Adonis*, yearly wounded. The cauſe of this red face of the river was antiently known; and, by thoſe who were not ſo ſuperſtitious as the reſt of their contemporaries and countrymen, aſcribed to a kind of *minium*, or red earth, which this river brought away when it ſwelled to an unuſual height [d]. It is ſtill ſubject to the ſame appearance in the time of floods (W). *Natural curioſities.*

THERE are yet ſome few remains of the antient ſplendor of this now deſolate land. *Thevenot* [e] tells us, there are fine antiquities to be beheld at *Tyre*, but does not ſpecify them. *Sandys* [f] could diſcover nothing there but an

[c] Vide RELAND. Palæſt. illuſt. p. 217. [d] Vide Luc. de dea Syr. [e] Travels into the Lev. part 1. book ii. c. 60. [f] L. iii. p. 168.

(U) There antiently went a ſtory, that this ſand could be melted no-where but at *Sidon* (45).

(W) ... "We ſaw ..... "the water [of the river *Adonis*] ... ſtained to a ſurpriſing redneſs; and ... obſerved ... it had diſcoloured "the ſea a great way into a "reddiſh hue (46)."

(45) *Strabo ubi ſupr. p.* 758.

(46) *Maund. ubi ſupr. p.* 34.

heap of ruins. The moſt modern travellers [g] are more particular. They take notice of the ruins of the metropolitan church there, near which is an extraordinary kind of a column, of unuſual dimenſions, which one [h] repreſents as a triple, another [i], as a double column only, or two joined together. This laſt [k] informs us, that it is of granite, of one block only, and fourſcore feet long. Beſides this, there are many columns intire, and many broken [l]. But nothing in and about this ruined city demands our attention more deſervedly, than a place the *Turks* call *Reſelayne*; where are ſeen *Solomon*'s ciſterns, or wells, as they are vulgarly called. The current tradition is, that they are filled from a ſubterraneous river, which that wiſe king, by his great ſagacity, diſcovered to run underground here; and which made him undertake ſo admirable a work. The country-people ſay, that nobody could ever reach the bottom of theſe wells, though the thing has been attempted with great lengths of line; and one of our travellers pretends to give a reaſon for the fruitleſſneſs of theſe attempts, by ſuppoſing the current, or ſpring, to be ſo very ſtrong, at a certain depth, as to prevent the lead from ſinking to the bottom [m]. But this is confuted by another traveller [n]; who ſuppoſes theſe wells cannot have been built before the days of *Alexander*; becauſe the aqueduct, which conveys the water from them to *Tyre*, is carried over the iſthmus, formed by that conqueror, when he made himſelf maſter of *Tyre*: and, as theſe ciſterns cannot be ſuppoſed to be antienter than the aqueduct, ſo we may be ſure, ſays he, that the aqueduct is not older than the ground it ſtands upon. Of theſe ciſterns there are three intire at this day; one about a furlong and an half diſtant from the ſea, the other two a little farther. The firſt is an octagon in form, 20 yards in diameter. On the ſouth ſide it is elevated nine yards above the ground, and on the north but ſix; and, as unfathomable as it is reputed to be, ten yards of line confuted that opinion. Its wall is only of gravel and pebbles, but ſo firmly conſolidated with a ſtrong cement, that it ſeems to be an intire piece of rock. Upon the brink there is a walk round it, eight feet in breadth;

[g] De Bruyn voy. au Lev. tom. ii. 4to. p. 338, 339, &c. De la Roque voy. de Syr. & M. Lib. tom. i. p. 17, 18, &c. Maundrell's journ. from Aleppo to Jeruſ. p. 48, 49, &c. [h] De Bruyn ubi ſupr. [i] De la Roque ubi ſupr. [k] Ibid. [l] De Bruyn ubi ſupr. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Maundrell ubi ſupr.

from

from whence, descending by one step on the south side, and by two on the north, you land on another walk, 21 feet broad. All this structure, though so very broad at top, is hollow, so that the water comes in underneath the walks; nor could the extremity of the cavity be reached with a long rod. The whole vessel contains a vast body of excellent water; and is so plentifully supplied, that, though there issues from it a brook which drives four mills, it is always brim-full. On the east side of this cistern was the antient outlet of the water, by an aqueduct, raised about six yards from the ground, and containing a chanel one yard wide. This aqueduct (now dry) is carried eastward about 120 paces, and then approaches the two other cisterns, which are of a quadrilateral figure, the one 12, the other 20 yards square. These have each of them a chanel, which communicates with the aqueduct; and the water of these two excellent springs, being thus joined, flowed together to *Tyre*. The aqueduct is now decayed, but may easily be traced out. It stretches northward about an hour's journey, and then, turning to the west, extends over the isthmus into the city.

Some footsteps of what *Sidon* once was, are to be seen among the gardens without the walls of the present city[o]; such as beautiful columns, and other fragments of that kind. Here they pretend to shew a monument of great antiquity, no less than the tomb of *Zebulun*, standing within a small chapel in a garden [p], and highly revered by the *Jews* [q]. This tomb is made of two stones only; the one supposed to be at the head, and the other at the feet, of the deceased. Their distance is better than 10 of our feet; which they give out to have been the stature of this patriarch [r].

At *Byblus* also are many heaps of ruins, and fine pillars, scattered up and down in the gardens near the present town [s]. Finally, on the continent, a little southward of the isle of *Aradus*, whereon the city of that name antiently stood, are several antiquities of a very extraordinary kind. The first is a dike, 30 yards over at top, cut into the firm rock. Its sides go sloping down, with stairs cut out of the rock, and descending gradually from top to bottom. This dike stretches in a direct line, east and west, more than a furlong, bearing continually the same

[o] Idem ibid. p. 44. Sandys trav. l. iii. p. 164. [p] Idem ibid. Theven. voy. au Lev. part ii. l. i. c. 3. [q] Sandys ubi supr. [r] Theven. ubi supr. [s] Maund. ubi supr. p. 33.

figure

figure of ſtairs, running in right lines all along its ſides. It breaks off at laſt at a flat marſhy ground, extending about two furlongs between it and the ſea. Our obſerver thinks it hard to imagine, that the water ever flowed up thus high; and harder, without ſuppoſing that, to deviſe why all this pains was taken in cutting the rock after ſuch a faſhion. Secondly, A little to the ſouthward of this dike, there is a court of 55 yards ſquare, cut alſo into the natural rock; the ſides of the rock ſtanding round it are about three yards high, and ſupply the place of walls. On three ſides it is thus incompaſſed; but to the northward it lies open. In the centre of this area a ſquare part of the rock is left ſtanding, being three yards high, and five and an half ſquare. This ſerves for a pedeſtal to a throne erected upon it. The throne is compoſed of four large ſtones; two at the ſides, one at the back, and one at the top, in the manner of a tribunal, or canopy. This whole ſtructure is about twenty feet high, and faces towards the open ſide of the court. The ſtone that forms the canopy is five yards and three quarters ſquare, and adorned with an handſome cornice. At the two innermoſt angles of the court, and likewiſe at the open ſide, are left pillars of the natural rock, three at each of the former, and two at the latter.

About half a mile to the ſouthward of this court, and this throne, are two towers, ſuppoſed to be ſepulcral monuments; for they ſtand over an antient burying-place. They are about 10 yards diſtant from each other. The one is, in form, a cylinder, crowned by a multilateral pyramid, and 33 feet high, including the pedeſtal, which is 10 feet high, and 15 ſquare. The other is a long cone, diſcontinued at about the third part of its height; and, inſtead of ending in a point, is wrought into an hemiſpherical form. It ſtands upon a pedeſtal, ſix feet high, and 10 feet ſix inches ſquare, adorned at each angle with the figure of a lion in a ſitting poſture, pretty much defaced; though the ſculpture appears to have been but bad. This is all that is viſible of theſe ſepulcres, as well as of a third, and others near, above-ground. But under-ground there are ſquare chambers, of convenient height for a man, and long cells branching out from them, variouſly diſpoſed, and of different lengths, wherein the dead bodies were depoſited. Theſe ſubterraneous chambers and cells are all cut out of the hard rock[a]: but, as a bare deſcription

[a] Maundr. journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem.

would give but an imperfect idea of them, on account of the variety and irregularity of their diſpoſition, we refer the reader to the draught before him.

SECT. II.

Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, arts, learning, and trade of the antient Phœnicians.

IT is univerſally allowed, that the *Phœnicians* were *Canaanites* (A) by deſcent; nothing is plainer, or leſs conteſted; and therefore it were time loſt to prove it. We ſhall only add, that their blood muſt have been mixed with that of foreigners, in proceſs of time, as happens in all trading places; and that many ſtrange families muſt have ſettled among them, who could conſequently lay no claim to this remote origin, how much ſoever they may have been called *Phœnicians*, and reckoned of the ſame deſcent with the antient proprietors. *Antiquity.*

THE *Phœnicians* were governed by kings, and their territory, as ſmall a ſlip as it was, included ſeveral kingdoms, as thoſe of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, *Aradus*, *Berytus*, and *Byblus*. In this they imitated and adhered to the primitive government of their forefathers, who, like the other *Canaanites*, were under many petty princes, to whom they allowed the ſovereign dignity, reſerving to themſelves the natural rights and liberties of mankind [a]. It may appear plain by their hiſtory, that even the kings of *Sidon* and *Tyre*, when in their zenith, were far from being uncontroulable. *Government.*

WE have no particular ſyſtem of their civil laws, and ſhall therefore paſs to their religion.

[a] See before, p. 193.

(A) *Bochart* (1) inſinuates, that the *Canaanites* were aſhamed of their name, on account of the curſe denounced on their progenitor, and terrified by the wars ſo vigorouſly and ſucceſsfully waged on them by the *Iſraelites*, purely becauſe they were *Canaanites*; and that therefore, to avoid the ignominy of the one, and the danger of the other, they abjured their old name, and changed it for *Phœnicians*, *Syrians*, *Syrophœnicians*, and *Aſſyrians*. *Heidegger* (2) conjectures alſo, that they were aſhamed of their anceſtor *Canaan*.

(1) *Phaleg*, *l.* iv. *c.* 34. *col.* 301. §. 2. *p.* 491.

(2) *Hiſt. patriarch. exerc.* 23.

THE

Religion. THE *Phœnicians*, being originally *Canaanites*, muſt once, as well as the reſt of their kindred, have had a knowlege of the true GOD, whom they, as is moſt likely, called, *Baal* or lord [b]. But by degrees degenerating to the deification and worſhip of ſuch as were once mortals like themſelves, they became perverſe and blind idolaters. The chief of their deities, in order, as we find them in their own records, are theſe: *Beelſamen*, which, in *Phœnician*, is *lord of heaven*, thereby meaning the ſun [c]; *Cronus* or *Baal* [d], who is likely to have been the *Baal-berith*, or the *Cronus* antiently worſhiped at *Berytus* [e]; *Aſtarte* [f]; *Cronus* or *Baal* the ſecond; *Zeus Belus* or *Baal* (B); *Apollo*; *Melicarthus*, *Melcartus*, or *Hercules* [g]. Theſe are the gods we ſhall chiefly take notice of here; the reſt we have ſpoken of at length in the antiquities and mythology of this people. We will only add one obſervation; which is, That it is almoſt certain the *Phœnician* idolatry and ſuperſtition is not all their own; and that their ſubjection to the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Perſians*, and *Greeks*, made great alterations in the whole ſyſtem of their religion. We need only look back to what happened in *Syria* [i], upon its being ſubdued, to be fully convinced of this.

How far they retained, or loſt, a due ſenſe and notion of the true GOD in this their multifarious idolatry, is hard to determine. It is reported of the *Egyptians*, that, amidſt their endleſs polytheiſm, they ſtill acknowleged one ſupreme GOD [k]: and ſince, as we ſhall ſee, the religion of the old *Phœnicians* was in ſubſtance hardly different from that of the *Egyptians* (C), as has been formerly obſerved [l]; it

[b] Vid. SELD. de di. Syr. ſyntag. ii. c. 7. [c] See vol. i. p. 183. [d] Ibid. 306, (H). [e] Ibid. [f] Ibid. p. 310, 313, 314. [g] Ibid. vol. i. p. 312. [h] Ibid. p. 182——189, 303——317. [i] See before, p. 282, 283. [k] See vol. i. p. 480. [l] Ibid. p. 187, (H).

(B) Here we have no leſs than three *Baals*, who are ſaid to have been once mortal men; which might fairly induce one to think, that the learned are miſtaken in ſuppoſing the *Phœnician* god *Baal*, in general, to repreſent the ſun (3).

(C) Biſhop *Cumberland* (4) draws the following parallel between them, to ſhew how nearly they were related.

(3) *Vide Seld. de di. Syr. ſyntag.* ii. *c.* 7. & *Bochart. geogr. ſacr.* (4) *in Sanch. p.* 107.

it is very probable, that their theory and doctrine agreed together, as well as their practice and traditions.

How they repreſented *Baelſamen* we no-where find; we are of opinion, that they did not repreſent him at all: for, meaning by him, in a more eſpecial manner, the ſun, whom they had ſo daily before their eyes in all his glory, it is likely they made their addreſſes immediately to him, according to the antient rite [l]. There were many *Baals* [m]. The *Baal* of *Sidon* was called *Thalaſſius*, or the *Sea Baal* [n]. There was *Baal-berith* (D), and others, each repreſented, as

[l] Ibid. p. 183. [m] 1 Cor. viii. 5. [n] Hesych.

" 1. *Plutarch* (5) makes *Oſiris* " the ſon of *Rhea*, a wife of " *Cronus*: ſo our author [*Sanchoniatho*] owns *Rhea* mar- " ried to *Cronus*. 2. *Plutarch* " makes *Iſis* to find, at *Byblus*, " a king called *Melcander*, and " that name is plainly derived " from the *Hebrew Melec* or " *Moloch*; which title, *the bi-* " *ſhop thinks*, was appropriated " eminently to *Cronus* or *Ham* " in old times. 3. The queen " whom *Iſis* found at *Byblus*, " *Plutarch* tells us is by ſome " called *Aſtarte* [or *Aſparte*, " as it is in the *Greek*]; which " is the name of one of *Cro-* " *nus*'s wives in *Sanchoniatho*. " 4. *Plutarch* makes *Typhon* a " contemporary with *Cronus* " and his children; ſo doth " *Sanchoniatho*." When the whole is weighed on each ſide, it muſt be allowed, that the antient mythology of both was derived from the ſame ſource; but whether the *Phœnician* gods were as antient as they ſuppoſed them, and as they are commonly thought to be, is what we ſhall examine hereafter.

(D) This is a farther proof with us, that all the *Baals* of the *Phœnicians* were not intended for the ſun: we here ſee one denominated from the ſea; a lord of the ſea, as well as a lord of heaven; which ſeems to diſtinguiſh them into two very different deities. We cannot help thinking, that they had different genealogies for, and traditions of all their *Baals*. This appears from what we have obſerved in the note above the laſt. We ſee they were procreated ſucceſſively from father to ſon; and it is hard to ſuppoſe, that they had the ſame ſtories of, and the ſame dependence on them all: however, we will not anſwer for all the inconſiſtencies that may have crept into the minds of the idolatrous *Phœnicians*, nor examine into the pretences that the partiſans of each idol may have broached in favour of its antiquity or pre-eminence. After all, they may have each laid claim to the firſt honour, and, conſequently, they may have each tranſlated their *Baal* into the ſun, or bright god of hea-

(5) *See before*, p. 27.

ven;

as we may ſuppoſe, under their proper attributes; but we know nothing particular (E) of their idols. *Baal* is called ſometimes a god, and ſometimes a goddeſs; and, on the otherhand, *Aſtarte* is ſometimes termed a goddeſs, and ſometimes a god (F): but, by the *Phœnician* mythology, ſhe was indiſputably a goddeſs; for there we find her mentioned as the mother of many children [o]. She is particularly called the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, and, in *Hebrew*, *Aſhtaroth* (G). Some [p] will have it, ſhe was ſo called, becauſe

[o] See vol. i. p. 310. Syr. ſyntag. ii. c. 2.

[p] R. Kimch. apud Seld. de di.

ven; ſo that all their ſuperſtition may, indeed, have centred in him. We are very much inclined to think the ſun and moon were the two great objects of their worſhip; and theſe we take moſt generally to have been ſtiled *Baal* and *Aſtarte*.

(E) *Fuller* (6) ventures to picture *Baal* in general as a royal hero, with armour and a mantle on his body, a diadem on his head, and a ſword in his hand, in act to ſtrike.

(F) This aroſe from the *Hebrews* knowing no diſtinction of ſex in the gods. There are many inſtances to prove this; but we ſhall only produce one, where in one verſe only, with reference to *Baal*, he is both maſculine and feminine. Καὶ κα[λ]αλείφω ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἐπ[ὰ χι]λιάδ[ας] ἀνδρῶν, πάντα γόνατα ἃ οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βαὰλ, καὶ πᾶν στόμα ὃ οὐ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ (7). In other copies however it is τῷ Βαάλ· but the ſame in other places make the name feminine. *Bochart* (8) will have *Baal-berith* to have been a goddeſs, becauſe *berith* in *Hebrew* is feminine; but, as it is moſt likely, that thereby is meant no more than the *Baal* of *Berytus* (9), we look upon this conjecture as groundleſs. *Aſtarte* was called a god by the *Hebrews*, they having no name in their tongue for a goddeſs (10).

(G) *Aſhtaroth*, which ſignifies flocks of ſheep or goats. It is conjectured, that men in antient times, being chiefly addicted to a paſtoral life, and delighting chiefly therein, drew their moſt favourite ſimilies of beauty from thence. This is ſuppoſed to have been the reaſon why *Aſhtaroth*, or *Aſtarte*, was ſo called (11). It was firſt ſtarted by biſhop *Cumberland* (12), that her firſt name was *Naamah*. His lordſhip tells us, that he could not think of *Plutarch*'s *Nemanus*, *Cronus*'s wife, but *Naamah* came into

(6) *Piſgah-ſight.* c. 17. col. 775. (7) *Reg.* xix. 18. (8) *Canaan*, l. ii. *Vide Boch. ubi ſupr.* (9) *Vide Cumberland on Sanchon. p.* 151. (10) (11) *Vide Bedford's ſcript. chron. p.* 234. (12) *Ubi ſupr.*

his

ſhe was repreſented in the form of a ſheep. But this
ected as a groundleſs notion. She was certainly re-
ited as *Iſis* was [q], with cows horns on her head [r] (H), and

[q] See vol. i. p. 470. [r] Ibid. p. 314.

ind. A late author has up this, and puſhed it as it can poſſibly go. He that *Naamah* ſignifies the *me*. He finds alſo, that as the wife of *Ham*: that arrying her about with "changed her name to : that, in another lan- age, had the ſame ſignifi- ion, and called her *Aſtarte*, it is in the *Greek*, or *Aſh- oth*, in the *Hebrew*; ich word ſignifies, in the ter language, flocks of :tle, ſheep, or goats." rding to theſe interpreta- , we do not perceive the ſimilitude of theſe two s, *Naamah* and *Aſtarte*. e is an alluſive one, if you A *fair woman* was a beauti- object, ſo was a *flock of cat-* antient days; *ergo Naamah Aſtarte* are tranſlations of other. However, our au- brings us back again to his *me*; for *Lucian* in his ac- t of the *Syrian* goddeſs, ening to ſay a prieſt aſſu- im, that *Aſtarte* was *Eu-* the ſiſter of *Cadmus*; it is ient for him to believe really were but one; thus he returns to *Naamah air-faced one*: for, *Bochart* hing after the etymology *ropa*, finds that נעמה-אפה *ar-appa*, in the *Phœnician* tongue, is in *Greek* λευκοπρόσωπον, which may be aptly enough rendered *fair of face*; therefore our author calls *Bochart* in to his aid, and diſcovers ſelf-evidently, that *Europa* is *Aſtarte*, and *Aſtarte Naamah*. *Q. E. D.* How forced and uncertain ſuch deductions are, is too glaring for us to animadvert upon them; nor ſhould we have taken notice of this pretended diſcovery, had it not been delivered as from the *tripos*. As ſome of the *Jews* abſurdly derive her name from her being repreſented under the form of a ſheep (14), others (15) derive it from the numbers of victims offered up to her; as if they ſacrificed to her by whole flocks at a time.

(H) *Aſtarte*, we are told (16), put on a bull's head, as the mark of her ſovereignty; but *Mercury* claps on a bull's or ox's head upon *Iſis*, to ſupply the place of her diadem, which the enraged *Orus* had torn off (17). We may ſee by both theſe ſtories, that the ox's head was eſteemed an enſign of ſupreme dignity; and that *Aſtarte* and *Iſis* were names for one perſon. *Bochart* (18) obſerves, that the word *Aſhtaroth* may be extended to herds in general,

) *Bedford's ſcript. chron. ubi ſup.* (14) *Vide Seld. de di. Syr.*
. ii. c. 2. (15) *Scalig. apud eund.* (16) *See vol.* i.
. (17) *See before, p.* 35. (18) *Canaan, l.* ii. *c.* 2.
09.

and

and for the ſame reaſon; that is, to repreſent the moon's increaſe and decreaſe; for ſhe was undoubtedly conſecrated into that planet [s], and adored under the ſtile of *queen of heaven* (I). She was alſo the *Phœnician Aphrodite* or *Venus* (K).

As

[s] Ibid.

and is not confined to the ſmaller cattle only; and inſinuates, that ſhe may be the *Grecian Io*, turned into a cow. It is alſo held, that ſhe was the great *Juno*, as we ſhall ſee anon. Whence, by the way, we may account for the epithet *Homer* ſo often beſtows upon *Juno*, Βοῶπις Ἥρη, the *ox-eyed Juno*. Doctor *Clark*, in his notes upon *Homer* (19), thinks that nothing particular is alluded to thereby; that this epithet is uſed only to expreſs the majeſty of her countenance; and cites *Libanius*, who ſays as much, Ὅμηρος ἐπῄνεσε βοῶπιν, ὡς ἴσως ὀφθαλμοὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ καλοὶ τε μεγάλοι τε, "βοῶπιν" δὲ τὴν ἐκάλεσε· which is, that *Homer* only underſtood ſhe had a large, fine eye.

(I) This appears ſufficiently from her horned front. *Lucian* (20) took her for the moon. *Herodian* (21), miſtaken in her name, calling her *Aſtroarche*, ſays, that the *Phœnicians* would have her to be the moon. *Selden* (22) thinks it indubitable, that ſhe was the *Baliſama*, corrupted from *Baleth-ſamain*, the *queen of heaven*, as alſo *Baaltis*. Some (23) ſay, on the contrary, that ſhe was worſhiped in the ſtar called *Lucifer*; but the ſame conſider her under the name of *Aphrodite*, or *Venus*, which alſo ſhe bore; ſo that her attribute may have been altered or varied in this caſe, as well as her name. We ſhall have occaſion to reſume this ſubject anon.

(K) *Cicero* (24) is very explicit upon this. Enumerating the ſeveral *Venus's*, the fourth, ſays he, was a *Syrian* of *Tyre* called *Aſtarte*; who, as the tradition goes, married *Adonis*. That ſhe was a *Venus*, we underſtand from ſeveral other writers; but, for the preſent, ſhall content ourſelves with this one very plain teſtimony; upon which we beg leave to animadvert a little. *Cicero* places her the fourth in order, which we apprehend he does, as ſuppoſing the three that precede her in his account to be older than ſhe. Again, ſhe marries *Adonis*, who is univerſally allowed to be an *Aſſyrian* by deſcent. What are we to conclude from hence? Why, it ſeems apparent enough, that the ſuperſtition in honour of *Adonis* was introduced by the *Aſſyrians*, when they conquered *Phœnice*, and that *Aſtarte* was his contemporary. This ſeems to take off conſiderably from her great antiquity. Sir *Iſaac Newton* (25) reckons, that the *Baalim*

(19) *Il.* ix. *ver.* 451. (20) *De dea Syr.* (21) *Apud Seld. de di. Syr. ſyntag.* ii. *c.* 2. (22) *Ibid.* (23) *Theoph. apud Girald. hiſt. deor. ſyntag.* xiii. (24) *De nat. deor. l.* iii. (25) *Chron. of ant. kingd. amended, p.* 161.

and

As there were many *Baals*, ſo alſo there were many *Aſtartes* (L). She went under different names, and was doubtleſs very variouſly repreſented (M). She is ſaid to have

and *Aſhtaroth* came originally from the banks of the *Tygris*, whence they migrated into *Phœnice*. Hence he derives all the ſuperſtition and idolatry of the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*: the *Tyrian*, *Syrian*, and *Aſſyrian Belus*, ſays he(25), were all one. If we might be allowed to declare our ſentiments on this head, we would add, that the greateſt part of what we know of the *Phœnician* religion is of *Aſſyrian* origin, and that it was impoſed on them together with the *Aſſyrian* yoke. This will bring down the antiquity of theſe fabulous deities very low. We know how the *Syrians* boaſted the antiquity of their great *Adod* or *Adad*, the king of gods, as *Sanchoniatho*(26) in his *Phœnician* antiquities ſtiles him: we know alſo how vainly they did it, and how falſly (27). If then there be ſuch a flaw to be found in the pretended age of *Adod*, the ſame muſt affect *Cronus* and *Aſtarte*, his contemporaries(28). They are certainly of late date, in compariſon of what the learned have generally thought them.

(L) This we have ſufficiently inſinuated already. For we have ſeen her *Venus*, *Juno*, and the *Moon*. The LXX more than once mention her in the plural number. A father of the church (29) obſerves, that *Juno* was undoubtedly the *Aſtarte* of the *Pœni*, and conſequently of the *Phœnicians*; and that ſhe was mentioned in the plural with regard had to the many ſtatues of her; and that as each ſtatue was called a *Juno*, thence came many *Juno's*, or *Aſtartes*. To this we will add, that *Aſtarte* was poſitively the *Grecian Io* (30).

(M) We cannot doubt but ſhe was pictured as variouſly as the characters ſhe bore, and the attributes beſtowed on her, required. As much a *Venus* as ſhe was, it ſeems ſhe was pictured with arms, as the goddeſs of war (31). She was far otherwiſe repreſented in her temple, on mount *Libanus*, where ſhe was mourning her loſt *Adonis*: her head was muffled up in a veil; her left-hand, which was under her mantle, ſupported her head; and floods of tears ſtreamed down her cheeks(32). It muſt have been, we think, an *Aſtarte* that *Lucian* ſaw crowned with a tower, and with a ſiſtrum in her hand, and ſupported by lions; but we cannot diſcover from him in what temple, or where, he ſaw this idol. It cannot be the *Syrian* goddeſs, as he calls her, of whom he gives a different deſcription (33). This laſt idol

(25) *Ibid. p.* 279. (26) *See vol.* i. *p.* 313. (27) *See before, in the notes, p.* 282, 283. (28) *See vol.* i. *p.* 313. (29) *Aug. ad Jud.* il. *quæſt.* 67. (30) *Euripp. apud. Seld. ubi ſupr.* (31) *Vide Bochart. Canaan, l.* i. *c.* 42. *col.* 664. (32) *Macrob. Saturn. l.* i. *c.* 27. (33) *See before, p.* 284, 285.

and for the same reason; that is, to represent increase and decrease; for she was undoub... crated into that planet [s], and adored under ... *queen of heaven* (I). She was also the *Phr*... *dite* or *Venus* (K).

[s] Ibid.

and is not confined to the smaller cattle only; and insinuates, that she may be the *Grecian Io*, turned into a cow. It is also held, that she was the great *Juno*, as we shall see anon. Whence, by the way, we ma... account for the epithet *Ho*... so often bestows upon... Βοῶπις Ἥρη, the *ox-eyed*... Doctor *Clark*, in his no... *Homer* (19), thinks th... particular is allud... by; that this epi... only to express ... her countenanc... *banius*, who... Ὅμηρος εἶπε... ὡς εἴπουσ... καλὴ τε... ... what ... star, which ... have carried to ... of εὗρεν ἀσρ- ... is, that ... she ha... ..., he would read ...ροπέτη vel ...ροπετῆ ... from ..., *Ælian* acquainting us ... *Aristotle*, that there was a ...d of eagle called *asteria*: he would therefore have it a bird, instead of a star. But by what precedes, it is most likely that it was really a star they meant. The practice squares very nicely with the doctrine, as does also the story of the star that was wont to fall from the top

name ... which ... he ... over ... chain... ...en chains (38) ... of *Hercules* (39). ... So called from מלך קרי ... *melec-cartha*, *the king of the city*, which *Bochart* (40) supposes to be *Tyre*. Sir *Isaac Newton* (41) rejects this notion, and rather derives his name from his having been the founder, or governor, or prince of the city of *Carteia* in *Spain*. *Hesychius* (42) says, that the *Amathusians* called *Hercules* by the name of *Malic*. *Pliny* (43) calls him, corruptly, *Midacritus*. He was a great navigator, and the first that brought lead from the *Cassiterides*, or islands of *Britain*. According to others (44), he invented the shell-purple, by an accidental remark of a dog's mouth stained therewith.

(34) *See vol.* i. *p.* 470. (35) *See before, p.* 336, *note* (I). (36) *Vide Bochart. ubi supr. col.* 749. (37) *Ubi supr. col.* 709. (38) *Diod. Sic. l.* xvii. *p.* 584. (39) *Plutarch. in vit. Alex.*. (40) *Canaan ubi supra, col.* 709. (41) *Chron. of ant. kingd. amended, p.* 111, 112. (42) *Apud Bochart. ubi supr.* (43) *Lib* vii. c. 56. (44) *Incertus apud Suid. ad vocem.*

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His temple had no images in it * ing undeniable inſtance of his great antiqui- ever they deviated afterwards from this lau- will appear when we come to the reign of g their gods we may alſo place *Adonis*, which you will (S); nor muſt we forget

12, 313, (P).

We have already given logy in the *Phœnician* (48). The *Egypti-* their *Hercules* to thouſand years neir king *Amaſis* ne *Tyrians* were more , and only reckon their *ercules* to be as old as their city, which was two thouſand three hundred years (50). The *Tyrians* paid as great a veneration to their hero as the *Egyptians* could do to theirs (51); but whether both their *Hercules's* were in reality one and the ſame, is what we pretend not to decide. *Cicero* (52) reckons the *Tyrian Hercules* the fourth of thoſe he enumerates, and calls him the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Aſteria*, the ſiſter of *Latona*, and the father of *Carthage*. *Lucian* (53) ſays, that the *Tyrian Hercules* was not the *Hercules* celebrated by the *Greeks*, but another, far more antient, who was a *Tyrian* hero.

(S) They were certainly but one, or meant the ſame object. Whence the people of *Amathus*, an antient city of *Cyprus*, formed their *Adonoſiris* (54), which

(45) *Ibid.* (46) *See vol.* i. *p.* 312, 313. (T). (47) *Philoſt. in vit. Apoll. Tyan. l.* v. *c.* 1. *p.* 211. (48) *See vol.* i. *p.* 312. (49) *Herod. l.* ii. *c.* 43. (50) *Idem ibid. c.* 44. (51) *Vide Macrob. Saturn. l.* i. (52) *De nat. deor.* (53) *De dea Syr.* (54) *Vide Steph. Byzant. de urb. & popul. ad vocem* Ἀμαθοῦς.

have conſecrated *Tyre*, by depoſiting a fallen ſtar there [t] (N). We have little or nothing to ſay of their *Apollo* (O). He is taken for the *Phut* of *Moſes*, and *Put* [u], whence the *Pythius* [w] of the *Greeks*. *Hercules* or *Melcartus* (P) was the great and antient god of *Tyre*. They antiently repre-

[t] Suid. ad vocem Ἀσάφιν. [u] See vol. i. p. 312, (R).
[w] Vide Bochart. geogr. ſacr. l. i. c. 3. col. 11.

reſembles, in ſome particulars, certain images of *Iſis* (34); but to trace her out through all her forms, is a task we are unequal to, for want of proper lights.

(N) Hence it was, we ſuppoſe, that ſhe was worſhiped as a ſtar (35); and hence the notion of the ſtar, or globe of light, which at certain times darted down from the top of mount *Libanus* near her temple at *Aphac*, and plunged itſelf into the river *Adonis* below, and was thought to be *Venus* (36). *Bochart* (37) knows not what to make of this fallen ſtar, which *Aſtarte* is ſaid to have carried to *Tyre*. Inſtead of ευρεν αερπετὴν ἀσέρα, he would read ἕυρεν ἀϊρετέτη *vel* λεροπετὴν ἀϊερίαν, *Ælian* acquainting us from *Ariſtotle*, that there was a kind of eagle called *aſteria*: he would therefore have it a bird, inſtead of a ſtar. But by what precedes, it is moſt likely that it was really a ſtar they meant. The practice ſquares very nicely with the doctrine, as does alſo the ſtory of the ſtar that was wont to fall from the top of *Libanus* into the river below.

(O) We only know, that he was in great repute among them; and that the *Tyrians*, when beſieged by *Alexander*, were ſo much afraid, that he ſhould leave them, and go over to the enemy, that they chained him with golden chains (38) to the altar of *Hercules* (39).

(P) So called from מלך קרתא *melec-cartha*, *the king of the city*, which *Bochart* (40) ſuppoſes to be *Tyre*. Sir *Iſaac Newton* (41) rejects this notion, and rather derives his name from his having been the founder, or governor, or prince of the city of *Carteia* in *Spain*. *Heſychius* (42) ſays, that the *Amathuſians* called *Hercules* by the name of *Malic*. *Pliny* (43) calls him, corruptly, *Midacritus*. He was a great navigator, and the firſt that brought lead from the *Caſſiterides*, or iſlands of *Britain*. According to others (44), he invented the ſhell-purple, by an accidental remark of a dog's mouth ſtained therewith.

(34) *See vol. i. p.* 470. *Vide Bochart. ubi ſupr. col.* 749. (35) *See before, p.* 336, *note* (I). (36) *Ubi ſupr. col.* 709. (37) *Died. Sic. l.* xvii. *p.* 584. (38) *Plutarch. in vit. Alex.* (39) *Canaan ubi ſupra, col.* 709. (40) *Chron. of ant. kingd. amended, p.* 111, 112. (41) *Apud Bochart. ubi ſupr.* (42) *Lib* vii. c. 56. (43) *Inſertus apud Suid. ad vocem.* (44)

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d him in no form. His temple had no images in it*, a seeming undeniable instance of his great antiquit). However, they deviated afterwards from this lau: custom, as will appear when we come to the reign of *Hiram*. Among their gods we may also place *Adonis*, *muz*, or *Osiris*, which you will (S); nor must we forget

* See vol. i. p. 312, 313, (P).

) This is in part contra- by *Philostratus*, in his f *Apollonius* of *Tyana*, who ularly dwells on the tem- *Gadira*, or *Gades*, which ;) said to have had no s, and to have conti- in that simple state to the of *Silius Italicus* (46). In *ratus* we find, indeed, here were no statues erect- either to the *Egyptian* or *Hercules*; for both worshiped in this same e, as he informs us: there only two plain brazen erected to the *Egyptian les*. But though the gods unrepresented, their tem- as adorn'd with the twelve rs of *Hercules* (as they ommonly called) finely ght; the *hydra*, and *Di-* horse. In this temple kept the golden belt of r, and the golden olive of *alion*, bearing *smaragdine* of wonderous workman- 47). By this may be ed, that, at least, the *The-* *Hercules* was the *Tyrian* rtus; for we need not say *Pygmalion* was king of

(R) We have already given his genealogy in the *Phœnician* antiquities (48). The *Egyptians* reckoned their *Hercules* to be seventeen thousand years older than their king *Amasis* (49). The *Tyrians* were more modest, and only reckon their *Hercules* to be as old as their city, which was two thousand three hundred years (50). The *Tyrians* paid as great a veneration to their hero as the *Egyptians* could do to theirs (51); but whether both their *Hercules's* were in reality one and the same, is what we pretend not to decide. *Cicero* (52) reckons the *Tyrian Hercules* the fourth of those he enumerates, and calls him the son of *Jupiter* and *Asteria*, the sister of *Latona*, and the father of *Carthage*. *Lucian* (53) says, that the *Tyrian Hercules* was not the *Hercules* celebrated by the *Greeks*, but another, far more antient, who was a *Tyrian* hero.

(S) They were certainly but one, or meant the same object. Whence the people of *Amathus*, an antient city of *Cyprus*, formed their *Adonosiris* (54), which

) *Ibid.* (46) *See vol.* i. *p.* 312, 313. (T). (47) *Philost. in Apoll. Tyan. l.* v. *c.* 1. *p.* 211. (48) *See vol.* i. *p.* 312. (49) *l.* ii. *c.* 43. (50) *Idem ibid. c.* 44. (51) *Vide Macrob. Saturn.* (52) *De nat. deor.* (53) *De dea Syr.* (54) *Vide Byzant. de urb. & popul. ad vocem* Ἀμαθοῦς.

forget the *Pataci* (T) they carried about in the prows of their ſhips [z]. Other deities they had, which we know nothing of. The *Cabiri* will have their turn in the *Grecian* mythology [a].

WE do not read, that the *Phœnicians*, how nearly ſoever they may have agreed with the *Egyptians* in the main points of their ſuperſtition, ever extended their worſhip, like them, to the inanimate creation: but ſince there was ſuch an harmony between them in other reſpects, it is by no means unlikely, that they were tainted with ſome of the meaneſt, and moſt unaccountable, ſuperſtitions of that kingdom.

[z] HEROD. l. iii. c. 37.

[a] See vol. i. in the notes, p. 306.

is a compound of both the names, *Adonis* and *Oſiris*; for the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* laid equal claim to him (55) under different appellations, though he was certainly an *Egyptian* (56). So then the beautiful *Adonis*, begotten by *Cinyras* an *Aſſyrian* (57), is in reality the *Egyptian Oſiris*. The ceremonies performed in their honour were almoſt the ſame (58): they had both their ἀφανισμὸς, *diſappearance*, or death; they both had their ζήτησις, or their *ſearch after them* with mourning; and they both had their εὕρεσις, or *invention*, with joy and gladneſs. In reality they were but one. Both the nations in this caſe meant no other than the ſun; concerning whoſe approach and departure they framed ſuch fables as might beſt take with the people. The month of *June* was the ſeaſon when all this ſuperſtition was tranſacted both by the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians* (59).

(T) They were ſmall ſtatues. *Herodotus* (60) compares them to pygmies. *Heſychius* (61) and *Suidas* will have them to have been placed in the poops of the ſhips. The faſhion was, no doubt, changed in the great length of time between them and *Herodotus*. They were the tutelar gods of ſeafaring men (62), and carried about for protection from diſaſters of the ſea. Thus the *Spaniards* at this day carry to ſea with them little images of the ſaints, that they may ſtand their friends in diſtreſs (63). Theſe are Chriſtian *Pataci*. Why ſhould we wonder at the blind *Phœnicians*?

(55) *Vide eund. ibid.* (56) *Vide eund. ibid.* (57) *Vide Apol. bibl. l.* iii. *c.* 13. *and Cyril. in Iſ. l.* ii. *tom.* iii. *p.* 274. (58) *Vide Marſh. can. chron. ſecul.* i. *p.* 31. (59) *Vide eund. ibid.* (60) *L.* iii. *c.* 37. (61) *Ad vocem* Πάταικος. (62) *Vide Seld. de di. Syr. ſyntag.* ii. *c.* 16. *Bochart. Canaan, l.* ii. *c.* 3. *col.* 712, 713. (63) *See Frezier's voyage to the South-ſea, p.* 143, *of the Eng. tranſ. in* 4*to.*

BEELSAMEN,

BEELSAMEN we underſtand, as we have hinted above, to have been, in an eſpecial manner, the ſun himſelf [b]; and to him they addreſſed themſelves with their arms ſtretched out [c]. What elſe was practiſed, when they made their addreſſes to the ſun only, we no-where find.

Their prieſts, religious cuſtoms, &c.

BAAL had his prophets, and his prieſts, in great numbers. We read of four hundred and fifty of them, which were fed *at* Jezebel's *table* only [d]. They were wont to offer burnt-offerings and ſacrifices to this god [e], and to dance about the altar, with violent geſticulations (U); and, having worked themſelves to the height of phrenſy, by this exerciſe, and a violent ſtraining of their voices, they began to cut their bodies with knives and lancets: then they betook themſelves to prophecy [f], as it is called, or, rather, raved, as if poſſeſſed by ſome inviſible power [g]: ſuch was their barbarous way of worſhip (W). Nor need we wonder at it, conſidering their more barbarous cuſtom, in earlier days, of ſacrificing even ſuch perſons as were moſt dear to them, to appeaſe or reconcile their falſe gods, when they laboured under any public calamities. This is charged very home upon them, not only by the teſtimony of others [h], but by their own confeſſion [i]: ſo barbarous a practice they had in common with the *Egyptians* [k]. But it was diſcontinued here, as well as in *Egypt*, pretty early; at what time, and upon what motives, we are not told.

MANY prieſts, or prophets, attended, alſo, on *Aſtarte*. *Jezebel* had no fewer than four hundred of them to her ſhare [l]. Our verſion calls them *prophets of the groves*: but Mr. *Selden* has proved, by comparing many paſſages of

[b] See before, p. 332. [c] See vol. i. p. 183. [d] 1 Kings xviii. 19. [e] 2 Kings x. 24. [f] 1 Kings ubi ſup. [g] Vide PATRICK in loc. [h] PORPHYR. περὶ ἀποχῆς, l. ii. §. 56, &c. [i] See vol. i. p. 314. [k] See vol. i. p. 483. [l] 1 Kings ubi ſup. ver. 19.

(U) It is uncertain, whether they danced round the altar, or leaped upon it, or jumped over it, or how this was. *Abarbanel* thinks, "this leaping or dancing was a rite uſed in the "worſhip of the ſun; which "puts all things in motion "(63)."

(W) Though all this was practiſed upon a particular occaſion, or when they took on them to perform a miracle; we are perſuaded, there is nothing new in it. They are ſaid to have wounded their bodies after their uſual manner (64).

(63) *Patrick upon* 1 *Kings* xviii. 26. (64) 1 *Kings* xviii. 28.

Scripture together [m], that they were the prieſts of *Aſtarte*; and ſome [n], who know not how to conteſt this interpretation, believe, that goddeſs was worſhiped in a grove, which is very likely; ſuch places being, for the moſt part, accounted ſacred, in the firſt times [o]. There is no room to doubt but ſhe was ſerved with much form, pomp, and myſtery; and women, particularly, are ſaid to have been employed to weave hangings or tabernacles for her [p]. When ſhe was adored as the *queen of heaven*, or the moon itſelf, they offered up cakes to her, which were prepared for that ſervice with great ceremony: *The children gathered the wood, and the fathers kindled the fire, and the women kneaded the dough, to make cakes for the queen of heaven* [q]. They alſo burned incenſe, and poured out drink-offerings to her [r]. This *Aſtarte*, *queen of heaven*, was, as we have ſaid, the moon itſelf [s]: for, as they paid their homage immediately to the ſun, the ſame, we may ſuppoſe, they did to the moon. It was an antient cuſtom. Thoſe great lights were always conſidered together. The inimitable *Job* ſays [t], If *I beheld the ſun when it ſhined, or the moon walking in brightneſs, and my heart hath been ſecretly enticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my hand; this alſo were an iniquity to be puniſhed by the judges.* Some [u] fanſy, that her cakes were ſtamped with a creſcent. At *Byblus* ſhe was worſhiped in a particular manner; for there ſhe had a temple as the *Venus* of *Adonis* [w]: and there, ſuch women as would not conform to the cuſtom of ſhaving their heads, at the annual time of lamenting *Adonis*, were bound to proſtitute their bodies, one intire day, for hire; and the money, thus earned, was preſented to the goddeſs [x]. Her temple at *Aphac*, on mount *Libanus*, was a perfect ſink of lewdneſs; a ſchool of the moſt ſhameful luſt. The men there ſunk into the moſt degenerate effeminacy, to comfort the mournful goddeſs [y]. The moſt ſhameful commerce between the ſexes was allowed, within thoſe profane walls: and this was permitted, and practiſed, as ſome [z] conjecture, becauſe, in this place, *Venus* firſt ruſhed into the arms of *Adonis*; or, as others [a] ſay, becauſe this was either the firſt, or the laſt

[m] PATRICK in loc. [n] CLERIC. in loc. cit. [o] See before, in the notes, p. 142. [p] 2 Kings xxiii. 7. [q] Jer. vii. 18. [r] Idem, xliv. 17, 18. [s] See before, p. 336. [t] Job xxxi. 26, 27, 28. [u] See FULLER's Piſgah-ſight. [w] LUCIAN. de dea Syr. [x] Idem ibid. [y] See before, in the notes, p. 337. [z] BOCHART. Canaan, l. ii. c. 14. col. 749. [a] Etymol. magn. apud eund. ibid.

place,

place, where they enjoyed each other. Other temples ſhe, doubtleſs, had, and other rites, which it were in vain for us to attempt either to diſtinguiſh, or enumerate. What elſe may be ſaid of her, or her worſhip, we may have occaſion to reſume hereafter. Though ſhe is called the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*, her principal temple ſeems to have been that at *Tyre* built by *Hiram* [b].

AFTER what manner they worſhiped their *Apollo*, is uncertain; but to their *Hercules* they are ſaid to have paid great honour. His worſhip was performed with great ſolemnity: the aſſiſtants were all clad alike, in *Egyptian* linen. They offered incenſe to him with a looſe flowing garment; the prieſtly veſt was adorned with broad ſtreaks, or ſtripes, of purple; their feet were bare; their heads ſhaven; they were pure from any pollution, as it was thought, contracted from the other ſex; and the fire of the altar never went out. Women were not allowed to enter into the temple, and ſwine were carefully kept from approaching it [c]: ſuch were the ceremonies uſed, and cuſtoms obſerved, in the worſhip of the *Tyrian Hercules*.

WE ſhall now cloſe up this account of their religious practices, cuſtoms, and ceremonies, with what they did in commemoration of *Adonis*, or *Oſiris*, or *Adoniſiris*, or *Thammuz*: for, as we have already obſerved [d], all theſe names centred in one object. His father, they pretend, was one *Cinyras*, an *Aſſyrian*, who founded the city of *Paphos* in the iſland of *Cyprus* [e]. Some ſay, his name was *Gingris*, or *Gingras* [f], among the *Phœnicians*; but whatever his name was, it is agreed, he was a moſt beautiful youth. On the one hand [g], it is reported, that *Venus* was enamoured of him from his infancy, and committed the care of his education to *Proſerpine*; that, when *Venus* came to demand him of her, ſhe refuſed to deliver him; and that hence a diſpute aroſe between them, which was decided by *Jupiter*, who decreed, that the youth ſhould be one third of the year with *Proſerpine*, another with *Venus*, and the laſt third he ſhould diſpoſe of himſelf, as he beſt liked: that, in conſequence of this, *Adonis*, taken with the charms of *Venus*, ſpent two thirds of his time with that goddeſs; whereat *Diana* taking offence, ſent a wild boar to put an end to his life. On the other hand [h], it is reported, that

[b] MENAND. & DIUS apud Joſeph. antiq. l. viii. c. 2. [c] SILIUS ITAL. l. iii. [d] See before, p. 339. [e] APOLLOD. biblioth. ubi ſup. [f] JUL. POL. l. ii. c. 4. l. iv. c. 14. [g] APOLLOD. biblioth. ubi ſup. [h] CYRIL. in Iſ. ubi ſup.

Adonis was the offspring of an inceſtuous embrace: that he was begot by his father *Cinyras* on his own daughter *Myrrha*: that, to hide the guilt of ſo unlawful a commerce from the eyes of the world, he was expoſed on the mountains, where he was nurſed by the nymphs, and became a great ſportſman: that *Venus*, ſeeing him at his manly ſport, fell in love with him, and admitted him to great intimacy with her: and that *Mars*, conceiving a violent jealouſy thereat, turned himſelf into a wild boar, and ſlew the beauteous youth: that *Venus*, being unſpeakably grieved at the ſad news, followed him to the ſhades, to demand him; but that *Proſerpine*, at firſt, refuſing to deliver him, was, at length, brought to this agreement, that he ſhould be half the year with her, and half the year with *Venus*; who returned, with joy, to the earth again, acquainted her followers with the ſucceſs of her deſcent, and ordained a feſtival to be celebrated in commemoration thereof. Whoever compares this with what is related of *Iſis* and *Oſiris* [i], will find it to be the very ſame ſtory, in a different dreſs. In conſequence of this myſterious tradition, there was great grief among the women, at *Byblus* eſpecially, for the death of *Adonis*; which was ſucceeded by as great joy for his recovery.

But the *Jewiſh* writers have among them another ſtory concerning the origin of the rites of *Thammuz*, or *Adonis*. *Maimonides* [k] relates, that the antient *Zabii* held *Thammuz* to have been an idolatrous prophet, who, preaching to a certain king the doctrine of worſhiping the ſeven planets, and the twelve ſigns; the king ordered him to be put to a cruel death: that, on the very night of his death, all the idols, from the uttermoſt parts of the earth, met together in the temple of the *golden ſtatue*, or the *ſun*, at *Babylon*; and that he acquainted them with the tragical end of *Thammuz*: that, hereupon, the images wept and lamented all night for *Thammuz*; and that, as ſoon as morn appeared, they all flew back to their places. Hence, ſays he, was derived the cuſtom of mourning over *Thammuz*. Finally, it is ſaid, he was the ſon of an heathen king, whoſe image the *Jewiſh* women adored with ſhedding tears, and even offering ſacrifices to it [l].

Whoever he was, the ſuperſtition of mourning over him was univerſally practiſed by the women in thoſe parts. They began their lamentations at a ſtated time: they ſet

[i] See before, p. 31—33. [k] In more nevochim. [l] Philast. apud Seld. de di. Syr. ſyntagm. ii. c. 11.

up

up their outcries as ſoon as they perceived the river *Adonis* to appear of a bloody hue [m], as at certain times it did [n]. The lamentations of a mother for the loſs of her only ſon could not be more loud, or tender [o]: they then proceeded to their ſacrifices of the dead, having firſt diſciplined themſelves with whipping; and, the next day, pretending him to be revived, and aſcended through the air to the upper regions, they ſhaved their heads, as the *Egyptians* did for the loſs of *Apis*; and, at *Byblus*, at leaſt, thoſe who would not comply, were bound to proſtitute themſelves in the manner, and for the purpoſes, above ſpecified [p]. Some [q] relate, that, on a certain night, while this ſolemnity laſted, they laid an image in a bed, and, having gone through a bead-roll of lamentations over it, light was brought in, and the prieſt, anointing the mouths of the aſſiſtants, whiſpered to them, that ſalvation was come----that deliverance was brought to paſs; upon which, their ſorrow was turned into joy, and the image taken, as it were, out of its ſepulchre: or, as others ſay [r], the prieſts of *Oſiris*, in *Egypt*, wrote to the women of *Byblus*; ſignifying to them, that they had found that god. They ſent this letter in an earthen pot, as ſome ſay, or in a ſmall ark, or head, as it is called [s], made of the papyrus, which came by ſea, of itſelf, to *Byblus*. This voyage it performed in ſeven days [t]; and it no ſooner appeared in the port, but the women danced, feaſted, and rejoiced, as extravagantly as they had before wept, mourned, and lamented [u]. This cuſtom has made ſo laſting an impreſſion on the women of thoſe parts, that ſome traces of it are kept up by them of *Aleppo* to this day [w].

THERE are different ways of explaining away all this myſtery. *Adonis* was the ſun; the upper hemiſphere of the earth, or that which we think ſo, was antiently called *Venus*; the under, *Proſerpine*: therefore, when the ſun was in the ſix inferior ſigns, they ſaid, he was with *Proſerpine*; when he was in the ſix ſuperior, with *Venus*. By the boar that ſlew *Adonis*, they underſtood winter: for the boar they made, and not unaptly, the emblem of that rigid ſeaſon [x]. Or by *Adonis* they meant the fruits of the earth; which are, for one while, buried; but, at length, appear flouriſh-

[m] LUCIAN. de dea Syr. [n] See before, p. 327. [o] AMM. MARCELL. l. xix. [p] See before, p. 342. [q] JUL. FIRM. apud Purch. pilgr. l. i. c. 17. p. 90. [r] PROCOP. & CYRIL. in Iſa. xviii. [s] LUCIAN. ubi ſup. [t] Idem ibid. [u] PROCOP. & CYRIL. ubi ſup. [w] See SELLER's hiſtory of Palmyra, in the preface. [x] MACROB. Saturn. l. i. c. 21.

ing to the ſight. When, therefore, the ſeed was thrown into the ground, they ſaid *Adonis* was gone to *Proſerpine*; but when it ſprouted up, they ſaid, he had reviſited the light, and *Venus*. And hence, probably, it was, that they ſowed corn, and made gardens for *Adonis*; for ſuch a cuſtom they alſo had [y]. We may well ſuppoſe, there was no ſmall variation among thoſe who received this piece of ſuperſtition, when they talked of what it meant, and why it was practiſed. Finally, *Plutarch* [z] takes *Adonis* to be *Bacchus: Oſiris* was both the ſun [a] and *Adonis*, as we have ſeen [b]. It was alſo ſaid, that *Oſiris* was buried at *Byblus* [c]. The word *Adonis* imports lord, and ſo does the word *Baal* [d].

PLUTARCH alſo informs us [e], that *Iſis* had a temple at *Byblus*, where they worſhiped the heath which had concealed *Oſiris*'s coffin. This *Byblian Iſis* muſt certainly have been *Aſtarte*; ſo that we end with the *Baalim* and *Aſtaroth* as we have begun.

HERODOTUS [f] ſuppoſes the *Phœnicians* to have been circumciſed; but *Joſephus* aſſerts [g], that none of the nations, included under the vague names of *Paleſtine* and *Syria*, uſed that rite, the *Jews* excepted: ſo that if the *Phœnicians* had antiently that cuſtom, they came, in time, to neglect it, and, at length, wholly laid it aſide. They abſtained from the fleſh of ſwine [h].

Their arts and learning.

MUCH is ſaid of the *Phœnicians*, their arts, ſciences, and manufactures; but as what we find, concerning them, is couched in general terms only, we cannot expatiate on particulars. The *Sidonians*, under which denomination we comprehend the *Phœnicians* in general, as was antiently uſual *, were of a moſt happy genius, and frame of mind [i]. Arithmetic and aſtronomy either took riſe among them [k], or were brought, by them, to great perfection: from them thoſe excellent ſciences flowed into *Greece* [l], together with their letters [m]. They were, from the beginning, as it were, addicted to philoſophical exerciſes of the mind; inſomuch that a *Sidonian*, by name *Moſchus*, taught the doctrine of atoms before the *Trojan* war [n]; and *Abdomenus*, of *Tyre* [o],

[y] Vide Vos. de idololat. l. ii. c. 5. p. 167. [z] Sympoſ. l. iv. p. 671. [a] See vol. i. p. 467. [b] See before, p. 339. [c] Luc. de dea Syr. [d] See before, p. 332. [e] De Iſid. & Oſirid. [f] L. ii. c. 104. [g] Contr. Ap. l. i. [h] HERODIAN. l. v. * Vide BOCHART. phaleg, l. iv. c. 37. col. 301. [i] Idem ibid. col. 303. [k] STRABO, l. xvi. p. 757. [l] Idem ibid. [m] HERODOT. l. v. c. 58. [n] POSIDONIUS apud Strab. ubi ſup. [o] MENAND. & DIUS apud Joſeph. l. viii. c. 2. & cont. Ap. l. i.

challenged

challenged *Solomon*, though the wiſeſt king on earth, by the ſubtle queſtions he propoſed to him. *Phœnice* continued to be one of the ſeats of learning, and both *Tyre* and *Sidon* [o] produced their philoſophers of later ages; *Boethus* and *Diodatus* of *Sidon*, *Antipater* of *Tyre*, and *Apollonius* of the ſame place; who gave an account of the writings and diſciples of *Zeno* [p]. Their doctrine concerning the origin of the world, and the formation of things, we have already mentioned [q].

THEIR language was, at leaſt, a dialect of the *Hebrew*: it was that of the antient *Canaanites*. Their letters, or characters, were either the ſame with, or very like to the *Samaritan* characters. *Their language.*

How great ſoever they were for the ſciences, and for diſcoveries and improvements in point of learning, it is far from being improbable, that they excelled much more in the labours of the hand, than in thoſe of the head [r]. The glaſs of *Sidon*, the purple of *Tyre*, and the exceeding fine linen they wove, were the product of their own country, and their own inventions [s]: and for their extraordinary ſkill in working of metals, in hewing of timber and ſtone, in a word, for their perfect knowlege of what was ſolid, and great, and ornamental, in architecture, we need only put the reader in mind of the large ſhare they had in erecting and decorating of the temple at *Jeruſalem* under their king *Hiram*; than which, nothing can more redound to their honour, or inſinuate a clearer or greater idea of what their own buildings muſt have been. Their fame was ſuch for their juſt taſte, fine deſign, and ingenious invention, that whatever was elegant, great, or pleaſing, whether in apparel, veſſels, or toys, was diſtinguiſhed, by way of excellence, with the epithet of *Sidonian* [t]. *Their manufactures.*

THUS far we have conſidered them as learned men, and artificers, improving themſelves, and cultivating their minds ſedately at home. It remains that we mention them as merchants, navigators, and planters of endleſs colonies in foreign parts. As they were merchants, they may be ſaid to have ingroſſed all the commerce of the weſtern world, at leaſt: as navigators, they were the boldeſt, the moſt experienced, and greateſt diſcoverers, of the antient times: they had, for many ages, no rivals. And as they were planters of colonies, they did ſo much that way, that, when *Their trade and navigation.*

[o] STRABO, ubi ſup. [p] Idem ibid. [q] See vol. i. p. 23—25. [r] Vide BOCHART. phaleg, l. iv. c. 35. col. 393. [s] Vide eund. ibid. [t] Vide eund. ibid.

it

it is remembred, that their country was, probably, little more than the ſlip of ground between mount *Libanus* and the ſea, it is ſurpriſing how they could furniſh ſuch ſupplies of people, and not wholly depopulate their native country. They were the moſt induſtrious, moſt enterpriſing people, that can well be conceived.

WE have ſtarted a conjecture, that the *Phœnicians* were induced to deal in foreign commodities, by their neighbourhood with the *Syrians*, whom we have conſidered as the moſt antient of thoſe who carried on a conſiderable and regular trade with the more eaſtern regions [u]: and we ſee no reaſon to depart from this conjecture. For their own territory was but ſmall, and little able to afford any conſiderable exports, if we except manufactures; but that their manufactures were any ways conſiderable, till they began to turn all the chanels of trade into their own country, is hard to believe. In *Syria*, which was a large country, they found ſtore of productions of the natural growth of that country; and many choice and uſeful commodities brought from the eaſt. Hereupon, having a ſafe coaſt, and convenient harbours, on the one ſide, and excellent materials for ſhip-building, upon the mountains, on the other; and perceiving, by degrees, how acceptable many commodities, that *Syria* furniſhed them with, would be in foreign parts; and being, at the ſame time, perhaps, ſhewn the way by the *Syrians* themſelves, who may have navigated the *Mediterranean*; they turned all their thoughts to trade and navigation; and, by an uncommon application thereto, ſoon eclipſed the *Syrians* themſelves on the *Mediterranean Sea*. Nature herſelf pointed out to them their advantages; and daily experience, joined to a laudable ambition, may have prompted them to that which brought them to be conſidered as the firſt of the earth for riches and ſplendor, if not for power.

IT were in vain to talk of the *Edomites*, who fled hither in *David*'s time [w]; or to inquire why *Herodotus* ſuppoſes the *Phœnicians* to have come from the *Red Sea* [x]: their origin we have already ſeen [y]. That ſome of the *Edomites* fled into this country in the days of *David*, and that they were a trading people, we have elſewhere ſhewn [z]: what improvements they brought with them into *Phœnice*, is hard to ſay: and, by the way, it is as hard to ſpeak of their

[u] See before, p. 292. [w] See before, p. 175. [x] See before, in the notes, p. 176. [y] See before, p. 331. [z] See before, p. 168.

numbers,

numbers, or to ſay how it could be poſſible for a parcel of refugees to communicate their own name to the antient proprietors, as is pretended[a]: it ſeems to be plain, that they brought with them a knowlege of the *Red Sea*, and of the ſouth parts of *Arabia*, *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia*; and that, by their inſtructions and lights, they made the *Phœnicians* acquainted with thoſe coaſts, which before were unknown to them; and, by that means, enabled them to undertake the voyages they did, in thoſe parts, for *Solomon*, and for *Pharaoh Necho*, king of *Egypt*. But we will dwell no longer on theſe particulars, ſo hard to be aſcertained. We ſhall only add, that, in our opinion, the *Phœnicians* were both younger merchants and navigators than the *Syrians*, and reaped conſiderable advantages by the acceſs of the fugitive *Edomites* that fought for ſhelter among them in *David*'s time.

THEIR whole thoughts were how to advance their trade. They affected no empire but that of the ſea, ſought to enlarge no other dominion, and ſeem to have aimed at nothing but the peaceable enjoyment of their commerce. They traded to all the known parts they could reach; to the *Britiſh* iſles, commonly underſtood by the *Caſſiterides*; to *Spain*, and other places in the ocean, both to the north and ſouth of the ſtreights mouth; and, in general, to all the ports of the *Mediterranean*, the *Black Sea*, and the lake *Mæotis*[b]. In all theſe parts they had ſettlements and correſpondents, from which they drew what was uſeful to themſelves, or might be ſo to others; and thus they exerciſed the three great branches of trade, as it is commonly divided into importation, exportation, and tranſportation, in full latitude; ſuch was the extent of their ſea-trade: as for that which they carried on by land, in *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, *Perſia*, *Arabia*, and even in *India*, it was of no leſs extent; and may give us an idea of what this people once was, how rich, and how deſervedly their merchants are mentioned in Scripture as equal to princes[c]. Their country was, at that time, the great warehouſe, where every thing, that might either adminiſter to the neceſſities or luxury of mankind, was to be found; which they diſtributed as they judged would be beſt for their own intereſt. It would be in vain for us to undertake a detail of what they brought by ſea, of what was ſent them over land from each particular place, or of what they ſent

[a] See before, p. 391.

[b] Vide HUET. hiſt. de la com. & de la navig. des anc. p. 58.

[c] Iſa. xxiii. 8.

to the several countries they dealt with: we shall have occasion to specify the particulars, when we come to mention the antient trade of each country. Their own principal commodities were, the purple of *Tyre*, the glass of *Sidon*, and the exceeding fine linen made in this country [d]: these, and other fine pieces of art, in metals and wood, seem to have been the chief, and almost only commodities of *Phœnice* itself. Their country was so small, that it is not to be imagined they could afford to export any of their own growth: it is more likely, that they rather wanted, than abounded with the fruits of the earth.

HAVING thus spoken, in general terms, of their trade, we shall now just touch upon their shipping, and some things remarkable in their navigation. Their larger imbarkations were of two sorts: they divided them into round ships, or *gauli*; and long ships, galleys, or *triremes* [e]. When they drew up in line of battle, the *gauli* were at a small distance off each other in the wings, or in the van and the rear; their *triremes* were contracted together in the centre [f]. If, at any time, their ships, bound on a voyage, observed that a stranger kept them company, or followed them in their track, they were sure to get rid of him, if they could, or deceive him, if possible; in which they went so far, as to venture the loss of their ships, and even their lives, so that they could but destroy or disappoint him [g]; so jealous were they of foreigners, and so tenaciously bent on keeping all to themselves. And, to add to the dangers of the sea, and to discourage other nations from exposing themselves to them, they affected piracy [h]; or pretended to be at war with such as they met when they thought themselves strongest. This was but a natural stroke of policy, in a people who grasped at the whole commerce of the then known world. We must not forget here the famous fishery of *Tyre*, which so remarkably enriched that city, in particular. The fish they sought after were those wherewith they dyed purple, the richest dye in the world: they were always careful to take them alive. An antient author [i] attributes the dissoluteness of *Tyre* to the number of the dyers there: from whence we may gather, they were a rich and numerous body of people, proud and extravagant, vain and debauched. This fish is now

[d] See before, p. 347. [e] Vide BOCHART. Canaan, l. ii. c. 11. col. 739. [f] POLYÆN. l. vi. [g] Vide STRAB. l. iii. p. 175. [h] HUET. ubi sup. c. 16. p. 70. [i] Idem, l. xvi.

either

either loſt (X), or thoſe on that coaſt, at preſent, know not how to catch it.

We might here ſpeak of the *Phœnician* voyages, in the ſervice of *Solomon*, had we not a more proper place in view to expatiate on that ſubject. The long voyage ſome of them undertook in the ſervice of *Necho* king of *Egypt*, round *Afric*, going out of the *Red Sea*, and returning by the way of the ſtreights mouth, ought not to be paſſed over: in this voyage, they employed three years (Y). The reader,

(X) We are aſſured, by an eye-witneſs, who is too modeſt to allow us the uſe of his name, that they have a kind of fiſh on the rocks, on the coaſt, a little to the weſtward of *Panama*, with which the *Indians* dye a red purple; that they carry their yarn down to the ſea-ſide; that they bring it back dyed; and that their hands are always diſcoloured, like thoſe of our dyers.

(Y) Hence it would follow, that the *Portugueſe* were only the re-diſcoverers of the cape of *Good Hope*. Here we will beg leave to animadvert a little upon a celebrated author (65), who will have it, that the *Phœnicians* made it a common practice to trade with *India*, by the way of the cape of *Good Hope*, from the times of *Solomon*; which, to us, ſeems incredible, on many accounts. 1. The *Phœnicians* had no ſuch temptation to undertake ſo long and dangerous a voyage, as we have: the voyage, to them, muſt have been much longer than it is, at preſent, to us. 2. They are not above half ſo far from *India* as we are. 3. It is incredible, that the ſtructure and rigging of their ſhips were rightly adapted for ſo unfavourable a navigation: nor is it likely, that they could, at once, furniſh themſelves with ſtores and proviſions ſufficient for their uſe and neceſſities, and, at the ſame time, have any great cargo of goods on board. 4. Theſe diſadvantages conſidered, it muſt appear, that they might have been ſupplied with all the eaſtern commodities in general, at a much cheaper rate, from the *Egyptians* and *Edomites* on the *Arabian* gulf, and from *Syria* on the *Euphrates*: and this, certainly, was a part of the trade they drove with *Syria* and *Egypt* (66). 5. It is not to be imagined, if the contrary practice had been uſual, that all memory of it would have been loſt; that the *Romans*, in *Ovid*'s time, would have talked of the torrid zone as uninhabitable; and that *Herodotus* would have reckoned it as ſo noble a tranſaction of *Nechus*'s reign, that he ſent the moſt expert *Phœnicians* he could procure, to explore the ſhores of *Afric* (67); or that the ſame, in other reſpects, moſt knowing hiſtorian would have diſputed the credibility of what

(65) *Huet. hiſtoire du com. & de la navig. des anc. c.* 8. (66) *See before, p.* 292. (67) *See before, p.* 84.

the

reader, we hope, will not be diſpleaſed, that we have dwelt ſo long on this extraordinary people: he will perceive, we might have ſaid a great deal more; and that it was impoſſible for us to ſay leſs of them than we have ſaid, either to refreſh his memory, or give him information. Their colonies and ſettlements will be particularly remarked, in the order they may occur.

SECT. III.

The Chronology of the Phœnicians.

IT were labour in vain to dwell on this ſubject. In general we may ſay, that the hiſtory of the *Phœnicians* is no other than a continuation of that of *Canaan*, as is, on all hands, allowed (A). Their particular epochs it is impoſſible to diſcover. Their records, once ſo faithfully kept[a], are now no more. We will not, therefore, enter, profeſſedly, upon ſo dark a matter; but ſhall content ourſelves with touching thereon occaſionally, hereafter. It is obſerved[b], that they boaſted an exceſſive antiquity, no leſs than thirty thouſand years; in which, however, they were far more reaſonable than ſome others, who certainly could claim very little or nothing beyond them, in that particular. To come here to the method we have laid down, we ſhall ſubjoin a ſeries of the kings of the different kingdoms of this country, ſo far as we can collect them.

[a] Vid. JOSEPH. cont. Ap. l. i. [b] AFRICAN. apud Syncel. p. 17.

the ſailors reported, on their return, that they had the ſun on their right-hand (68); it being the antient cuſtom, to ſet the face to the weſtward; in which poſture, the ſun muſt be on the right-hand of him who is to the ſouthward of its courſe; which they muſt have often been, who doubled the cape of *Good Hope*. In ſhort, the *Indian* commerce, by that courſe, could have anſwered no manner of end to the *Phœnicians*; nor could they have been tempted to frequent it, ſituated, as they were, between *Egypt* and *Syria*, the two great magazines of whatever the eaſt afforded.

(A) We have already given ſeveral proofs to evince this. We ſhall add, that the compiler of the *Alexandrian* chronicle (1), ſpeaking of the *Canaanites* driven out by *Joſhua*, calls them, in part, *Phœnicians*.

(68) *L.* iv. *c.* 42.

(1) *P.* 183. 1.

Kings

Kings of Sidon.

* * * * * * *

Agenor,
Phœnix,
Phalis,

* * * * * * *

An anonymous king,

* * * * * * *

Sidon,
Tetramneſtus,

* * * * * * *

Tennes,
Strato,
Ballonymus, *Abdaleminus*, *Abdolomius*, or *Alynomus*.

Kings and Judges of *Tyre*.	Reigned, According to *Menand. Epheſ.*	According to *Theophil. Antioc.*
* * * * * *		
Abibal, or *Abeimal*; *Hiram*, *Hierom*, *Hieromen*, *Irom*, *Chiram*, or *Suron*,		
Baleaſtartus, or *Bazor*,	7 years	17 years.
Abdaſtartus,	9	12
The eldeſt of the murderers of *Abdaſtartus*,	12	
Aſtartus,	12	
Aſtarimus, or *Atharymus*,	9	
Phelles, or *Helles*,	8 months	
Ithbal, *Ithobal*, or *Juthobal*,	32 years	12
Badezor, or *Bazor*,	6	7
Badezor's ſon, *Mettinus*,	9	29

Kings and judges of *Tyre.*	According to *Menand. Epheſ.* Reigned,	According to *Theophil. Antioc.*
Pygmalion,	40 years - - - - -	
* * * * * * *		
Elulæus,	36 - - - - - - -	
* * * * * * * *		
Ithobal,		
Baal,	10 - - - - - - -	
Judges *Echnibal,* -	2 months - - -	
Judges *Chelbis,* - -	10 - - - - - - -	
Judges *Abbar,* the high-prieſt,	3 - - - - - - -	
Judges *Myttonus* and *Geraſtus,*	6 years - - - - -	
Balator, - - -	1 - - - - - - -	
Merbal, - - -	4 - - - - - - -	
Irom, - - - -	20 - - - - - - -	
‖ *Maſſen,*		
‖ *Strato,*		
* * * * * * *		
Azelmic,		
* * * * * * *		
Marion.		

The kings of Arad, *or* Aradus.

* * * * * * *

Arbal,
Narbal,

* * * * * * * *

Geroſtratus.

We need only refer the reader to the very unaccountable difference between *Menander* the *Epheſian*, and *Theophilus* of *Antioch*; in their reigns of the *Tyrian* princes, to judge of the impoſſibility of fixing on any thing certain in the chronology of even the beſt and cleareſt times of the *Phœnicians* in general.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

The Phœnician *kings, from the antient fabulous history of the* Greeks.

BEFORE we enter upon the history of the *Phœnician* kings, we are, in some manner, obliged to insert the following dark and fabulous account of the family of *Agenor*, the first king of *Phœnice* mentioned by the *Greeks*.

Agenor.

AGENOR and *Belus* were, according to *Apollodorus* [a], the sons of *Neptune* by *Libya*, daughter of *Epaphus*, who was king of a part of *Egypt*. *Belus* reigned in *Egypt*, and married *Anchinoe* daughter of *Nilus*, by whom he had *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*. *Agenor* passed from *Egypt* into *Phœnice*, where he settled, and became the father of a numerous race. He married *Telephassa* (*Stephanus* calls her *Telephe*), by whom he had *Europa*, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, *Cilix* [b], and, according to *Pausanias*, *Electra* [c], and *Thasus* [d]. *Pherecydes*, as quoted by the scholiast of *Apollonius*, gives him two wives, the one named *Damno*, by whom he had *Phœnix*, *Isæa*, and *Melia*; the other called *Argiope*, who was mother to *Cadmus* and *Europa*. *Plutarch* mentions a fourth wife, called *Diorippe*, who brought forth *Sipylus* [e]; *Antonius Liberalis* a fifth, named *Cassiopea*, who bore him a daughter, by name *Carina*; and *Cedrenus* a sixth, whom he calls *Tyrus*, pretending that the city of *Tyre* borrowed its name from her. *Europa* (whom some writers will have to be the daughter of *Phœnix*, and not of *Agenor*) was stolen by *Jupiter* transformed into a bull, that is, in a ship named the *bull*, or bearing the figure of a bull in her stern; and carried into *Crete*. *Agenor*, being extremely grieved for the loss of his daughter, sent his son *Cadmus*, with a great sum of money, in quest of her: but he, not finding her, nor daring to return home without her, resolved to go and settle elsewhere. With this design, having fitted out a small fleet, he put to sea, and landed in *Thrace*, where he had the good luck to discover a gold mine, in the mount *Pangæus*. Being enriched with that metal, and in a condition to pursue his design, he was advised by the oracle of *Delphos* to leave *Thrace*, and pass into *Bœotia*, which he did accordingly; and, having driven out the *Hyantes*, who opposed him, and allowed the *Aones*,

[a] L. ii. [b] Idem, l. iii. [c] PAUSAN. in Bœot.
[d] Idem, in Eliac. [e] PLUTARCH. de fluviis.

who voluntarily ſubmitted to him, to live in the country mixed with his *Phœnicians*, he founded a new kingdom, and built a city; which, in derivation from his own name, he called *Cadmea*. That city was afterwards embelliſhed, and inlarged by *Amphion* and *Zethus*, the two ſons of *Antiope* (for they invaded the throne, during the minority of *Laius*, the ſon of *Labdacus*, *Cadmus*'s grandſon), and by them called *Thebes*, in honour of *Thebe* their aunt, by the mother's ſide [f] (A).

ISAEA

[f] PAUSAN. in Bœot.

(A) We find ſuch a diſagreement among authors, in the accounts they give of *Agenor*, and his deſcendants, that it is impoſſible to come at the truth; and therefore not worth our while to attempt the unravelling of ſo perplexed and intricate a ſubject. What moſt authors ſeem to agree upon, is, 1. That *Agenor* was by birth an *Egyptian*; that from *Egypt* he paſſed (on what occaſion we know not) into *Phœnice*, where he ſettled, and became the father of a numerous race. 2. All the *Greek* writers agree him to have been the firſt king of *Phœnice*, and the founder of the cities of *Sidon* and *Tyre*. But in the ſucceſſion of the kings, ſome of the *Latins* place *Belus* the elder before him; and moſt of the moderns, upon the authority of *Joſephus* (1), make *Sidon*, the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan*, founder of the city of *Sidon*, which was ſo called from him. And as to the city of *Tyre*, the ſame *Joſephus* tells us, that it was founded 240 years before the building of *Solomon*'s temple: from whence it is plain, if we follow *Joſephus* (whoſe authority, as to this particular, is far preferable to that of the *Greeks*), that theſe two cities were not built by one and the ſame perſon. *Tyre* was, without doubt, a colony of the *Sidonians*, it being called in Scripture *the daughter of* Sidon (2). And *Juſtin* tells us, in expreſs terms, that the city of *Tyre* was built before the taking of *Troy*, by the *Sidonians*, who, being driven out of their own country by the king of the *Aſcalonians*, were forced to ſeek new ſeats (3). 3. It is agreed upon, by moſt of the antients, that *Europa*, *Cadmus*, *Phœnix*, and *Cilix*, were the children of *Agenor*; and that with them a great many *Phœnicians* and *Syrians* went into *Aſia Minor*, *Crete*, *Greece*, and *Libya*; and there introduced letters, muſic, poetry, and other arts, ſciences, and cuſtoms of the *Phœnicians*. It is pretended, that *Europa* being carried away by *Taurus* king of *Crete*, *Agenor* ſent her brother in queſt of her; who, on that occaſion, as they were injoined not to re-

(1) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* ii. *c.* 6. *l.* xviii. *c.* 3.

(2) *Iſa.* xxv. 12.

(3) *Juſtin.*

turn

AEA and *Melia*, *Agenor*'s two daughters, married
tus and *Danaus*, their couſin-germans. *Cilix* is ſaid, by

without her, founded ſe- *Phœnician* colonies in *Aſia* , *Greece*, and *Libya*, we ſhall have occaſion ak of hereafter. But Sir *Newton* is of opinion, that *Phœnicians* went not to *Europa*, but new ſeats, be- riven out of *Sidon* by the *ites*, whom *David* had ered and diſperſed. For, ling to his computation, nqueſt of the land of *Edom vid*, the coming of *Cad-* to *Greece*, and the found- f *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, and *Phœnician* colonies in parts, happened much the ſame time. The *ites*, ſays he, not being o withſtand *David*, aban- *Edom*, and fled, ſome in- *pt*, with their young king *d*; others to the *Perſian* with their commander *es*; and ſome from the *ea*, to the coaſt of the *erranean*, where they for- *Azoth* againſt *David*; and, g out the *Sidonians*, made elves maſters of their it being very convenient he merchants, who fled the *Red Sea*. The *Sido-* being thus expelled, went at numbers, under *Cad-* nd his brothers, into *Ci- Aſia Minor*, and *Greece*; others fled, under other rs, to ſeek new ſeats in *Li-* where they built, as we are told by *Nonnus* (4), many walled towns. Their leader was alſo there called *Cadmus* (which imports a man come from the eaſt), and his wife *Sithonis*, a *Sidonian*. Sir *Iſaac* adds, that ſome of the *Sidonians*, who were driven out by the *Edomites* flying from *David*, laid the firſt foundations of the cities of *Tyre* and *Arad*, and made *Abibalus*, their leader, king of *Tyre*. So that, according to his computation, *Tyre* was built in the time of *David*, and about the 16th year of his reign (5). But this is plainly contradicted by *Joſephus*, who tells us, that *Tyre* was built two hundred and forty years before the building of *Solomon*'s temple (6); which work *Solomon* undertook in the eleventh year of the reign of *Hiram*, ſon and ſucceſſor to *Abibal* king of *Tyre*. It is therefore plain, both from *Joſephus*, and the *Tyrian* annals, which he quotes, that *Abibal* was not the founder of *Tyre*, and that that city was built long before *David*'s time.

Neither was *Abibal* the firſt king of *Tyre*, though he is the firſt we find mentioned in hiſtory; as appears from the ſame *Joſephus*, who, in ſpeaking of *Menander*'s hiſtory, tells us, that *Menander*, after having given an account of the reigns of the other kings of *Phœnice*,

Dionyſius l. xiii. (5) *Sir Iſaac Newton chron. of ant. king. l.*
(6) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* viii. *c.* 2. (7) *Idem ibid.*

by *Apollodorus* [g], to have ſettled in *Cilicia*, and given his name to that country. That author adds, that *Thaſus* built the city of *Thaſos* in *Thrace*, which is confirmed by *Pauſanias* [h]. All we know of *Electra* is, that one of the gates of *Thebes* borrowed its name from her [i]. Of *Sipylus* we read in *Plutarch* [k], that mount *Sipylus* was ſo called from him. We ſhall have occaſion to relate more at length, what we read of *Cadmus* in the antient *Greek* writers, when we come to write the hiſtory of the *Theban* kings.

PHOENIX is ſuppoſed by the *Greeks* to have ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Phœnice*, or rather of *Sidon*; which city, as likewiſe that of *Tyre*, they pretend to have been built by *Agenor*; wherein they are followed, among the *Latins*, by *Q. Curtius* [l]. That country, according to them, borrowing its name from *Phœnix*, was called *Phœnice*, and the inhabitants, *Phœnicians*. *Euſebius* adds [m], that he was the firſt who found out the ſcarlet colour, which was therefore called at firſt *Phœnicius*, and afterwards, with a ſmall alteration, *Puniceus color*.

THE next king of *Sidon* we meet with in hiſtory is *Belis*, who flouriſhed in the time of the *Trojan* war. He proved a faithful ally to the *Greeks*, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours, though in vain, to draw *Sarpedon*, king of *Lycia*, over to their ſide [n]. He is mentioned by *Homer*, and honoured with the title of *moſt illuſtrious* [o].

THESE are the kings of *Sidon* we find mentioned in the antient *Greek* writers; but as their accounts are no ways to be depended upon, being interwoven and darkened with a thouſand fables, we have thought fit to treat of them apart, leſt we ſhould ſeem to confound what is fabulous with what is truly hiſtorical.

[g] APOLLOD. l. iii. [h] PAUSAN. in Eliac. [i] Idem in Bœot. [k] PLUTARCH. de fluviis. [l] Q. CURTIUS, l. iv. c. 4. [m] Præpar. evang. l. i. c. 5. [n] DICTYS l. i. [o] Odyſſ. iv. 627.

comes at laſt to *Hiram*, who was aſſumed to the throne upon the death of his father *Abibal* (8). From which paſſage it is manifeſt (if we give credit to *Joſephus* and *Menander*), that *Abibal* was preceded by ſeveral other kings, whoſe reigns and actions *Menander* had deſcribed.

(8) *Joſeph. contr. Apion. l.* i.

SECT.

SECT. V.

The reigns of the kings of Phœnice.

PHOENICE, as we have ſaid, was divided into ſeveral ſmall kingdoms; for, beſides the kings of *Sidon* and *Tyre*, mentioned in Scripture, we read in hiſtory of *Elbaſus* king of *Berytus*, to whom *Sanchoniatho*, according to *Euſebius* [a], dedicated his hiſtory, of *Erylus* king of *Byblus* [b], and of other *Phœnician* kings [c], whoſe dominions were confined within the narrow bounds of one city, and its territory. Of all the kings of *Phœnice*, thoſe of *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and *Arad*, ſeem to have been the moſt powerful and wealthy, and make the beſt figure in hiſtory. But their ſucceſſions, and the years of their reſpective reigns, are overcaſt with ſuch a miſt, and interrupted with ſo many chaſms, that it is no eaſy matter to give any tolerable account of them. However, we ſhall here produce what occurs in hiſtory relating thereto, and ſeems chiefly to be depended upon; beginning with *Sidon*, the moſt antient city of *Phœnice*.

The kings of Sidon.

Sidon. SIDON, the eldeſt ſon of *Canaan*, was, according to *Joſephus* [d], the founder, and, very likely, the firſt king of this city, or at leaſt, the father of the people. But, as to his actions, or the years of his reign, we are left quite in the dark. Neither are we better acquainted with the kings who ſucceeded him; for though the *Sidonians* are mentioned in the hiſtories of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and the *Judges*, yet we find not, in holy writ, expreſs mention made of their kings, till the time of the prophet *Jeremiah*, who ſpeaks of embaſſadors ſent by the king of *Sidon* to propoſe to *Zedekiah* a league againſt *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon* [e].

Year of flood 1750. Bef. Chr. 598.

Tetramneſtus. THE next king we find mentioned in hiſtory, is *Tetramneſtus*, who aſſiſted *Xerxes* in his expedition againſt *Greece* with 300 galleys, and is counted by *Herodotus* [f] among the chief commanders of the *Perſian* navy.

Year of flood 1867. Bef. Chr. 481.

Tennes. TENNES appears next: it is uncertain whom he ſucceeded. In his reign the *Sidonians*, and other *Phœnicians*,

[a] EUSEB. præpar. evang. l. i. c. 6. [b] ARRIAN. l. ii. [c] STRABO l. xvi. p. 520. [d] JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 7. [e] Jerem. c. xxvii. ver. 3. [f] HERODOT. l. vii. c. 98.

not being able to bear the haughty behaviour, and tyrannical proceedings, of thoſe whom *Darius Ochus* king of *Perſia* had ſet over them, entered into a confederacy with *Nectanebus* king of *Egypt* [s], and roſe up in arms, with deſign to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke, and recover their antient liberty. As the *Perſians* were then making vaſt preparations to reclaim *Egypt*, which they could not well approach but by marching through *Phœnice*, this revolt happened very opportunely for *Nectanebus*. Therefore, to encourage the *Phœnicians* to ſtand out in it, he ſent a body of four thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, under the command of *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, to their aſſiſtance, hoping thereby to make *Phœnice* a kind of barrier to *Egypt*, and carry on the war at a diſtance. On the other ſide, *Tennes* king of *Sidon* (which city then exceeded all the others of *Phœnice* in wealth), having fitted out, with great expedition, a powerful fleet, and raiſed a conſiderable army in his own dominions, took the field; and, being ſtrengthened by the *Greek* auxiliaries, engaged and routed the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, whom *Ochus* had ſent to reduce him; and drove the *Perſians* quite out of *Phœnice*. The *Sidonians*, on their firſt taking up arms, had laid waſte a delicious garden belonging to the kings of *Perſia*, cutting down all the trees wherein they took great delight; ſeized and burnt all the forage which the *Perſian* governor had laid up for the ſubſiſtence of his cavalry; and, what is ſtill worſe, puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity ſuch of their *Perſian* oppreſſors as fell into their hands. *Ochus* was provoked to ſuch a degree at theſe proceedings of the *Sidonians*, eſpecially after news was brought him of his lieutenant's being defeated, and the *Perſians* driven out of *Phœnice*, that now he breathed nothing but revenge, threatening total deſtruction not only to the *Sidonians*, but to all the inhabitants of *Phœnice*. Being thus bent upon revenge, he drew together all the forces he could; and, having muſtered them at *Babylon*, marched from thence into *Phœnice*, at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand foot, and thirty thouſand horſe. *Mentor*, who was then in *Sidon*, being terrified at the approach of ſo powerful an army, ſent privately a truſty ſervant of his own, called *Theſſalion*, to the king of *Perſia*, offering not only to put him in poſſeſſion of *Sidon*, but likewiſe to aſſiſt him in the reducing of *Egypt*; where, as he was well acquainted with the country, he was capable of doing him good ſervice. *Ochus*, glad of this offer,

[s] See before, p. 105.

ſpared

ſpared no promiſes to engage *Mentor* in his ſervice; who, having received ſuch aſſurances from the king of *Perſia* as he deſired, found means to draw *Tennes* king of *Sidon* into the ſame treaſon. In the mean time, the *Sidonians*, not miſtruſting *Mentor*, and much leſs their own king, were preparing for a vigorous defence. The city was furniſhed with arms, and proviſions of all ſorts, to hold out a long ſiege; and the citizens had drawn a triple trench, and an high wall, round them. Beſides the mercenaries, the place was gariſoned with a brave body of tall, handſome, and ſtout *Sidonians*, all well exerciſed, and trained up in martial diſcipline; and the ſea-coaſt was guarded with a fleet of an hundred large galleys. But all was to no purpoſe; for *Tennes* no ſooner heard that the *Perſian* army was drawing near, but, feigning to go to the general aſſembly of the *Phœnicians*, he marched out with a body of five hundred men, and, taking along with him an hundred of the chief citizens to be created ſenators, as he pretended, went ſtrait to the enemy's camp, and delivered them up to *Ochus*, who received him as a friend, but cauſed all the citizens, as authors of the rebellion, to be immediately put to death. This ſeverity of *Ochus*, joined with the treachery of *Tennes*, ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Sidonians*, that five hundred more of the citizens, all men of rank, went out to throw themſelves at their enemy's feet, and implore his mercy, with all the reſpect and ſubmiſſion imaginable. *Ochus*, on ſeeing them, aſked *Tennes*, whether it was in his power to put him in poſſeſſion of the city; for he was unwilling to take it upon treaty, being bent on the utter ruin of the *Sidonians*, in hopes that ſuch an inſtance of ſeverity would make the other *Phœnicians* voluntarily ſubmit. *Tennes* aſſured him, he could deliver the city into his hands whenever he pleaſed: whereupon *Ochus* cauſed the five hundred citizens, though they were come out with olive-branches in their hands, as badges of ſubmiſſion, to be ſhot with darts upon the ſpot. After this, *Ochus* and *Tennes* marched at the head of the *Perſian* army towards the city; and were admitted without the leaſt oppoſition, by *Mentor* and the *Greek* mercenaries, to whom *Tennes*, in leaving the city, had delivered up one of the gates for that end. The *Sidonians*, on the approach of *Ochus*'s army, had deſignedly burnt all their ſhips, to prevent any one's withdrawing himſelf from the defence of his country. And therefore, finding themſelves thus betrayed, and the enemy within the walls, without any means left them to make their eſcape, either by ſea or land, they ſhut themſelves up with their wives

Year of flood 1997. Bef. Chr. 351.

wives and children in their houſes, and, ſetting fire to them, conſumed themſelves, to the number of forty thouſand, and the moſt valuable things they had, in the flames. *Tennes* met with no better fate than his ſubjects; for *Ochus*, ſeeing he could do him no further ſervice, and deteſting in his heart the treachery of the man, cauſed his throat to be cut, leſt he ſhould outlive the ruin which he himſelf had brought upon his country. As *Sidon* was, at that time, in a very flouriſhing condition, and the moſt wealthy city of *Phœnice*; a vaſt quantity of gold and ſilver was melted down by the flames, and found in the aſhes, which *Ochus* ſold for great ſums of money. The ruin, and total deſtruction, of *Sidon* terrified the other cities of *Phœnice* to ſuch a degree, that they all voluntarily ſubmitted to the conqueror, each of them making peace with the king upon the beſt terms they could. Neither was *Ochus* unwilling to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from putting in execution the deſign he had upon *Egypt*. And thus all *Phœnice* was again brought under the *Perſian* yoke [h]; and the prophecies of *Iſaiah* [i], *Jeremiah* [k], *Ezekiel* [l], and *Zechariah* [m], touching the deſtruction of *Sidon*, fulfilled.

AFTER *Tennes*, reigned *Strato*; for ſuch of the *Sidonians*, as, by being abſent on traffick at ſea, or on other occaſions, had eſcaped the maſſacre, returning home after *Ochus* was gone back into *Perſia*, rebuilt the city; but ever afterwards bore an immortal averſion to the *Perſian* name. No wonder then, if, a few years after, they ſo readily ſubmitted to *Alexander the Great*, and ſo greedily embraced that opportunity of ſhaking off the yoke they groaned under. For the *Sidonians* are counted among the firſt in thoſe parts, who ſent embaſſadors to *Alexander*, as he marched through *Phœnice*, to make their ſubmiſſion to him. *Strato*, it ſeems, did not approve of this reſolution, but could not prevent it, the citizens being obſtinately bent
f againſt the *Perſians*. For we are told, that *Alexander* deprived him of the crown, becauſe he ſubmitted at the inſtigation of the citizens, and not of his own accord [n]. *The-*
r. *opompus*, as quoted by *Athenæus* [o], gives him the character of a moſt lewd and voluptuous prince; and tells us in
J particular, that, in order to aſſemble the women, and have thereby an opportunity of chooſing the moſt beautiful for

[h] DIOD. SIC. l. xvi. p. 531—533. [i] Iſa. xxiii. [k] Jerem. xlvii. [l] Ezek. xxviii. and xxxii. [m] Zech. ix.
[n] CURT. l. iv. c. 2. JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 10. & DIOD. SIC. l. xvii.
[o] ATHEN. l. xii. c. 13.

his own uſe, he inſtituted publick ſports for them, conſiſting chiefly in dancing and ſinging, wherein ſuch as excelled the others were amply rewarded. *Ælian*[p] ſays, he died an unnatural death. Of one *Strato*, king of *Sidon*, St. *Jerom*[q] relates, that, having adhered to the king of *Egypt* againſt the *Perſians*, and finding himſelf in danger of falling into the hands of an enemy, from whom he had no reaſon to expect any favour, he reſolved to prevent the impending calamity, by laying violent hands on himſelf; but, fainting in the execution of his deſign, his wife, who was preſent, ſnatching, with a manly reſolution, the ſword out of his hand, freed him from that perplexity, by putting firſt him, and then herſelf, to death, without ſhewing the leaſt concern. But the circumſtances of this king's death, if true, plainly ſhew, that he was not the ſame perſon whom *Alexander the Great* ſtript of his dominions, on account of his attachment to the *Perſian* intereſt. This *Strato*, king of *Sidon*, is alſo mentioned by *Maximus Tyrius*[r].

STRATO was ſucceeded by *Ballonymus*, of whoſe aſſumption to the throne we have the following account from *Diodorus*[s]. *Alexander*, having depoſed *Strato*, gave *Hephæſtio* power to beſtow the crown of *Sidon* upon which of his friends he pleaſed. Whereupon *Hephæſtio* named to the royal dignity one of the chief citizens, in whoſe houſe he then lodged, and was ſplendidly entertained; deſiring him to accept of it as a pledge of his friendſhip, and an acknowlegement of the many favours he had received in his houſe. The citizen, not at all dazled at the ſight of a crown, returned his generous gueſt a thouſand thanks; but at the ſame time earneſtly begged, he would excuſe him from aſſuming a dignity to which he had no title, as not being of the royal family. *Hephæſtio* was not a little ſurpriſed at this anſwer; but, finding the *Sidonian* to be in earneſt, deſired he would name ſome one of the royal race to be inveſted with the dignity himſelf had refuſed. Upon this he named *Ballonymus*, a man of an unblemiſhed character, but ſo poor, that he was reduced to live in a very obſcure condition, and to maintain himſelf with his daily labour. However, his poverty, and mean condition, were no objection to *Hephæſtio*, who immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to him with the royal robes, and tidings of his elevation to the throne. The meſſenger found him all in rags, and working in a garden as a common labourer. He Ballonymus.

[p] ÆLIAN. var. hiſt. l. vii. c. 2. [q] HIER. contra JOVIAN. l. i. [r] MAX. TYR. ſerm. iv. [s] Ubi ſupr.

was

was actually employed in drawing water out of a well, when the meſſenger acquainted him with his aſſumption to the throne, and cloathed him with the royal robes. He accepted, without more ado, the new dignity; and, proceeding with the meſſenger towards the city, was there received by *Hephæſtio*, with all the marks of diſtinction due to his character, and by him introduced into the *forum*, where, among the joyful ſhouts of the people who were extremely pleaſed with this election, he was proclaimed king of *Sidon*[s]. The ſame occurrence is related, with ſome ſmall variation of circumſtances, by *Plutarch*[t], *Curtius*[u], and *Juſtin*[x]. *Plutarch* calls this king *Alynomus*. *Curtius Abdolomius*; and *Juſtin Abdalominus*. *Plutarch* makes him king of *Paphus*; and *Diodorus*, both him and his predeceſſor, kings of *Tyre*. But, in this particular, we have abandoned him, to follow the current of moſt writers, who place both *Strato* and *Ballonymus* (as *Diodorus* calls him) among the kings of *Sidon*. All we know of his reign is, that, to the laſt, he proved faithful to the *Macedonians*, to whom he was indebted for his crown. And now, that we have brought the kings of *Sidon* down to the conqueſt of *Phœnice* by the *Macedonians*, let us turn back to the kings of *Tyre*.

Kings of Tyre.

WE are left quite in the dark as to the ſeries of the kings who reigned at *Tyre* before *Abibal*, with whom *Joſephus* and *Theophilus Antiochenus* begin the ſucceſſion they have furniſhed us with from *Menander* the *Epheſian*, and *Dius*, both authors, as *Joſephus* calls them[y], of unqueſtionable credit. *Dius*, who was by birth a *Phœnician*, wrote the hiſtory of *Tyre*, extracted from the public records, which were carefully preſerved in that city. And *Menander* compiled the lives and actions of princes, both *Greek* and *Barbarian*, as the ſame *Joſephus* tells us[z], from the public archives of the places he treats of.

THE firſt king of *Tyre*, mentioned by theſe hiſtorians, as quoted by *Joſephus* and *Theophilus*, is *Abibal*, as *Joſephus* calls him[a], or *Abeimal*, as he is named by *Theophilus*[b]. As to his actions, and years of his reign, we are left quite in the dark. He was contemporary with *David*, and probably joined with the neighbouring nations againſt him,

[s] DIOD. SIC. ibid. [t] PLUTARCH de fortuna Alexandri. [u] CURTIUS, l. iv. c. 2. [x] JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 10. [y] JOSEPH. contra Apion. l. i. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. [b] THEOPHIL. ANTIOCH. l. 3.

ſince *David* counts *the inhabitants of Tyre* among his enemies [c].

ABIBAL was ſucceeded by his ſon *Hiram*, whom *Theophilus* calls ſometimes *Hieromus*, and ſometimes *Hieromenus*; *Joſephus*, *Hiram* and *Irom*; *Tatian* and *Zonaras*, *Chiramus*. This prince maintained a ſtrict friendſhip with king *David*, to whom he ſent embaſſadors, probably, to congratulate him upon his victory over the *Jebuſites*, whom he had juſt then driven from the ſtronghold of *Zion*, and to conclude an alliance with him. He preſented him with cedar-trees, and ſent ſkilful workmen to build him a palace in *Jeruſalem* [e]. And hence he is ſaid in Scripture to have been *ever a lover of David* [f]; which ſhews, that he was not only a faithful ally, but a ſincere friend of *David*'s. Upon the death of *David*, and the ſucceſſion of *Solomon* to the throne, the affection *Hiram* had ever maintained for the father, prompted him to ſend a gratulatory embaſſy to the ſon, upon the news of his acceſſion to the government, expreſſing great joy to ſee it continued in the family. Upon the return of theſe embaſſadors, *Solomon* embraced the occaſion, and wrote a letter to *Hiram*, in theſe terms:

Hiram. Year of flood 1302. Bef. Chr. 1046.

King *Solomon* to king *Hiram*, greeting.

Be it known to thee, O king, that my father David *had it a long time in his mind, to erect a temple to the* LORD; *but, being perpetually in war, and under a neceſſity of clearing his hands of his enemies, and making them all his tributaries, before he could attend this great and holy work, he hath left it to me, in time of peace, both to begin, and to finiſh it, according to the direction, as well as the prediction, of* ALMIGHTY GOD. *Bleſſed be his great name, for the preſent tranquillity of my dominions! and by his gracious aſſiſtance, I ſhall now dedicate the beſt improvements of this liberty and leiſure to his honour and worſhip. Wherefore I make it my requeſt, That you will let ſome of your people go along with ſome ſervants of mine, to mount* Libanus, *to aſſiſt them in cutting down materials towards this building; for the* Sidonians *underſtand it much better than we do. As for the workmens reward, or wages, whatever you think reaſonable ſhall be punctually paid them.*

HIRAM was much pleaſed with *Solomon*'s letter, and returned him the follow anſwer:

[d] Pſal. lxxxiii. 7. [e] 2 Sam. v. 11. and 1 Chr. xiv. 1. [f] 1 Kings v. 1.

Kings

King *Hiram* to king *Solomon.*

Nothing could have been more welcome to me, than to underſtand, that the government of your bleſſed father is devolved, by God's providence, into the hands of ſo excellent, ſo wiſe, and ſo virtuous a ſucceſſor: His holy name be praiſed for it! That which you write for ſhall be done with all care and good will: for I will give order to go down, and export ſuch quantities of the faireſt cedars, and cypreſs-trees, as you ſhall have occaſion for. My people ſhall bring them to the ſea-ſide for you, and from thence ſhip them away to what part you pleaſe, where they may lie ready for your own men to tranſport them to Jeruſalem. *It would be a great obligation, after all this, to allow us ſuch a proviſion of corn in exchange, as may ſtand with your convenience; for that is the commodity we iſlanders want moſt* [g].

JOSEPHUS aſſures us, that the originals of theſe letters were extant in his time, both in the *Jewiſh* and *Tyrian* records [h] (B). And they are intirely agreeable with what is delivered in Scripture upon the ſame ſubject [i]. *Solomon* was highly pleaſed with *Hiram*'s anſwer, and, in return for his generous offers, ordered him a yearly preſent of twenty thouſand meaſures of wheat, and twenty meaſures of pure oil [k]. Beſides the cedar-wood, and other materials for the building of the temple, *Hiram* ſent to *Solomon* a man, who was very famous in *Tyre*, for working in gold, ſilver, and other metals, to aſſiſt and direct him in that great undertaking [l]. Neither did *Hiram*'s friendſhip and kindneſs towards *Solomon* ſtop here; for he not only furniſhed him with the choiceſt wood from mount *Libanus*, and able architects and workmen, but moreover advanced him 120

[g] JOSEPH. l. viii. c. 2. [h] Idem ibid. [i] 1 Kings v. 2, & ſeqq. [k] 1 Kings v. 11. [l] 1 Chron. ii. 13.

(B) But it is pretty odd, that *Euſebius* (1), who calls this king *Suron*, ſhould give us this letter with ſo much variation from *Joſephus* as he does. He therein ſpecifies, that he had ſent to *Solomon* eighty thouſand *Phœnicians* and *Tyrians* .... That the architect he ſent him was a *Tyrian* by birth; but that by the mother's ſide he was deſcended of the tribe of *David*; and the like.

(1) *Præpar. evang. l.* ix. *p.* 449.

talents

talents of gold, for the finiſhing of the fabric [m]. And *Solomon* was not behindhand with him, in his acknowlegements and preſents; for, beſides the yearly ſupply of wheat and oil above-mentioned, he beſtowed upon him twenty cities in the land of *Galilee* [n], not far from *Tyre*; which *Hiram*, upon a view of them (they not being much to his liking), fairly declined, with a reſpectful excuſe to *Solomon*, that he had no need of thoſe cities. From this refuſal, that part of the country was called *Cabul*, that is, *diſpleaſing* [o].

HIRAM proved no leſs ſerviceable to *Solomon* in the building of his fleet, than in perfecting the grand work of the temple. For he no ſooner heard that *Solomon* deſigned to build a fleet at *Eloth* and *Ezion-geber* (two ſea-port towns on the *Red Sea*) in order to carry on a trade from thence to *Ophir*, but he generouſly furniſhed him with as many builders and ſhipwrights as he had occaſion for: and, after having thus aſſiſted him in building, fitting, and rigging out of his navy, he ſent him expert pilots, and ſkilful mariners, to conduct his fleets to the land of *Ophir*; the *Tyrians* being in thoſe days, and for many ages after, the moſt experienced of all men in ſea affairs [p].

DIUS, as quoted by *Joſephus* [q], tells us, that the love of wiſdom was the chief inducement to that tenderneſs of friendſhip betwixt *Solomon* and *Hiram*; that they interchanged certain riddles to be unfolded, upon condition, that he who failed of the ſolution, ſhould incur a forfeiture; and that *Hiram*, finding the queſtion too hard for him, paid the penalty. But one *Abdemonus*, a *Tyrian*, reſolved the ſaid queſtion, and propoſed new ones to *Solomon*, upon the penalty of paying ſo much to *Hiram*, if he did not uncypher them.

THE kingdom of *Tyre* was in a very flouriſhing condition under this prince. He repaired and improved divers cities in the eaſtern parts of his dominions; inlarged *Tyre*, and, by the help of a dam, joined it to the temple of the *Olympian Jupiter*, ſtanding in an iſland. In this temple he dedicated a golden pillar to *Jupiter*. He built two temples, one to *Hercules*, another to *Aſtarte*; and beautified them with rich donatives. To *Hercules* he alſo erected a ſtatue, and is ſaid to have repaired the temples of other gods, and enriched them with offerings to a very great value [r]. *Hi-*

[m] 1 Kings ix. 14. [n] 1 Kings ix. 11. and JOSEPH. ubi ſupra. [o] 1 Kings ix. 13. and JOSEPH. ubi ſupra. [p] 1 Kings ix. 27. and 2 Chron. viii. 18. and JOSEPH. ubi ſupra. [q] JOSEPH. ubi ſupra, & l. i. contra Apion. [r] MENAND. EPHES. & DIUS, apud JOSEPH. ubi ſupra.

ram, it seems, was rather a religious, than a warlike prince; for the only military expedition we read of, during his reign, is that which he undertook against the *Eyceans*, who refused to pay him a certain tribute that was due to him, but were reduced in a very short time.

IT is related by *Tatian*, from *Theodotus*, *Hyfierates*, and *Mochus*, three *Phœnician* historians, that king *Hiram* gave his daughter in marriage to *Solomon*: he adds, that by her *Solomon* was induced to worship *Aſhteroth*, the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*[s]. *Hiram* lived 53 years, and reigned 34[t].

Baleazar. Year of flood 1336. Bef. Chr. 1012.

HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Baleazar*, *Baleaſtartus* or *Bazor*, as *Theophilus* calls him, who reigned ſeven years, according to *Joſephus*, and ſeventeen, according to *Theophilus*; and died in the forty-third year of his age[u].

Abdaſtartus.

ABDASTARTUS, the ſon of *Baleazar*, ſucceeded his father; and died, according to *Joſephus*, in the twentieth year of his life, and the ninth of his reign. *Theophilus* ſays, he died at the age of fifty-four, after having reigned twelve years. This prince was murdered by his nurſe's four ſons, and the eldeſt of them uſurped the kingdom, and governed twelve years.

Aſtartus.

ASTARTUS, the brother of *Abdaſtartus*, recovered the throne to his family, lived ſixty-ſix years, and reigned twelve.

Aſtarimus

AFTER him came his brother *Aſtarimus*, who lived, if we believe *Joſephus*, fifty-four years, and reigned twelve. *Theophilus* calls him *Atharymus*, and ſays that he lived fifty-eight years. He was murdered by his brother *Phelles*, who took the government upon him in the fiftieth year of his age.

Phelles.

PHELLES, or, as *Theophilus* calls him, *Helles*, did not long enjoy the throne he had uſurped, by ſo baſe and wicked an act, being murdered in the eighth month of his reign, by

Ithobal. Year of flood 1052. Bef. Chr. 1296.

ITHOBAL, whom *Theophilus* names *Juthobal*, ſon to *Aſtarimus*, and chief-prieſt of the goddeſs *Aſtarte*; which dignity was next to that of the king. *Ithobal* lived to the age of ſixty-eight years, and ruled thirty-two, ſays *Joſephus*: but if we credit *Theophilus*, he lived but forty years, and reigned but twelve. He is called in Scripture *Ethbaal*, and ſtiled king of the *Sidonians*[x]. *Joſephus* gives

[s] TATIAN. orat. contra Græcos. [t] THEOPH. ANTIOC. JOSEPH. & THEOPH. l. iii. [u] JOSEPH. l. i. contra Apion. ubi ſupra. [x] 1 Kings xvi. 31.

him the title of king of *Tyre* and *Sidon*[y]. Whence it is plain, that in *Eth-baal*'s time, *Sidon* was subject to *Tyre*. When that subjection began, is uncertain; for, even in king *Hiram*'s time, the *Tyrians* were, in all probability, masters of *Sidon*; since *Solomon*, in the beginning of his reign, applied to *Hiram* for workmen of *Sidon*, who were famous for their skill in hewing of timber[z]. *Ithobal* built *Botrys* in *Phœnice*, and *Auzates* in *Afric*[a]. *Jezebel*, king *Ahab*'s wife (whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter), was daughter to this prince. *Menander*, as quoted by *Josephus*, tells us, that *in the time of* Eth-baal *king of* Tyre, *there was an extreme drought for want of rain, that lasted from the month* Hyperberetæus, *till the same month next year. There were prayers indeed*, says he, *put up for the averting of the judgment, which were followed by mighty claps of thunder*[b]. This was undoubtedly the drought under *Ahab*; for it was in his reign that *Eth-baal* was king of *Tyre*.

AFTER him his son *Badezor* (who is called by *Theophilus*, *Bazor*) reigned, according to *Josephus*, six years, and lived forty-five. *Theophilus* says, he reigned seven. Badezor.

HIS son *Mettinus* succeeded him; and reigned nine years, says *Josephus*; twenty-nine, says *Theophilus*. He died in the thirty-second year of his age, leaving behind him two sons, *Pygmalion* and *Barca*, and as many daughters, *Elisa* and *Anna*. Mettinus.

PYGMALION ascended the throne on the death of his father *Mettinus*, being at that time, as we are told by *Justin*[c], very young; that is, sixteen, according to the computation of *Josephus*, who supposes him to have lived fifty-six years, and reigned forty[d]. It was in the seventh year of his reign that his sister *Elisa*, called also *Dido*, flying from *Tyre*, built *Carthage* in *Afric*. The occasion of her flight is commonly related thus: *Pygmalion*, coveting the immense riches of his uncle *Sichæus*, who was a priest of *Hercules*, and had married his sister *Elisa*, determined, by some means or other, to make them his own. But as that could not be effected so long as *Sichæus* was alive, he invited him one day to hunt with him; and while those who attended him were engaged in the pursuit of a wild boar, ran him through with his spear; and then throw- Pygmalion.

[y] JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 7. & l. ix. c. 6. [z] 1 Kings v. 6. [a] MENAND. EPHES. apud JOSEPH. antiq. l. viii. c. 7. [b] Idem ubi supra. [c] JUSTIN. lib. xviii. [d] JOSEPH. contra Ap. l. i.

ing him down a precipice, gave out, that the fall had been the occaſion of his death. *Juſtin* and *Virgil* ſay, that *Pygmalion* barbarouſly murdered his uncle at the altar[e]. But, however that be, he reaped no fruit from his wicked attempt, being diſappointed when he leaſt expected it, by the prudent and artful conduct of his ſiſter *Eliſa*; who, as ſhe was a woman of great ſagacity and penetration, well knew what had prompted him to the murder of her huſband; but at the ſame time concealing her thoughts with an artful diſſimulation, ſhewed the ſame kindneſs and eſteem for him, as though ſhe had not entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of him. In the mean while, having formed a deſign of leaving *Tyre*, and ſaving both herſelf and the treaſures of her deceaſed huſband, from the cruel avarice of *Pygmalion*; under pretence of retiring to *Charta* or *Chartaca*, a ſmall city between *Sidon* and *Tyre*, as if to live there with her brother *Barca*, ſhe deſired the king to furniſh her with men and ſhips to convey thither her effects. The covetous prince looked upon this as a fair opportunity of ſeizing at laſt what he had for ſo long a time earneſtly deſired, though always in vain; becauſe *Sichæus*, who was thoroughly acquainted with his nephew's avaritious temper, had taken care to conceal his riches under-ground. With this view *Pygmalion* willingly granted *Eliſa* her demands; which he ſoon repented; for, as ſhe was aſſiſted by her brother *Barca*, and ſeveral ſenators, who were privy to her true deſign, and engaged to follow her at all adventures; her treaſures were put on ſhip-board, and the fleet out of ſight, before *Pygmalion* was appriſed of her reſolution. We are told, that, ſeeing himſelf thus deluded by a woman, and the vaſt riches which he deemed already ſecured in his own coffers, ſnatched, by ſuch a cunning device, out of his hands, he ordered a fleet to be fitted out with all poſſible expedition, in order to purſue the fugitives; but was prevented by the tears of his mother, and the threats of an oracle. The firſt place our adventurers put into was the iſle of *Cyprus*, from whence they carried off a great number of young women, a commodity they wanted moſt of all, ſince their deſign was to plant a new colony. From *Cyprus* they ſteered their courſe for the coaſts of *Afric*, where they put an end to their voyage; and being kindly entertained by the inhabitants of *Utica*, a *Tyrian* colony, laid the foundations of *Carthage*; a city, which, in after-ages, became ſo powerful, both by ſea and land, as to con-

[e] JUSTIN. l. xviii. c. 4. VIRG. i Æneid. ver. 348—350.

tend with *Rome* for the empire of the world[f]. From *Barca* ſprang the illuſtrious family of the *Barcæ* in *Afric*, which produced many celebrated heroes, and among others the great *Hannibal*. But of the *Carthaginian* affairs hereafter: let us now return to *Phœnice*. *Pygmalion* is ſaid by *Stephanus* to have built the city of *Carpaſia* in the iſland of *Cyprus*. He ſent to the temple of *Hercules*, ſtanding in the iſland of *Gades*, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive-tree, of maſſive gold, and of moſt exquiſite and curious workmanſhip; its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderous reſemblance with the natural fruit of that tree[g].

THE next king of *Tyre* we find mentioned in hiſtory, is *Elulæus*, who reigned in the time of *Shalmaneſer* king of *Aſſyria*. This prince, ſeeing the *Philiſtines* brought low by the war, which *Hezekiah* had made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing *Gath*, which had ſome time before revolted from the *Tyrians*. Whereupon the *Gittites*, applying to *Shalmaneſer*, engaged him in their cauſe; ſo that he marched at the head of a powerful army into *Phœnice*; but, upon the concluſion of a peace between him and *Elulæus*, he withdrew his troops, and retired. Not long after *Sidon*, *Arce*, *Palætyrus*, and ſeveral other maritime towns of *Phœnice*, revolting from the *Tyrians*, proclaimed *Shalmaneſer* their king. Upon this, a new war being kindled between the *Tyrians* and *Aſſyrians*, *Shalmaneſer*, highly provoked againſt the *Tyrians*, the only people in *Phœnice* that diſputed his power and authority, reſolved to uſe his utmoſt endeavours towards the reducing of their city: and therefore, beſides his land-forces, he ordered a fleet of ſixty ſail to be fitted out againſt them. But the fleet was encountered and diſperſed by the *Tyrians* with only twelve veſſels, and five hundred of the rowers were taken priſoners. This victory gained the *Tyrians* ſuch a reputation for naval affairs, that *Shalmaneſer*, dreading to engage them a ſecond time at ſea, turned the war into a ſiege, and, leaving the army to block up the city, returned into *Aſſyria*. The forces he left behind him reduced the place to great ſtreights, by ſtopping the aqueducts, placing guards by the ſprings, and cutting off all the conveyances

Elulæus.

Year of the flood 1631. Bef. Chr. 717.

[f] JUSTIN. l. xviii. c. 4. EUSTATH. in DIONYS. VELLEIUS, vol. ii. OROSIUS, l. iv. c. 2. APPIANUS de bell. Pun. LIV. decad. iv. l. iv. SERVIUS in lib. iv. Æneid. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra, &c. [g] PHILOSTRAT. in vita Apollonii, l. v. c. i.

of water. However, by digging of wells within the city, they found some relief in their distress, which enabled them to hold out for the space of five years; at the end of which, *Shalmaneser* dying, the siege was raised [h]. *Elulæus* reigned thirty years.

Ithobal II. ITHOBAL II. reigned in the time of *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*, who laid siege to the city of *Tyre*, which kept that mighty monarch, *that king of kings*, as the prophet *Ezekiel* stiles him [i], employed for thirteen years together [k]: such was the power of the *Tyrians* at that time. We have the description of the siege in *Ezekiel* [l], who mentions a fort raised against the place, a mount cast up, and engines of war erected to batter down its walls. At last *Nebuchadnezzar*, after a siege of thirteen years continuance, made himself master of the city; but as most part of the citizens had retired, with all their effects, elsewhere, before he entered the city, he had nothing but an empty town for his pains, as is plain from the Scripture, where it is said, *Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army to serve a great service against Tyrus . . . . yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus.* Therefore, finding himself thus disappointed, he vented his rage upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left, razing the town to the ground, and putting all he found in it to the sword. To this deplorable condition was *Tyre* reduced by the *Babylonians*, and the severe prophecies, foretelling the overthrow of that city, plainly fulfilled [m]. *Ithobal*, in whose reign happened the destruction of *Tyre*, was, according to the character the prophet gives him [n], a most proud, arrogant, and assuming prince; pretended to know all secrets, to be as wise as *Daniel*, and even went so far as to rank himself among the gods; which brought that heavy judgment upon him, *Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of* GOD; *behold, therefore, I will bring strangers upon thee---they shall bring thee down to the pit, and thou shalt die the death of them that are slain in the midst of the seas* [o]. From whence we may conclude, that in this war he was slain by the *Assyrians*.

Year of the flood 1763. Bef. Chr. 585.

Year of the flood 1776. Bef. Chr. 572.

As it is plain from Scripture, that *Nebuchadnezzar* utterly destroyed the city of *Tyre*, which he found empty; and as, on the other hand, we are told by the *Phœnician*

[h] JOSEPH. antiq. l. ix. c. 14. [i] Ezek. xxvi. 7. [k] PHILOSTRATUS apud Joseph. antiq. l. x. c. 11. & l. i. contr. Apion. [l] Ezek. xxvi. 8, & seq. [m] Jerem. xxix. 22. xxvii. 3. xlvii. 4. Ezek. xxvi. 3. Amos i. 9, 10. Joel iii. 4. [n] Ezek. xxviii. 3, 4. [o] Idem ibid. ver. 6, 7, 8.

historians,

hiſtorians, that *Ithobal* was ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Tyre* by *Baal*, and *Baal* by ſeveral temporary magiſtrates [o]; it is very probable, that the inhabitants of *Tyre* retreated with their effects, before *Nebuchadnezzar* got poſſeſſion of the city, to an iſland about half a mile diſtant from the ſhore, where they built themſelves a new city; which, after the deſtruction of the old town, ſubmitted to *Nebuchadnezzar*, who thereupon appointed *Baal* to be king under him; but, upon *Baal*'s death, in order to make the government more dependent on the *Aſſyrians*, changed the royal dignity into that of temporary magiſtrates, called *Suffetes* (C), or *judges*; a name well known among the *Carthaginians*, who were originally *Tyrians*, and whoſe chief magiſtrates were called *ſuffetes* [p].

Baal.

BAAL reigned ten years, and upon his death the following judges had the government of the city, *viz.* *Ecnibal*, the ſon of *Baſbech*, two months; *Chelbes*, the ſon of *Abdæus*, ten months; the high-prieſt *Abbar*, three months; *Mytgonus* or *Myttonus* and *Geraſtus*, the ſons of *Abdelimus*, ſix years [q]. After *Tyre* had been thus governed for ſome years by judges, the royal dignity was reſtored, and

Tyre governed by judges. Year of the flood 1786. Bef. Chr. 562.

BALATOR created king; but both he and his ſucceſſors were intirely dependent of, and tributaries to the *Aſſyrians*, for the ſpace of ſeventy years; which being expired, they recovered, according to the prophecy of *Iſaiah* [r], their antient liberty, and former privileges; of which in its proper place. *Balator* reigned but one year.

Balator king. Year of the flood 1792. Bef. Chr. 556.

UPON his death the *Tyrians* invited *Merbal* from *Babylon*, who reigned four years.

MERBAL was ſucceeded by his brother *Irom*, who reigned twenty years. In the fourteenth year of *Irom*'s reign, *Cyrus*, according to the *Phœnician* annals, made himſelf maſter of the *Perſian* empire [s].

Merbal. Irom. Year of the flood 1797. Bef. Chr. 551.

SEVERAL years after *Irom* reigned *Marten* the ſon of *Sirom*. He ſerved in *Xerxes*'s navy againſt the *Greeks*; and with the other commanders, adviſed him to engage the

Year of the flood 1868. Bef. Chr. 480.

Marten.

[o] Vide JOSEPH. l. i. contra Apion. [p] LIV. l. xxviii. xxx. xxxiv. [q] JOSEPH. ib. [r] Iſa. xxiii. 15, 17. [s] JOSEPH. l. i. contra APION.

(C) "*Suffetes* ..... had its "derivation from the *Hebrew* "word *ſhophetim*, i. e. judges; "which was the very name "whereby the chief governors "of *Iſrael* were called for ſe-"veral generations, before they "had kings (1)."

(1) *Prideaux's connect. vol.* i. *p.* 92.

Grecian fleet at *Salamis* [t]. The *Tyrians*, as well as the other *Phœnicians*, were, at this time, as may be gathered from *Herodotus*, tributaries to the *Perſians*, though under a king of their own; being greatly favoured by the *Perſian* monarchs, in conſideration of the ſervices they rendered them in their naval expeditions.

ABOUT this time reigned *Strato*, whoſe acceſſion to the throne is related by *Juſtin* [u] thus: The ſlaves, who were then very numerous at *Tyre*, having formed a conſpiracy againſt their maſters, murdered them all in one night (except *Strato*, whom his ſlave ſecretly ſaved); and, taking poſſeſſion of the city, married their miſtreſſes, and put all the others to the ſword, who were not of their own race. Having thus not only recovered their liberty, but made themſelves abſolute lords of the ſtate, they reſolve to create a king out of their own body; and unanimouſly agree, that he ſhould be raiſed to that dignity, as being the moſt acceptable to the gods, who the next morning ſhould firſt ſee the riſing ſun. In purſuance of this reſolution and agreement, they appointed to meet about midnight in an open field, lying on the eaſt ſide of the city, and there, with one accord, beſtow the crown upon the perſon to whom the ſun ſhould ſhew himſelf firſt. In the mean time, *Strato*'s ſlave, having imparted the whole matter to his maſter, whom he kept carefully concealed, was by him inſtructed to turn himſelf, not to the eaſt, as the others would probably do; but to the weſt, and there keep his eyes fixed on the top of the higheſt tower of the city. The ſlave obeyed his maſter's directions, and was therefore looked upon by the whole multitude as no better than a mad-man; it ſeeming to them very ſtrange, that a man ſhould look for the riſing ſun in the weſt. But they were ſoon made ſenſible of their error; for while the others ſtood gazing towards the eaſt, in expectation of ſeeing the ſun appear, *Strato*'s ſlave ſhewed them the high edifices of the city already illuminated with his rays: whereupon he was highly applauded by his companions, and eagerly preſſed to name the perſon to whom he was indebted for ſuch a wiſe thought; which they could not aſcribe to him, or any other ſlave. He refuſed at firſt to gratify their curioſity; but at laſt, upon promiſe of impunity for himſelf and the perſon he ſhould name, he owned, that, out of compaſſion and gratitude toward his maſter, who had always

[t] HEROD. l. vi. c. 98. & l. viii. c. 67. [u] JUSTIN. l. xviii. c. 3.

treated

treated him with great humanity and kindneſs, he had ſaved both him and his ſon in the common maſſacre, and acted in the affair they were ſo inquiſitive about, according to his directions. The multitude, hearing this, not only pardoned the ſlave, but, looking upon the maſter as one preſerved by a particular providence of the gods, immediately proclaimed him their king. This is all we know of *Strato*.

UPON his death, his ſon was placed on the throne; and the kingdom of *Tyre* was enjoyed by his deſcendants [x], among whom, the only one we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Azelmic*, in whoſe reign happened the memorable ſiege and reduction of that city by *Alexander the Great* [y]. We may judge of its flouriſhing condition at that time, from the ſtand it made againſt that victorious prince, ſince it ſtopped the courſe of his whole army full ſeven months. As the conqueror approached the territories of *Tyre*, the *Tyrians* ſent out embaſſadors to meet him (amongſt whom was the king's own ſon) with preſents for himſelf, and proviſions for his army: but when he deſired to enter the city, under pretence of offering ſacrifice to *Hercules*, they refuſed him admittance; which provoked *Alexander*, now flushed with ſo many victories, to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to ſtorm the city, and enter it by force. On the other hand, the *Tyrians*, not at all terrified by *Alexander*'s threats, determined to ſtand it out to the laſt. What encouraged them to this reſolution was the ſtrength of the place, and the confidence they had in the *Carthaginians*, their allies. The city then ſtood on an iſland half a mile diſtant from the ſhore; was ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall an hundred and fifty feet high, and was ſtored with great plenty of proviſions, and all ſorts of warlike machines: beſides, the *Carthaginians*, who were a powerful ſtate, and then maſters of the ſeas, had promiſed to ſend them ſuccours during the war. What animated the *Tyrians* to ſtand a ſiege, gave *Alexander* no ſmall uneaſineſs in the undertaking and carrying it on. For he could no otherwiſe make his approaches to it, than by carrying a mole or cauſey from the continent to the iſland on which the city ſtood. This grand work he undertook; and, as he was reſolved at any rate to reduce the city, he accompliſhed it at laſt, maugre the innumerable, and almoſt inſurmountable difficulties he met with in ſo bold an attempt. He was aſſiſted in raiſing the mole (which was two hundred

Azelmic.

Tyre beſieged by Alexander

Year of the flood 2615. Bef. Chr. 333.

[x] Idem ibid. [y] ARRIANUS, l. ii.

feet in breadth) by the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities, who were all called in on this occaſion; and ſupplied with ſtones from the ruins of old *Tyre*, and with timber from mount *Libanus*. The *Tyrians* at firſt looked upon this undertaking as a raſh and deſperate attempt, which could never be attended with any ſucceſs: and therefore, from their ſhips, laughing at the king, aſked him, whether he believed himſelf to be greater than *Neptune?* But, ſeeing the mole, contrary to their expectation, beginning to appear above water, they reſolved, for fear of the worſt, to ſend their wives and children, and ſuch as were not fit for ſervice, to *Carthage*; but were prevented by the arrival of *Alexander*'s fleet from *Cyprus*. Neither could the *Carthaginians* aſſiſt them with the promiſed ſuccours, being detained at home by domeſtic troubles. However, the *Tyrians* fainted not in the reſolution of ſtanding to their defence; firſt from their ſhips, and afterwards, as the mole was brought nearer the city, from the walls, with ſhowers of arrows, darts, ſtones, *&c.* wherewith they made a moſt dreadful havock of the *Macedonians*, who were employed in the work, and expoſed without any defence. But what moſt of all diſheartened the *Macedonians*, was a violent ſtorm, which, ariſing all on a ſudden, carried away, in great part, the cauſey, after it had been, with unwearied labour, and great loſs of men, brought near the walls of the city. This unlucky accident perplexed *Alexander* to ſuch a degree, that he began to repent he had undertaken the ſiege; and would have ſent embaſſadors to the *Tyrians* with terms of peace, had he believed they would have hearkened to them. But as they had thrown headlong into the ſea the embaſſadors, who before the ſiege had, in his name, ſummoned them to ſurrender; he was afraid thoſe he ſhould ſend now, might meet with ſuch like, or more ſevere treatment. Being therefore diverted, by this apprehenſion, from all thoughts of making up matters, by way of treaty; and fully appriſed, that his reputation, and the future progreſs of his arms, intirely depended on the ſucceſs of the preſent undertaking; he reaſſumed, with ſeeming chearfulneſs, the work; repaired, with incredible expedition, the breach which the ſea had made in the mole; and, having brought it again almoſt home to the city, began to batter it with all ſorts of warlike engines; while the archers and ſlingers haraſſed, without interruption, thoſe who defended it, in order to drive them from their poſts. But the *Tyrians* ſtood their ground, and, by means of a new contrivance of wheels with many

ſpokes,

ſpokes, which, being whirled about with an engine, either ſhattered in pieces the enemy's darts and arrows, or broke their force, covered themſelves againſt the aggreſſors, and killed great numbers of them, without ſuffering any conſiderable loſs on their own ſide. But, in the mean time, the wall began to yield to the violence of the rams that battered it night and day without interruption. Whereupon the beſieged, ſetting all hands to work, raiſed, in a very ſhort time, a new wall, ten cubits broad, and five cubits diſtant from the former; and, by filling up the empty ſpace between the two walls with earth and ſtones, kept the *Macedonians* a long while employed, ere they could make, with all their engines, the leaſt impreſſion on this new piece of fortification. However, *Alexander*, having joined many of his ſhips together, and mounted upon them a vaſt number of battering engines, beſides thoſe he had already placed on the mole, ſucceeded at laſt in the attempt, and made a breach an hundred feet wide. But when he came to the aſſault, in hopes of breaking into the city over the ruins, the *Macedonians*, though encouraged with the preſence of their king, were forced to give ground, and retire with great loſs to their ſhips. *Alexander* deſigned to renew the attack next morning; but the breach having been repaired by the *Tyrians*, during the night, he perceived himſelf no further advanced than when he firſt began to batter the walls. Hereupon the *Macedonian* reſolved to change his meaſures; and, having firſt of all brought the mole home to the wall, cauſed ſeveral towers to be built equal in height to the battlements. Theſe towers he filled with the moſt brave and reſolute men of his army, who, purſuant to his directions, having formed a bridge, with large planks, reſting with one end on the towers, and with the other on the top of the ramparts, endeavoured, ſword in hand, to gain the wall; but could not prevail, being oppoſed by the *Tyrians* with unparalleled bravery, and weapons, which the *Macedonians* were altogether unacquainted with. Theſe were three-forked hooks, faſtened with a cord (one end whereof they held themſelves), which, being thrown at a little diſtance, ſtuck in the enemies targets, and gave the *Tyrians* an opportunity, either of plucking their targets out of their hands, and by that means expoſing them, without defence, to ſhowers of darts and arrows; or, if they were unwilling to part with their ſhields, of pulling them headlong out of the towers: ſome, by throwing a kind of fiſhing-nets upon the *Macedonians* that were engaged on the bridges, entangled their hands, ſo that they could neither defend

defend themſelves, or offend the enemy: others, with long poles, armed with iron hooks, drew them off the bridges, and daſhed their brains out againſt the wall, or on the cauſey. In the mean time, a great many engines, placed on the walls, played, inceſſantly, upon the aggreſſors, with maſſy pieces of red-hot iron, which ſwept away intire ranks at once. But what moſt of all diſheartened the *Macedonians*, in the attack, and forced them, at laſt, to give it over, was, the ſcorching ſand, which the *Tyrians*, by a new contrivance, ſhowered upon them: for this ſand (which was thrown in red-hot ſhields of iron, or braſs), getting within their breaſtplates, and coats of mail, tormented them to ſuch a degree, that many, finding no other relief, threw themſelves headlong into the ſea; and others, dying in the anguiſh of inexpreſſible torments, ſtruck, with their deſperate cries, a terror into all thoſe who heard them. This occaſioned unſpeakable confuſion among the aggreſſors, which gave new courage to the *Tyrians*; who, now leaving the walls, charged the enemy hand to hand, on his own bridges, with ſuch reſolution, that *Alexander*, ſeeing his men give ground, thought fit to ſound the retreat, and, by that means, ſave, in ſome degree, the reputation of his *Macedonians*. Such deſperate attacks were frequently renewed by the aggreſſors, and always ſuſtained with the ſame unbroken and undaunted courage, by the beſieged. And now *Alexander* began to entertain ſome thoughts of abandoning the enterprize, and continuing his march into *Egypt*: but, again conſidering the dangerous conſequences that muſt unavoidably attend ſuch a reſolution, he determined to go on with the ſiege, at all adventures, though, of all his captains, none was found, but *Amyntas*, who approved of that determination. Having, therefore, exhorted the diſheartened *Macedonians* to ſtand by him, and infuſed into them all the courage he could, he ſurrounded the city with his fleet, and began to batter it on all ſides: in the mean time, a fancy taking the *Tyrians*, upon a dream ſome of them had, that *Apollo* deſigned to forſake them, and go over to *Alexander*, they faſtened his ſtatue, with golden chains, to the altar of *Hercules*. This ſtatue, or coloſſus (for it was of an extraordinary ſize), belonged formerly to the city of *Gela* in *Sicily*, and was ſent from thence by the *Carthaginians*, when they took *Gela*, to *Tyre*, their mother city[z]. In this *Apollo* the *Tyrians* greatly confided; and therefore, upon the rumour that he was to abandon them,

[z] Diod. Sic. l. xiii. p. 390.

them

they had recourſe even to chains, in order to prevent his departure: but their utter ruin being already decreed by the true GOD, and foretold by his prophets [a], the confidence they placed in their idols could not avert the impending judgment. They were deſtined to deſtruction, and deſtruction was their fate: for *Alexander*, having, at laſt, battered down the walls, and taken the town by ſtorm, after ſeven months ſiege, fully executed the ſentence, which the *Tyrians* had, by their pride, and other vices, drawn down upon themſelves and their country. The city was burnt down to the ground, and the inhabitants (excepting thoſe whom the *Sidonians* ſecretly conveyed away in their ſhips) were either deſtroyed, or enſlaved by the conqueror, who, upon his firſt entering the city, put eight thouſand to the ſword, cauſed two thouſand of thoſe he took priſoners to be crucified, and ſold the reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand, ſays *Arrian*, for ſlaves. His cruelty towards the two thouſand that were crucified, was highly unbecoming a generous conqueror. *Alexander* treated them thus, for no other reaſon, than becauſe they had fought with ſuch bravery and reſolution in defence of their country; but, to palliate the true cauſe of ſo baſe an action, he gave out, that he did it to revenge, upon the preſent *Tyrians*, the crime which their forefathers committed, when they murdered their maſters, as we have related above; and that, being ſlaves by origin, crucifixion was the puniſhment due to them. To make this look the more plauſible, he ſaved all the deſcendants of *Strato*, as not being involved in that guilt; and, among them, king *Azelmic*, who, in the beginning of the ſiege, was out with his fleet upon a naval expedition, in conjunction with *Autophradates*, the *Perſian* admiral, but had haſtened home, as ſoon as he was acquainted with the danger of his country. After the city was reduced, he took ſanctuary in the temple of *Hercules*, and was not only ſpared by the conqueror, but reſtored to the throne, after *Alexander* had re-peopled the place. For, having thus cleared it of its former inhabitants, he planted it anew, with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places; and thenceforth ſtiled himſelf the founder of *Tyre*, a city which he had moſt ungenerouſly deſtroyed. Upon taking the city, he unchained *Apollo*, returning him thanks for his intention of coming over to the *Macedonians*; offered ſacrifice to *Hercules*; and,

Tyre *taken, and deſtroyed.* Year of the flood 2026. Bef. Chr. 332.

[a] Iſa. xxiii. Ezek. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.

after

after performing many other superstitious follies, continued his march into *Egypt* [b].

How *Marion* came to rule over *Tyre*, will be more regularly told hereafter.

The kings of Arad.

ARAD, or *Aradus*, had its kings, as well as *Sidon*, *Tyre*, and, perhaps, most other cities of *Phœnice*: but we find three of them only mentioned in history; *viz.* *Arbal*, his son *Narbal*, who served under *Xerxes*, in his great expedition [c], and *Geroſtratus*, who reigned many years after. He served *Darius* against *Alexander*, joining the *Persian* fleet, as other *Phœnician* and *Cyprio*t princes did, till, hearing his son *Strato* had put a crown of gold upon the head of *Alexander*, and given up to him the island-city of *Aradus*, the city of *Marathus*, on the main land, over-against it, as, also, the city of *Mariammia*, or *Mariame*, and whatever else belonged to the *Aradian* dominion; he thought it most for his interest to approve, seemingly, at least, of what his son had done, and to make his submission to *Alexander* [d].

Year of the flood 2015. Bef. Chr. 332.

CHAP. VII.

The history of the Jews, *from the birth of* Abraham *to the* Babyloniſh *captivity.*

Design of this chapter.

WE have, in the second chapter of the preceding volume [e], carried on the history of the world, and, particularly, of the descendants of *Shem*, from the flood to the birth of *Abraham*: and are now to continue it in the family of that celebrated patriarch, from that remarkable epoch in which he was called, by the divine providence, out of his native country, into the *Promised land*, to that fatal one in which his descendents were, by the same divine appointment, expelled out of it, and consigned to a severe seventy years captivity in *Babylon*, for their horrid ingratitude, obstinate disobedience, and other crying sins

[b] DIOD. SIC. ad Olymp. 112. ann. 1. PLUTARCH. in Alexandro. Q. CURTIUS, l. iv. c. 5, 6, 11, 15. ARRIAN. l. ii. p. 49. JUSTIN l. xi. c. 10. & l. xviii. c. 34. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xi. cap. ultim. [c] HERODOT. l. vii. c. 98. [d] ARRIAN. de exped. Alex. Magn. l. ii p. 119. & CURT. l. iv. c. 1. [e] P. 252, & seq.

and

and rebellions. And though neither he, nor his poſterity, got into the actual poſſeſſion of this land, till ſome generations, or even centuries, after his death, and only wandered through it, like ſtrangers and pilgrims, till *Jacob's* deſcent into *Egypt*, of which we ſhall ſpeak more fully in the ſequel; yet, as this whole territory was given to *Abraham* himſelf by promiſe, and the boundaries aſſigned to it by GOD[a]; we ſhall, accordingly, purſue the method, we have preſcribed to ourſelves, of beginning every hiſtory with the deſcription of the country. But as this chapter contains a very conſiderable period of time, and is fraught with a multiplicity and variety of material tranſactions; other ſubjects, not only curious and inſtructive, but of a religious and important nature; ſuch as the choice of the *Jewiſh* nation to be GOD's peculiar people, his paternal and miraculous care over them, their ſignal deliverance out of the *Egyptian* bondage, and forty years wandering in the wilderneſs; their paſſage through the *Red Sea*, and conqueſt of the *Promiſed Land*; their receiving the divine law on mount *Sinai*; their frequent rebellions, puniſhments, and deliverances, under their judges, prophets, and kings, *&c.* all which are well worthy of our particular attention and regard, and will, conſequently, draw it to a proportionable length; we ſhall, for the convenience of our readers, and the clearer diſtinction of the ſeveral parts and epochas it comprehends, divide it, as we have already done that of *Egypt*, into ſo many different ſections. We begin with the deſcription of the land.

SECT. I.

The geography of Paleſtine, *or* Holy Land.

THIS once happy and fertile ſpot, and the peculiar object of the divine providence, was firſt called the land of *Canaan*, or *Chanaan*, from *Noah's* grandſon, by whom it was peopled[b]: but it has been ſince more diſtinguiſhed by other names; ſuch as *the land of promiſe*, *the land of* GOD, *the land of* Iſrael, *the holy land*, and ſometimes, by way of pre-eminence, *the land*. It hath again been called *Paleſtine*, from the *Paleſtines*, or *Philiſtines*, who poſſeſſed a

Land of promiſe described. Various names.

[a] Gen. xii. 6, 7. xiii. 14, & ſeq.

[b] See vol. i. p. 268, 274, 275. Vol. ii. p. 188, & ſeqq.

great

Other names, As to the other names by which profane authors have called it, such as *Syria*, *Palæſtina-Syria*, *Cœleſyria*, *Idum*, *Idumea*, and *Phœnicia*, or *Phœnice*; it was only done out of contempt to the *Jewiſh* nation, whom they did not account worthy to be diſtinguiſhed by any but the moſt common names of thoſe noted provinces that were about them, and of which they looked upon them only as an obſcure and inconſiderable part. We find it even called *Idumea*, on no other account, as we can ſee, but becauſe the *Idumeans* ſeized on ſome parts of it during the *Babyloniſh* captivity; though they were, ſome time after the return, driven from it by the brave *Maccabees*, and even conquered by them, as we have ſeen in their hiſtory, p. 180 & *ſeq.* How *Judea* came to be called alſo *Phœnice*, or *Phœnicia*, we have already ſhewn, in the hiſtory of that nation, p. 320 in the notes. At preſent, the name of *Paleſtine* is that which has moſt prevailed among the Chriſtian doctors, *Mohammedan* and other writers [d]. And thus much as for the various names of this country.

And now Paleſtine.

Situation. As to its ſituation, the *Jews*, from a particular veneration for ſo celebrated a ſpot, as well as from ſome miſtaken paſſages in one or two of the prophets, in which *Jeruſalem* is ſaid to have been ſeated, by the Almighty, in the midſt, or, as the *Hebrew* figuratively terms it, the navel of the earth, *&c.* have taken a notion that it ſtands juſt in the very heart of all the nations, and the centre of the world; which was the more excuſable, conſidering the utter ignorance mankind, and the *Jews*, above all the reſt, had of every thing that related to geography, and even of the figure, extent, and motion, of the earth; eſpecially, ſince we find, that the very *Athenians* and *Delphians*, and even the more polite *Chineſe*, have run into the ſame notion, with regard to their own countries. Upon what account theſe did it, will be beſt ſeen, when we come to treat of them: however, leaving theſe fond dreams, we ſhall now deſcribe its true boundaries, on all ſides; which are as follow: It was incloſed, on the weſt, by the *Mediterranean*; and, on the eaſt, by the lake *Aſphaltites*, the *Jordan*, and the ſea of *Tiberias*, or of *Galilee*, and the *Samachonite* lake: to the north it had the mountains of *Libanus*, or

Believed the centre of the world.

Boundaries.

[d] See RELAND. Palæſtin. illuſtrat. c. 7.

rabbinic whimſies; and have added many other abſurd notions concerning the holineſs of this land, which are not worth a place in a work of this nature and ſtill pay a deep veneration to it, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel.

rather

rather, of *Antilibanus*, or the province of *Phœnicia*; and, to the ſouth, that of *Edom*, or *Idumea*; from which it was likewiſe parted by another ridge of high mountains. It muſt be here obſerved, that we have confined ourſelves to that part which is properly called the *land of promiſe:* as for the other part, *viz.* that which belonged to two tribes and an half, on the other ſide *Jordan*, and which was called *Peræa*; and the land, or kingdoms of *Og*, *Sihon*, &c. their boundaries are more difficult to be fixed (D), as well as thoſe of the conqueſts and acquiſitions which they afterwards made, under the reigns of their proſperous kings; which laſt will be beſt ſeen in the ſequel: and as to their ſituation, with reſpect to the nations round about them, we ſhall, additional to what hath been already hinted, under their reſpective hiſtories, ſubjoin a brief account of them, at the cloſe of this ſection. The extent of it is likewiſe variouſly ſettled by geographers; ſome giving it no more than about 170 or 180 miles in length, from north to ſouth; and about 140 in breadth, from eaſt to weſt, where broadeſt, as it is towards the ſouth; and but about 70, where narroweſt, as it is towards the north. But, from the lateſt and moſt accurate maps, it appears to extend near 200 miles in length, and about 80 in breadth, about the middle; and 10 or 15, more or leſs, where it widens or ſhrinks. It reaches from 31 deg. 30 min. to 33 deg. 20 min. of north latitude; and from 34 deg. 50 min. to 37 deg. 15 min. of eaſt longitude [e]; and is under the 4th and *Extent.*

[e] Comp. ſyſt. geogr. vol. ii. p. 109.

(D) All that we can ſay of them, with any tolerable probability, is, that the river *Arnon* was the firſt northern boundary on that ſide; and, with reſpect to thoſe on this ſide *Jordan*, we cannot forbear taking notice of a conſiderable difference obſerved long ago by the accurate *Reland*, with regard to the boundaries aſſigned to it by the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* pentateuch. His words are theſe (5): *Quod ad terminos Palæſtinæ attinet deſcriptos* Geneſ. x. 19. *eſt obſervatu dignum pentateuchum Hebræo-Samaritanum non niſi duos treſve extremos memorare, uti fluvium Ægypti, & Euphratem, & Mare Magnum; licet in codice Hebræorum aliorum locorum, in finibus ſitorum, fiat mentio. Contextus Hebræus ita habet: Termini Canaan ſunt a Sidone Gerarum uſque Gazam, qua itur Sodomam, Gomorrham, Admamam, Zeboim, uſque ad Leſcha. Samaritanus hoc comma ita exhibet — Et fuit terminus Cananæorum a fluvio Ægypti, uſque ad flumen magnum Euphratem, & uſque ad Mare Poſterius*, i. e. *Occidentale. Vides inſignem differentiam, quæ inter Hebræum & Samaritanum codicem intervenit.*

(5) *Ubi ſup. c.* 25.

5th climates: ſo that its longeſt day is about 14 hours, 15 minutes.

THESE limits, however, have appeared, at beſt, ſo very narrow, conſidering that the country is likewiſe interſected with many a ridge of high mountains, barren woods, deſerts, &c. that many learned men have been induced to queſtion what we read of its richneſs and populouſneſs in the ſacred books; eſpecially of its being able not only to maintain ſo many millions of ſouls, as it contained, with plenty of corn, wine, oil, fleſh, fiſh, and fowl, and all other neceſſaries and delicacies of life; but, likewiſe, to ſupply ſo many other countries with them. And it muſt be owned, that, were we to judge of its antient and flouriſhing ſtate, when it was cultivated with the utmoſt diligence, by men well acquainted with every branch of agriculture, ſuch as its antient inhabitants appear to have been; and as it was afterwards improved, under the influence of the Divine Providence; with what it hath been, ſince the total extirpation of the *Jews* out of it; and, more particularly, ſince it hath ſo ſeverely groaned under the yoke of *Turkiſh* ſlavery, which hath reduced both it, and all the once-fertile and opulent countries round it, into mere deſerts; the thing would appear abſolutely impoſſible. We ſhall have occaſion, by-and-by, to mention ſome of the manifeſt cauſes of this great and melancholy change: in the mean time, let us take a view of it in its antient, and more bleſſed ſtate.

Great fertility, whence.

Preſent barrenneſs.

So rich and fruitful doth it appear to have been, even before the *Iſraelites* got into the poſſeſſion of it, that *Moſes* deſcribes it in theſe emphatical terms[f]: A land that floweth with milk and honey; a land of brooks and waters, of fountains and depths, that ſpring out of the valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley; of vines, figs, and pomgranates; of oil, olives, and honey: a land where is no lack or ſcarcity of any thing; whoſe ſtones (or rocks) are iron; and out of whoſe mountains thou mayeſt dig up braſs, &c. all which the *Iſraelites* found literally true, as it plainly appears, even from the account which the puſillanimous ſpies gave of it, after their return; and from the fruit they brought from thence, as a ſpecimen of the reſt[g]. It even exceeded, in many particulars, the ſo much celebrated land of *Egypt*, eſpecially in the vaſt numbers of noble cattle, great and ſmall, which it bred; in the quantity and ex-

Land, how deſcribed by Moſes.

Why it exceeded Egypt.

[f] Deut. viii. 7, & ſeq. [g] Num. xiii. 23, & ſeq.

cellence

cellence of its oil, wine, and other fruits (E). Several circumſtances contributed to this wonderful fecundity; ſuch as the excellent temperature of the air, which was never ſubject to exceſſive heats or colds; the regularity of its ſeaſons, eſpecially the former and latter rain; the natural fatneſs and fertility of its ſoil, which required neither dunging or manuring, and could be ploughed with a ſingle yoke of oxen, and a ſmall kind of plough: for the ſoil was, and is ſtill, ſo ſhallow, that, to have gone deep into it, would rather endanger, than improve the crop (F). With reſpect to the excellency of its corn, we are told, that the bread of *Jeruſalem* was preferred above all other; and we ſhall ſee, in the ſequel, that the tribe of *Aſher* produced the beſt of both, and in greater quantity, than any other tribe: and ſuch plenty was there of it, that, beſides what ſufficed the inhabitants, who made it their chief ſuſtenance; *Solomon*, we read, could afford to ſend 20000 cors, or meaſures, of

Serene air.

Rich ſoil.

Excellent corn.

(E) With reſpect to the two laſt particulars, it is plain, that the olives and oil of *Canaan* exceeded thoſe of *Egypt*, in fineneſs; ſince the tribes ſent them thither from hence: and as for vines, the *Egyptians*, *Herodotus* tells us (6), had none at all, but ſupplied the want of their juice with a liquor made of barley. The preſents which good old *Jacob* ſent to his ſon *Joſeph*, the ſuppoſed ſurly lord of *Egypt*, of honey, ſpices, myrrh, almonds, and other fruits of *Paleſtine*, ſhew, that they muſt have been much better here, than there (7). *Rabſhakeh* made no ſcruple, accordingly, to ſtile this country a land of corn and wine, of bread and vineyards, of oil, olives, honey, &c (8). And, to conclude with *Reland*, who knows not, that the wine of *Gaza*, *Aſcalon*, and *Sarepta*, was famed, among the moſt remote nations? though it is allowed, alſo, that that which was made at and in the neighbourhood of *Bethlehem*, in great quantities, was equal, at leaſt, if not ſuperior, to any (9) of the others; and that of *Libanus*, mentioned by the prophet, was no leſs celebrated for its excellent flavour (10).

(F) This needs no proof; ſince the heat reverberated from the ſtony bottom would ſoon dry up the clods, and parch the ſeed. For this reaſon, we are told (11), that, in all theſe countries, they made uſe only of ſmall and ſhallow ploughs, which is farther confirmed by a modern eye-witneſs; who tells us, that it is ſtill practiſed in the ſame manner, and only with two oxen: and adds, that the land is ſtill ſo rich and fertile, as to require no farther manure (12).

(6) *L.* ii. *c.* 77.
(7) *Gen.* xliii. 11. *See alſo*, *Bochart. phaleg.*
(8) 2 *Kings* xviii. 32.
(9) *Joſeph. antiq.*
(10) *Hoſea* xiv. 7.
(11) *Theophraſt. hiſt. plant. l.* xi. *c.* 8.
(12) *Brochard. deſcr. ter. ſanct. c.* 11.

it, and as many of oil, yearly, to *Hiram* king of *Tyre* [h]; beſides what they exported into other countries. And we find, even ſo late as king *Herod*, ſurnamed *Agrippa*, the countries of *Tyre* and *Sidon* received moſt of their ſuſtenance from his tetrarchy [i].

Grapes, fruits, &c. As to their fruits, the grapes were delicious, finely flavoured, and very large. The palm-tree, and its dates, were in no leſs requeſt; and the plain of *Jericho*, among other places, was famed for the great plenty and excellence of that fruit; inſomuch that the metropolis of that territory was emphatically ſtiled, *the city of palm-trees*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. But what both this plain, and other parts of *Paleſtine*, were moſt celebrated for, was, the balſam *Balm.* ſhrub, whoſe balm was eſteemed ſo precious a drug, among the *Greeks*, *Romans*, *Egyptians*, and other nations, and is ſtill, to this day, under the name of balm of *Gilead* (G). They

[h] 1 Kings v. 11. [i] Acts xii. 20.

(G) *Theophraſtus*, ſpeaking of this valuable ſhrub, only ſays, in general, that it grew in ſome valley of *Syria* (13). But both *Juſtin*, *Joſephus*, *Strabo*, and others, do plainly ſay, it grew in *Judea*; and the former of them expreſly names the valley or plain of *Hiericho* (14): and adds, that it is ſurrounded with mountains, as with a wall; and extends about 200 acres. *Joſephus* inſinuates, as if it had been brought thither by the queen of *Sheba*, among other valuable preſents, to king *Solomon*: but, by what we read of thoſe which *Jacob* ſent into *Egypt*, among which this precious balm is proved, by the learned *Bochart*, *Le Scene*, and others, to have been one; it muſt have been of much earlier date here, if it was not really of the natural growth of the country. And, indeed, ſeveral antient authors, ſuch as *Pliny*, *Dioſcorides*, and even *Joſephus*, mention it as the peculiar product of it; and *Diodorus Siculus* (15), and others, add, that it grew no-where in the world but about the territory of *Engedi*, and ſome other places about the *Dead Sea*. *Joſephus* adds (16), that the country whence that queen brought it, had, long ſince, ceaſed to produce it. But, ſays *Reland*, *Proſper Alpinus*, and *P. Bellonius*, will have it, that they are all miſtaken; becauſe thoſe that grow in *Judea* are no-where to be found but in gardens, and require a great deal of care and attendance; whereas balſam, of every ſort, comes from *Arabia*, as from its own native ſoil, and is thence exported into other nations. But, continues our author, I am of opinion, that *Joſephus* and *Dioſcorides* ſpoke truth;

(13) *Ubi ſup. l.* ix. *c.* 6. (14) *L.* xxxvii. (15) *L.* ii. *c.* 48. (16) *Ant. l.* ix. *c.* 1.

for

, likewiſe, the greateſt variety of other fruit-trees
ſt perfection, and which might be, in ſome
petual, becauſe they were not only covered
erdure, but becauſe the new buds always *Conſtant verdure.*
boughs before the old fruit was ripe;
which were in too great quanti-
maturity, they gathered enough
pickles and ſweetmeats, eſpecially
nges, and apples of paradiſe, which *Oranges, &c.*
g by hundreds in a cluſter, and as big as
of an excellent taſte and flavour. Their
grapes twice, and ſometimes three times, a *Vines.*
quantities of which were dried up, and preſerved
as well as their figs, plums, and other fruits.
ad plenty of honey; the very trees diſtilled it; and *Honey.*
ks yielded it in great quantities: but whether that
latter kind were there depoſited by the induſtrious
r produced ſome other way, is much diſputed by
rs and naturaliſts (H). They likewiſe cultivated
ſugar-

re is no reaſon why that flouriſhed 1700 o, in one country, may length of time, be pro- others, far diſtant from 7). But whatever be ſon of it, it muſt be that there is but little duced now in *Paleſtine*; *Arabia*, and even *E-* it eſpecially the former, , in great abundance. merchants that bring it *Lecca*, and other parts, und out ſo many ways erating, and even coun- g it, that it is no won- ath ſunk ſo much in its reputation, and value, pariſon with that which y grew in this fertile y.

This wild honey, which t calls μέλι ἄγριον, and tells us the baptiſt made part of his food (18), and which was in ſuch plenty in this country, that it dropt from the trees upon the ground (19), the learned *Bochart* thinks to have been gathered, by the bees, in the ſame manner as the common ſort, which *Reland* can by no means agree to; quoting *Diodorus* and *Pliny*, who ſpeak of another kind, which dropt from the trees in *Nabatæa*, *Syria*, &c. and which they drank mixed with water: and thence concludes this wild one of *Paleſtine* to have been of that ſort, and to be that which gave the air that delightful fragrancy of honey which Mr. *Maundrell* obſerved in the maritime parts of this country (20). Which of the two is right, we will not decide: however, it is well known,

Reland. ubi ſup. (18) *Mat.* iii. 4. (19) 1 *Sam.* xiv. 25, 26.
ubi ſup. l. i. *c.* 57.

Sugar. Cotton. ſugar-canes in great abundance; and the cotton, hemp, and flax, were moſtly of their own growth and manufacture, except ſome, of a finer ſort, that were brought to them from *Egypt*, and worn by thoſe of the higher rank. Their *Cypreſs, and other trees.* vicinity to *Libanus* made the cedars, cypreſſes, and other ſtately and fragrant trees, very common in moſt parts of the land, but, more eſpecially, in *Jeruſalem*. Cattle, both large and ſmall, they fed in vaſt quantities; and the hilly countries not only afforded them variety and plenty of paſture, but alſo of water, which deſcended thence into the valleys and lowlands, and fertilized them to the degree we have ſeen; beſides ſeveral other rivers and brooks, ſome of the moſt remarkable of which we ſhall ſpeak of in their *Paſture-grounds.* proper places. But the moſt fertile paſture-grounds were thoſe on each ſide the river *Jordan*, beſides thoſe of *Sharon*, or *Sarona*, the plains of *Lydda*, *Jamnia*, and ſome others, *Fiſh, in great plenty.* then juſtly famed for their fecundity (I). As for fiſh, the rivers

that both here, and in ſeveral other parts of *Aſia*, as well as in *Europe* and *Africa*, where bees are very numerous, becauſe they don't deſtroy them there, as we do here, for their honey, they will depoſit their combs, not only in hollow trees, but between their branches, in the cracks of rocks, and other ſuch convenient places; and that this kind of honey is commonly ſtiled wild, in oppoſition to that which is gathered from the hives. And this will, perhaps, much better account for the fragrant odour lately mentioned. For the bees, which gather it in theſe kind of places, are obſerved to be moſt buſy on the wild thyme, ſage, roſemary, marjoram, hyſſop, and other odoriferous plants; which muſt, doubtleſs, give their honey a much more ſweet and aromatic odour than can be ſuppoſed to be in the liquor that drops from any of thoſe trees.

(I) There are ſeveral places mentioned in holy writ by the name of *Sharon*, or *Sarona*, as famed for their extraordinary fruitfulneſs: and the prophet, accordingly, makes uſe of that word (21) to ſignify it; *viz.* 1. The territory lying between mount *Tabor* and the ſea of *Tiberias* (22). 2. That between *Cæſarea-Paleſtine*, and *Joppa* (23); and, 3. The canton beyond *Jordan*, that was in the kingdom of *Baſan*, and fell to the lot of the tribe of *Gad* (24). This laſt is oppoſed by *Reland*, though with no ſolid grounds; there being no likelihood, that that tribe ſhould come ſo far as the neighbourhood of *Joppa*, *Cæſarea*, and *Lydda*, which he takes to be the *Sharon* there meant, to feed their flocks. We find a fourth *Sharon* men-

(2) *Iſa.* xxxiii. 9. xxxv. 2.

(22) *Euſeb. & Hieron. loc. Hebr. ſub voce.*

(23) *Hieron. in Iſa.* xxxiii. 65.

(24) 1 *Chron.* v. 16.

rivers above-mentioned, the lake of *Tiberias*, and the *Mediterranean Sea*, afforded, as they do to this day, great plenty and variety. Vaſt quantities were brought to *Jeruſalem*, on which the inhabitants moſtly ſubſiſted; and hence one of the gates of that metropolis was, according to St. *Jerom*, called, *the fiſh-gate* [k]. The lake *Aſphaltites* yielded ſalt in abundance, wherewith to ſeaſon and preſerve their fiſh, which *Galen* affirms to have been preferable to any other, for wholſomeneſs, digeſtion, and extenuation. To conclude this article, the Scripture is ſo pregnant with proofs of the extraordinary richneſs and fecundity of this once happy land, and the vaſt number of people that lived in it, almoſt wholly upon its product (K), to ſay nothing of the vaſt exports of its corn, wine, oil, raiſins, and other fruits, *&c.* that a man muſt have taken a ſtrange warp to infidelity, that can call it in queſtion, merely on account of the melancholy and quite oppoſite figure it now makes, under its preſent tyrannical government. *Salt.*

BUT it ought to be conſidered, that it was then inhabited by an induſtrious people, who knew how to improve every inch of their land, and had made even the moſt deſert and barren places to yield ſome kind of productions, by proper care and manure; ſo that the very rocks, which now appear quite bare and naked, were made to produce corn, pulſe, or paſture; being, by the induſtry of the old inha- *Agriculture encouraged.*

[k] Vid. RELAND. ubi ſup. l. i. c. 57.

tioned ſince by travellers, ſo called on the ſame account; *viz.* the fertile plain between *Egdipon* and *Ptolemais*. We might add a fifth mentioned in *Joſhua* (25), or, as the *Hebrew* hath it, *La Sharon*; the king of which was defeated by that *Hebrew* general: and a ſixth, by St. *Luke* (26), in the neighbourhood of *Lydda*; all of them celebrated on the ſame account.

(K) We need not a more pregnant proof of their populouſneſs, than their muſter-rolls; according to which, we find no leſs than 600,000 fighting men entering into the land of *Canaan* (27). By fighting men are meant men found in health and limbs, from twenty to ſixty years of age, excluſive of all the reſt; who, with the vaſt multitude of ſtrangers, ſlaves, and ſervants, of both ſexes, that followed them out of *Egypt*, amounted, in a moderate computation, to almoſt double that number. And in the muſter-roll which *Joab* brought to *David* (28), the amount is ſaid to have been, of the *Iſraelites*, 800,000 fighting men; and, of the bare tribe of *Judah*, 500,000.

(25) *Joſh.* xii. (26) *Acts* ix. 35. (27) *Exod.* xii. 37. (28) 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 9.

bitants, covered with mould, which, through the lazineſs of the ſucceeding proprietors, has been ſince waſhed off with rains and ſtorms. We may add, that the kings themſelves were not above encouraging all kind of agriculture, both by precept and example; and, above all, that they had the divine bleſſing promiſed to their honeſt endeavours and induſtry; whereas it is now, and hath been long ſince, inhabited by a poor, lazy, indolent people, groaning under an intolerable ſervitude, and all manner of diſcouragements; by which, their averſion to labour and agriculture, farther than what barely ſerves to ſupply their preſent wants, is become, in a manner, natural and invincible. We may farther obſerve, after the judicious Mr. *Maundrell*, that there is no forming an idea of its antient flouriſhing ſtate, when under the influence of heaven, from what it is now, under a viſible curſe[1]. And, if we had not ſeveral concurring teſtimonies from profane authors, who have extolled the fecundity of *Paleſtine*, that ſingle one of *Julian* the apoſtate, a ſworn enemy to Jews and Chriſtians, as well as to all the ſacred writings, would be more than ſufficient to prove it; who frequently makes mention, in his epiſtles, of the perpetuity, as well as excellence, and great abundance, of its fruits and product. The viſible effects of GOD's anger, which this country has felt, not only under *Titus Veſpaſian* (when myriads of inhabitants were either ſlain, or periſhed by the moſt ſevere famine, peſtilence, and other calamities; and the reſt ſold for ſlaves, into all lands; and new colonies ſent to re-people it; who found it in ſuch a deſolate ſtate, as quite diſcouraged them from reſtoring it to its priſtine fruitfulneſs); but much more ſince that emperor's time, in the inundations of the northern barbarians, of the *Saracens*, and of the more cruel and deſtructive Chriſtians, during the holy war (L); and in the cruel oppreſſions it now feels under

by the kings;

and now neglected.

[1] Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p. 65.

(L) Theſe mutual horrid devaſtations between the Chriſtians and Mohammedans, wherein the former ſeem to have been acted with ſuch a blind and bloody zeal againſt the latter, and ſuch jealouſies and perfidy againſt each other, as reflect an indeleble diſhonour upon them, and their religion, have helped to complete the miſery of this once happy country; as they have given occaſion to the wild *Arabs*, and other wandering tribes, to ſeize on thoſe depopulated places, and fix their abode in them, who now live altogether upon plunder, and all kinds of depredations, not only on the caravans, and all travellers, that fall into their hands, but likewiſe on villages and

der the *Turkiſh* yoke, may be eaſily owned to be more than ſufficient to have wrought the diſmal change we are ſpeaking of, and to have reduced the far greater part into a mere deſert.

NEVERTHELESS, if we may credit thoſe who have viewed it in this doleful condition, they will tell us, there are ſtill ſuch viſible ſigns of its natural richneſs and fertility, as plainly ſhew, that the bare want of culture is the main, if not the only cauſe of its preſent poverty and barrenneſs. We ſhall hint, as a proof of it, what a learned traveller hath lately written of it from his own obſervation [m]. *The land ſtill fruitful.*

"THE *Holy Land*, ſays that accurate author, were it "as well peopled and cultivated as in former times, would "ſtill be more fruitful than the very beſt part of the coaſt "of *Syria* and *Phœnice*; for the ſoil is generally much "richer, and, all things conſidered, yields a more pre- "ferable crop. Thus the cotton that is gathered in the "plains of *Ramah*, *Eſdraelon*, and *Zabulun*, is in greater "eſteem than what is cultivated near *Sidon* and *Tripoli*. "Neither is it poſſible for pulſe, wheat, or any ſort of "grain, to be more excellent than what is ſold at *Jeru-* "*ſalem*. The barrenneſs, or ſcarcity rather, which ſome "authors may, either ignorantly or maliciouſly, complain "of, doth not proceed from the incapacity or natural "unfruitfulneſs of the country, but from the want of in- "habitants, and the great averſion there is to labour and "induſtry, in thoſe few who poſſeſs it. There are, be- "ſides, ſuch perpetual diſcords and depredations among "the petty princes who ſhare this fine country, that, al- "lowing it was better peopled, yet there would be ſmall "encouragement to ſow, when it was uncertain who "ſhould gather-in the harveſt. Otherwiſe, the land is a "good land, and ſtill capable of affording its neighbours "the like ſupplies of corn and oil, which it is known to "have done in the time of *Solomon*." *Dr. Shaw's account of it.*

WE ſhall go no farther with theſe phyſical remarks, which the curious may read with pleaſure and profit in the

[m] Dr. SHAW's travels, p. 365, & ſeq.

and towns, againſt which they come in herds, and ſeize on all that they can carry off; inſomuch that there is ſcarcely a place on the ſurface of the globe more dangerous to travel, or comfortleſs to live in; as the common report of every traveller who has been there ſufficiently teſtifies.

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book itſelf, as they will all ſufficiently clear the point we are upon, beyond all doubt or contradiction. And thus much ſhall ſuffice for the extraordinary fertility of this country: though, were the caſe at preſent ever ſo much otherwiſe, and the nature of its ſoil had been quite degenerate, from the moſt fertile to the moſt barren and deſolate, it would be no wonder, and ought to be only looked upon as one of thoſe changes that commonly happen in moſt countries, even after a ſhorter ſeries of ages than this (M).

THE antient ſtate of *Paleſtine*, under its firſt inhabitants, with regard to its government under ſeveral toparchies, has been already ſeen, p. 193, 217, *& ſeqq.* and we ſhall now ſhew how it hath been divided ſince its conqueſt by the children of *Iſrael*. *Judea*, in its largeſt ſenſe, was divided into maritime and inland, and into mountainous and champain; and, as the river *Jordan* ran acroſs it, it was again divided into *Judea* on this ſide, and *Judea* beyond *Jordan*. But the moſt conſiderable diviſion is that which was made, according to the divine appointment, among the 12 tribes, by lot, to prevent all murmuring and diſcontent among that ſtubborn people[n]; and of which, two and an half were ſeated beyond *Jordan*, and the reſt on this ſide. The next remarkable one was made by king *Solomon*, who divided his kingdom into 12 provinces, or diſtricts, each ſet under a peculiar officer, and each of which was to ſupply the king with proviſions for his houſhold in their turn; that

[n] Joſh. xiv. 2, & ſeq.

(M) And it may not be amiſs to obſerve here, that there may be the ſame providence in preſerving to this country ſo much of its native fertility, as there viſibly is, in the preſervation of its once happy inhabitants; who, though under ſo long and ſevere thraldom and diſperſion through all the world, and notwithſtanding the deſpondency of ſome, and infidelity of others, have ſtill continued in the ſame ſtate, unmixed with other nations; and the greateſt part of them ſtill waiting for the promiſed time, when they ſhall all be reunited into one nation, and become once again the happy owners of the inheritance of their forefathers.

This expectation of theirs is founded on ſome very pregnant paſſages of Scripture; and there have, and are ſtill, many learned divines among Chriſtians of all denominations, who believe that this reſtoration of the *Jews* to their own land will immediately follow their converſion.

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is, each for one month of the year °. But, as the extent, limits, and quota of each, are not mentioned in the text, we ſhall ſay no more of them here (N). But the moſt fatal of all was, that which was made under his imprudent ſon *Rehoboam*, when, by the divine permiſſion, 10 of the 12 tribes revolted from him, under the conduct of *Jeroboam*, who became head of this new monarchy, ſtiled the kingdom of *Iſrael*, in oppoſition to that of *Judah*, the title which the maimed kingdom of *Rehoboam* was known by, from that time downwards; and of both which we ſhall give a fuller account when we come to their hiſtory. Under the ſecond temple the diſtinction laſted a conſiderable time, and the ſame bloody hatred and hoſtilities continued between thoſe two kingdoms; one of which, *viz.* that of *Iſrael*, had taken a new name, *viz.* that of *Samaria*, from its capital, and the inhabitants, now a mixture of the old *Iſraelites*, and of new colonies, ſent thither by the kings of *Aſſyria*, after their conqueſt of it, till they were ſubdued by the *Maccabees*, and their metropolis deſtroyed. Under the *Romans* it began to be divided into tetrarchies and toparchies, ſome greater than others: the larger were thoſe of *Judea*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*, upper and lower; the leſſer thoſe of *Geraritica*, *Sarona*, and ſome others of leſs note (O); all which were on this

between the two kingdoms;

under the Romans.

° 1 Kings iv. 7, & ſeq.

(N) This new diviſion was, in all likelihood, made in as equal parts as it could well be done; for, as to that of the twelve tribes, it was ſo diſproportionate, both with regard to extent and product, that, to have taxed them all alike, muſt have been a great hardſhip to ſome of the ſmall and poorer ones. *Reland* hath, by the help of *Joſephus*, attempted to give us ſome account of it; but, as it is not matter of moment enough for ſuch a work as this, we ſhall refer our reader to him (29).

(O) *Pliny* reckons up 10 toparchies in this country; *viz.* 1. *Jericho*; 2. *Emmaus*; 3. *Lydda*; 4. *Joppa*; 5. *Acrabatena*; 6. *Gophna*; 7. *Thamna*; 8. *Bethleptephane*; 9. *Orina*; 10. *Herodium* (30). *Joſephus* (31) tells us there were eleven, but names only ten; which he ranks in the following order; 1. *Gophna*; 2. *Acrabatta*; 3. *Thamna*; 4. *Lydda*; 5. *Emmaus*; 6. *Pella*; 7. *Idumea*; 8. *Engadæ*; 9. *Herodion*; 10. *Jericho*; ſo that there is one ſtill wanting. Where the miſtake lies, is not worth inquiry;

(29) *Palæſt. illuſtr. ubi ſupr. c.* 29, *& ſeq.* (30) *Hiſt. l.* v. *c.* 14.
(31) *De bell. lib.* iii. *c.* 4.

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this ſide of the *Jordan*. The others, on the other ſide, were thoſe of *Gilead*, *Peræa*, *Gaulonitis*, *Auranitis*, *Batanea*, and *Decapolis*. *Joſephus* mentions [p] another diviſion, made in *Gabinius*'s time, into five diſtricts, or, as he ſtyles them, συνέδρια, or councils, agreeable to the *Roman* manner; and theſe were *Jeruſalem*, *Jericho*, and *Sepphoris*, on this ſide *Jordan*, and *Gadaris* and *Amathus* on the other; but theſe did not laſt long, and ſo we need ſay the leſs of them. In proceſs of time, in the reigns of the Chriſtian emperors, it was divided afreſh into *Palæſtina prima*, *Palæſtina ſecunda*, and *Palæſtina tertia*, or *Salutaris*, which included the far greater part, if not the whole country, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the following hiſtory. On that account, we ſhall wave all other diviſions and changes that happened to it under the northern barbarians, *Saracens*, &c. and conclude this article with the preſent ſtate and diviſion of it under the *Turks*. The whole country of *Paleſtine* is now reduced to a diſtrict, or province, under the beglerbegate, or baſſaſhip, of *Scham*, or *Damaſcus*, who hath the ſeven following ſangiacs, or ſubgovernors, under him, who are ſtiled, according to the different places of their reſidence; 1. the ſangiac of *Damaſcus*, who is under the baſha of that province; 2. of *Jeruſalem*, or, as the *Turks* call it, *Cudſembaric*, or *Coudſcherif*; 3. *Aglum*; 4. *Bahara*; 5. *Scifat*; 6. *Gaza*; 7. *Nabolus*. Each of theſe have a number of ziamets, and theſe each a number of timariots, under them; for a fuller underſtanding of which, we ſhall refer our readers, at preſent, to Sir *Paul Ricaut*'s account of the *Ottoman* empire, and hereafter, to our modern hiſtory of *Turky*: at preſent, it will be ſufficient to ſay of theſe inferior ſubdiviſions, under the ſangiac, of this diſtrict, or ſangiacate, of *Jeruſalem*, that it hath nine of the former, and ſixteen of the latter claſs.

[p] Ant. l. xiv. c. 10.

he hath only added that of *Pella* to thoſe of *Pliny*, and omitted that of *Bethleptephane*; which yet he mentions as a toparchy in another place (32), and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Bethlebaoth*, which ſtood in the tribe of *Simeon*, a little way ſouth of *Jeruſalem* (33).

(32) *L.* v. *c.* 4. (33) *Joſh.* xix. 6.

Neither

Neither muſt the reader imagine theſe ſangiacates, or ſub-governments, to be any thing conſiderable, or the reſidence of theſe officers to be places of any note or opulence. The former indeed live upon the oppreſſion of the people under them, and make an extortionate gain of every thing that comes within their reach; ſuch as the protection of travellers, merchants, caravans, *&c.* but, being all under their reſpective baſhas, who are ſtill more griping than their underlings, thoſe commonly fleece them of ſome conſiderable part of their unjuſt gains; and, as for the places of their reſidence, except it be here-and-there one in a conſiderable city, as here at *Damaſcus*, and *Jeruſalem*, the reſt are only either ſome old cities, or even inconſiderable villages; as will be more clearly ſeen when we come to the geography of the *Turkiſh* empire. Thus much ſhall ſuffice for the diviſions of *Paleſtine*; but, before we come to ſpeak of that capital one between the 12 tribes, which moſt properly belongs to this ſection, it will be proper to begin with a general deſcription of the whole; and, in order to avoid needleſs repetitions, to give an account of the principal mountains, ſeas, rivers, lakes, deſerts, plains, *&c.* that belong to it.

Mountains of note deſcribed.

WE begin with the mountains; the higheſt and moſt conſiderable of which are thoſe of *Lebanon*, ſo often celebrated in holy writ, eſpecially in the poetic books of it, and by other authors, antient and modern, under the names of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*. As that famed chain is equally a boundary to *Syria* and to *Paleſtine*, by dividing the two countries from each other, and might conſequently be placed under either, we have choſen to ſpeak of it here, as, on the one hand, it is placed by *Jerom*, *Theodoret* [q], and many other antient writers, in the *Land of promiſe*, or *Paleſtine*; and, on the other, it makes in many reſpects a conſiderable figure in the *Jewiſh* hiſtory; particularly on account of the prodigious number of its cedars, that contributed ſo much to the adorning of the *Jewiſh* temple and metropolis; inſomuch that both, as well as *Solomon*'s ſtately palace, are, in ſome of the prophets and *Canticles*, called by the name of *Lebanon* [r]. Theſe mountains, with reſpect to their extent, ſituation, and the relation they bear to each other, have been but im-

Lebanon *and* Anti-lebanon.

[q] See below, p. 399. [r] See, among other places, Zechar. xi. 1. Ezek. xvii. 3. 1 Kings vii. 2. Cantic. vii. 4.

perfectly

Grots. well as more retired. It chiefly consists of sundry grots, cut into the rock; of which the church is one of the largest. A river, which empties itself at *Tripoli*, runs a little below it, and supplies it with water. Near the grot of St. *Marina*, who is reported to have lived here as an hermit, in man's cloaths, our author tells us of some *Vines.* noble vines, which afford an excellent wine, and some fine young mulberry-trees, which he saw there, as well as cedars, and other curiosities, which we have not time to dwell on, and may be seen in his book [u].

Rivers. THERE are several considerable rivers that have their source on this mountain; *viz.* the *Jordan*, *Rocham*, *Nahar-Rossian*, and *Nahar-Cadicha*; the first only of which runs through *Palestine*, and will be spoken of in its place. Besides these, are several others, of a lesser stream, that run between the valleys; particularly that of *Abouali*, which flows down into the *Romantic* valley, so called, because surrounded on all sides with high rocks. This river runs with a rapid course, and great noise; and is so covered with trees, that it is hardly to be seen. These rivers, in coming down from such heights, form several *Cascades.* beautiful cascades, like those of the *Nile*. Some antient fathers, as St. *Jerom*, and *Eusebius*, have described the *Li-* *Winding.* *ban* and *Antiliban* as one continued ridge, winding about in the form of an horseshoe; which begins about three or four leagues from the *Mediterranean*, a little above *Smyrna*, and, running southward towards *Sidon*, began there to take an eastern course towards *Damascus*; bending thence northward, towards *Laodicea Cabiosa* [w]. The western ridge is what is properly called *Lebanus*, as the eastern is *Antilebanus*, and the hollow between *Cœlesyria*. The worst of this mountain is, that it hath mostly been, and is still, to this day, a place of retreat and refuge for vast numbers of robbers, and other desperate people.

Hermon. THE next in dignity, for height, is mount *Hermon*, which, like *Lebanon*, appears capped with snow, and once famed for an antient temple held in great veneration, and much resorted to, by the superstitious heathens from all the neighbouring countries [x] (R); and

[u] POCOCKE's descrip of the East, p. 104, & seq. [w] HIERON. loc. Hebr. in voc. Antilib. EUSEB. onomast. in Liban. [x] EUSEB. sub voc. Ἑρμων.

(R) Hence probably it took its name, which, in the *Hebrew*, signifies *Anathema*, or, a place devoted to it: the apocryphal

in the *Pſalms*, for its refreſhing dews [y], which deſcended on the adjoining one of *Sion*. St. *Jerom* tells us, that it was above the *Paneas*, and that its ſnow was carried away to *Tyre*, *Sidon*, &c. to be mixed with their drink; and the *Chaldee* and *Samaritan* ſtyle it *the mount of ſnow*. There is ſome difficulty to reconcile what is ſaid of it in ſeveral places of the Old Teſtament, concerning its ſituation, which we ſhall not trouble our readers with, nor about the queſtion which ſome make, whether that which is now ſhewn for it, and is called, by the *Turks*, *Jebel-ſheiek*, and antiently *Panius*, be the very ſame as that mentioned by *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, &c. One proof Mr. *Maundrell* gives of it however; *viz.* its exceſſive dews; which, he tells us, had wetted their tents as bad as if it had rained all night [z]. In conjunction with this the Pſalmiſt mentions

MOUNT *Tabor* [a]; whoſe ſituation is better known, and helps to fix that of the former (S). It hath its name from the *Hebrew Thabur*, which ſignifies the navel, on account of its eminent form, and riſing, as it were, from a plain; but was alſo called *Mons Atabyrius*, and *Itabyrium*, on account of a city of that name built upon it (T), and mentioned by *Poly-* Tabor.

[y] Pſ. cxxxiii. 3. See POCOCKE, vol. ii. p. 74. CALMET, & al.
[z] Journey from Aleppo to Jeruſalem, p. 57. [a] Pſalm lxxxix. 12.

cryphal book of *Enoch* ſays, it was ſo called from the curſe, or oath, which the ſons of GOD, whom he ſtiles angels, or watchmen, and of whom we read in *Geneſis*, that they fell in love with the daughters of men (42), took upon this mountain, not to return to their abode till they compaſſed their end. But it is more likely to have been called ſo from ſome abominable ſuperſtitions performed upon it by the old inhabitants, and ſuch as were very common among all the *Canaanitiſh* nations, whom GOD devoted to *anathema* on that very account: and hence, probably, the word *Baal* is ſometimes joined with it, which ſignifies properly lord; but, according to the deteſtable theology of thoſe nations, was the general name of their deities; as *Baalpeor*, *Baalzebub*, &c.

(S) Not as being contiguous to, or near it, but in regard to their poſition to each other. The Pſalmiſt ſays, in the former part of the verſe, that GOD had formed the north and the ſouth; and then adds, that *Tabor* on the one, and *Hermon* on the other, ſhould join in his praiſe; ſo that the one muſt have ſtood oppoſite to the other.

(T) Hence we find, in ſome medals, *Jupiter* is ſtyled *Atabyrius*;

(42) *Ch.* iv. 2.

Polybius [b]. The mountain is juſtly admired for its beauty, regularity, fertility, and conſtant verdure, as well as for its ſituation in the midſt of a large plain, and at a diſtance from any other hill. *Joſephus* deſcribes it [c] as being 30 ſtades, or furlongs, high, and its plain on the top about 26 ſtades, in compaſs, and ſurrounded with walls, and inacceſſible on the north ſide (U). He likewiſe hints at a city being within that incloſure, when he ſpeaks of his having incloſed it with walls 40 days; during which, the inhabitants had none but rain-water. He adds, that it is ſituate between the great plain and *Scythopolis*; which plain cannot be underſtood of that of *Jeſreel*, or *Eſdraelon*, but of another ſpacious one, at the foot of mount *Carmel*, which extends around three ſides of it; *viz.* north, ſouth, and eaſt. But what hath rendered this mountain moſt venerable is, its being ſaid to have been the ſcene of our LORD's transfiguration [d]; on which account, it hath

[b] Lib. v. c. 70, & alib. [c] Ant. l. iv. c. 2. & de bell. l. v. [d] Matt. xvii. paſſ. Mark ix. 2, & ſeq. Luke ix. 28. 2 Peter i. 18.

byrius; though there were ſo many cities of that name, as in *Rhodes*, *Sicily*, *Phœnice*, *Perſia*, &c. that it is not eaſy to prove from which of them he had that ſurname. The name *Atabyr*, or *Atabur*, properly ſignifies a place of good paſture, ſuch as this mount and thoſe above-named were (43).

(U) This account of its height and width is however much diſputed by ſome modern travellers, whether conſidered perpendicularly or obliquely, particularly by *Maundrell* (44); who affirms, that he got up to the top of it in leſs than an hour; and by *Thevenot*, who computed its height to be rather leſs than half a league. The latter adds, that ſome of his company went up to it on horſeback; from which, it plainly appears that the acclivity of it is not quite ſo abrupt as is commonly ſuppoſed from its form of a ſugar-loaf (45). Mr. *Pococke* hath ſince confirmed both points (†), having rode up to the top; and, as to its height, he ſays, it may be about two miles, as to the winding aſcent up to it; which is pretty near what *Thevenot* ſays of it; and with reſpect to the extent of the plain on the top, he computes it only about half a mile long, and near a quarter of a mile in breadth; which comes vaſtly ſhort of *Joſephus*'s dimenſions.

(42) *Vid. Hiller. onomaſt. ap. Reland. ubi ſup. c.* 51. (44) *Ubi ſup. p.* 113. (45) *Voyag. au Levant. p.* i. *c.* 55. (†) *Vol.* ii. *p.* 64.

been reſorted to, with great devotion, by Chriſtians in all ages (W).

THE account which authors give, both of its antient and modern ſtate, differs ſo much, that we ſhall not trouble our readers with it. The laſt perſon who hath written of it is from his own obſervation, tells us that it ſtill retains its ſurpriſing verdure and fertility, and enjoys one of the nobleſt proſpects that can be imagined, eſpecially of many places famed in ſacred writ; ſuch as the hills of *Samaria* and *Engadi* on the ſouth; on the eaſt and north-eaſt thoſe of *Gilboah* and *Hermon*; and at the foot of it, the cities of *Naim* and *Endor*; on the ſouth-weſt, mount *Carmel*. One has likewiſe here a view of the ſea of *Tiberias*, the town of *Saphet*, ſituate on a very high mountain, beſides that of the large plain it commands all around. There are ſtill ſome remains of the wall built by *Joſephus*, round the top, and ſome of the gates; and on the eaſt part, thoſe of a ſtrong caſtle; within the cincture of which are three altars, in memory of the three tabernacles which St. *Peter*,

Fertility, and verdure. Noble proſpect.

(W) And ſo it would juſtly deſerve, were there any great probability that this was the very ſpot on which that glorious tranſaction was wrought; but that is juſtly doubted by many, on ſeveral accounts we have not time to run through; one of which is, that this hill is not once mentioned by name either by the evangeliſts, or by St. *Peter*, when he ſpeaks of the tranſfiguration (46). The main point on which (next to common tradition, which, in caſes of this nature, can ſeldom be ſafely relied on) they found this notion, is the expreſſion uſed by the Evangeliſt, *He took them up into a mountain apart*; which laſt word, it is thought, muſt be meant of this very mountain, which ſtands apart from any other: but the expreſſion *apart* ſeems rather properly applicable to the three diſciples whom CHRIST took apart, that is, into ſome obſcure place, which will quite overturn the inference. However, Mr. *Reland* owns it in ſome ſort raſh to diſpute a point that hath been ſo generally received for many ages; though he adds, that he cannot but be in ſome doubt about the thing, for many geographical and other reaſons, particularly thoſe hinted above, of the name *Thabor* not being once mentioned by any of the ſacred penmen (47): to which may be added, that the words *an high mountain*, uſed by St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, do not ſeem to agree altogether ſo well with the dimenſions that are given us of this by the travellers above quoted.

(46) 2 *Epiſt.* i. 18. (47) *Ubi ſupr. l.* i. *c.* 52.

in his ecſtaſy, propoſed to build, and where the *Latin* fathers celebrate divine ſervice on the feaſt of the transfigu-
ts. ration. On the ſide of an hill is ſhewn a church, in a grot, where, they ſay, CHRIST retired, to charge his diſciples not to ſpeak of his transfiguration till after he was riſen. This is all that is now to be ſeen on this hill; but we are told, that there was a magnificent church, built by the empreſs *Helena*, which was a cathedral when the town was a biſhop's ſee; as likewiſe a convent of *Benedictines*; and, on another part, one of the *Baſilians*, where the *Greeks* likewiſe perform divine ſervice on the feſtival abovementioned [e].

THE next mountain in dignity is that called *Carmel*,
ſo which ſtands on the ſkirts of the ſea, and is the moſt remarkable head of land in all that coaſt. It extends eaſtward from the ſea as far as the plain of *Jeſreel*, lately mentioned, and from the bay of its name, quite to *Cæſarea* on the ſouth. It ſeems to have been ſo called on account of its fertility (X). *Carmel* is the name of the mountain, and of a city built on it, and of anheathen deity worſhiped in it (Y), but without either temple or ſtatue [f];

[e] POCOCKE ubi ſup. p. 64, &c. MAUNDRELL, &c. [f] TACIT. hiſt. l. ii. c. 78.

(X) The word *Carmel*, according to the *Hebrew* import, ſignifies the vine of GOD, and is conſtantly uſed in the prophetic books, to ſignify a fruitful ſpot, or any place planted with fruit-trees; and this eſpecially, we are told, was very fertile, particularly on the top (48): and Mr. *Sandys* aſſures us, that, when well cultivated, it abounds with olives, vines, and with variety of fruits and herbs, both medicinal and aromatic. But *Rauwolf* and *Thevenot* repreſent it rather as dry and barren; by which we may ſuppoſe, that it hath lain ſince much neglected, like moſt other parts of the *Turkiſh* empire; and eſpecially where they are ſo dreadfully expoſed to the excurſions of the *Arabs*, and other diſcouragements. We are told likewiſe, that the name of *Carmel* was given to a particular ſort of purple, which was dyed with a ſhell-fiſh caught along this coaſt (49). *Joſephus* places this mountain in *Galilee* (50), though it rather belonged to the tribe of *Manaſſeh*, being ſituate on the ſouth of that of *Aſher* (51).

(Y) We are told, this place was called by the *Greeks* Ὄρος ἱερὸν Διὸς (52), or perhaps, rather, Ὄρος καὶ ἱερὸν Διὸς, *the mountain and temple of* Jupiter.

(48) *Hieron. loc. Hebr.* (49) *Bochart. hieroz. part.* i. *l.* ii. *c.* 48, *& alib.* (50) *De bell. l.* iii. *c.* 2. (51) *See Joſh.* xix. 26. (52) *Scyl. Caryand. Vid Reland. ubi ſup. l.* i. *c.* 50.

though

though ſome temple there muſt have been on it, ſince *Iamblichus* tells us, this place was the favourite retreat of *Pythagoras*, who ſpent a good deal of time in the temple, without any perſon with him [g]. But what hath rendered it moſt celebrated and revered both by *Jews* and Chriſtians, is, its having been the reſidence of *Elijah*, who is ſuppoſed to have lived in a cave which is there ſhewn, before he was taken up into heaven; as it was alſo the ſcene where that great prophet, by calling for a miraculous fire from heaven, which conſumed the divine ſacrifice, convinced the *Iſraelites* of their folly in halting between their GOD and *Baal* [h]. On which account, the Chriſtians began, from the earlieſt ages, to ſhew a more than ordinary veneration for it (Z); and both the mountain and cave of *Elias*, as well as the place where they tell you was his garden, are viſited and reverenced not only by Chriſtians and Jews, but by the very Mohammedans [i].

Antient temple.

The reſidence of Elijah.

BUT that which claims our juſteſt and deepeſt regard, is mount *Olivet*, or, *the mount of Olives* (A), which ſtands

Mount Olivet.

[g] In vit. Pythagor.] [h] 1 Kings xviii. paſſ. [i] MAUNDRELL, POCOCKE, &c.

(Z) We are likewiſe told, that there was a church and monaſtery erected on it in ſome of the early ages of chriſtianity; and that, it having been, by length of time, and the fury of its enemies, almoſt deſtroyed, a new one was afterwards erected, by the zeal of a *Calabrian* prieſt; who, upon ſome revelation, whether pretended or real, gathered about ten more, and with them began to recover the veneration of the place: and hence aroſe the order of the *Carmelites* (53), ſince ſpread through all the Roman-catholic countries, and of whom there are ſtill a certain number, who live in this antient monaſtery: the further particulars of which, and of this celebrated mount, the reader may ſee in *Maundrell*, *Pococke*, and other authors above-mentioned.

(A) It was originally called, by the *Jews*, *the mount of Unction*, on account of the great quantities of oil that were made from the olives that grew upon it: but when *Solomon* had once defiled it, by erecting of ſundry temples to the gods of the *Ammonites*, *Moabites*, &c. in complaiſance to his ſtrange wives, they then changed the name of it, by a ſmall alteration of the letters, that is, of משחה into משחית (ſee 2 *Kings* xxiv. 13.), into another, which ſignifies, *the mount of Corruption*, *Deſtruction*, or *Offence*. How-

(53) *Maundrell*, *Pococke*, *Calmet*, &c.

ſtands about a mile diſtant eaſt from *Jeruſalem*, and commands the proſpect of the whole city, from which it is parted by the brook *Kidron*, and the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*. It is not a ſingle hill, but rather part of a long ridge, with three (or, according to Mr. *Pococke*, four [k]) heads, or ſummits, extending from north to ſouth; the middlemoſt of which is that, from the top of which our SAVIOUR aſcended up into heaven, and which wears ſtill the print of his feet (B), and hath a ſmall round church built

[k] Id. ibid. p. 28.

ever, the *Greeks* have retained its antient one, of Ὄρος ἐλαιῶν, or Ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν, *mount of Olives*. Some affected to call it *the mount of the Three Lights*, becauſe it was lighted on the weſt by the fire of the altar, on the eaſt by the riſing ſun, and becauſe it afforded oil to entertain a third ſort (54). But, it is likely, that the three lights alluded to the ſun's early rays enlightening its three ſummits, and making them appear like ſo many diſtant lights (55).

(B) Here was formerly a magnificent church, built by the empreſs *Helena*, in memory of CHRIST's glorious aſcenſion; but all that remains of it is only a *Gothic* octagonal cupola, about eight yards in diameter, and ſtanding, as they affirm, over the very place where were ſet the laſt footſteps of the SON of GOD here upon earth. Accordingly they ſhew you, within the place, in the hard rock, the print of one of his feet. They tell you the other was there alſo, but was removed by the *Turks* into their great moſque on mount *Moriah*; or, as others think, by the Chriſtians, during the time of the cruſade, whence they removed it to their great church, ſince turned into the moſque above-named, into which the Chriſtians are not allowed to ſet their feet. The print in this chapel is three inches deep in the rock, and exactly repreſenting the ſole of a foot. The good people there add, that, when that pious empreſs built the great church, ſhe would have paved it all with fine marble; but that, when they came to cover the print of our SAVIOUR's feet, they found it impracticable, that place not ſuffering any thing to be laid on it; upon which they left them uncovered, and built this kind of chapel over them (†); which is round within, and octagonal without (56). *Pococke* adds, that it ſtands in the midſt of a large incloſure, with ſome buildings about it; and that it is now converted into a moſque;

[55] *See Sandys's deſcription of it, Calmet's, and Reland. de Relig. Moham. Chriſtian. Terræ, & al.* (56) *Maundrell*

built over it. The ſecond, towards the ſouth, is that called the mount of *Corruption*, or *Offence*. The third, to the northward, which is the higheſt of all, and ſtands about two furlongs from the middlemoſt, is that which was moſt commonly ſtiled the mount of *Galilee* (C). Here they ſhew you likewiſe all the places mentioned in the goſpel; ſuch as that where CHRIST mounted the aſs, where he wept over *Jeruſalem*, &c.; which are ſtill viſited by multitudes of Chriſtians of all ſorts; though the *Latins* have the poſſeſſion of them, and perform the particular ceremonies that belong to each reſpective place (D).

MOUNT

but that, on *Aſcenſion-eve*, the Chriſtians come and encamp in that court, and perform a kind of paraſceve for the next ſolemnity. The *Latins* have here two altars, and the *Greeks*, *Copts*, and *Armenians*, one each, on which they ſay maſs (57); but all ſorts of Chriſtians have free acceſs to the place all the year round, upon paying a certain caphar. They ſhew you a great many other places upon this mountain, ſuch as that where CHRIST wept over *Jeruſalem*, that where the apoſtles compoſed their creed, *&c.* all which have either a church, chapel, or oratory, to feed the devotion of pilgrims, and the indigence of the monks that ſhew them; but, for a fuller account of which, we ſhall refer to the travellers above-quoted.

(C) Whether this part of *Olivet* was really in *Galilee*, and the town of *Cana*, where our SAVIOUR turned the water into wine (58), ſtood but two furlongs from it, as hath been affirmed by ſome (59), and hence was called by the name of that province; or, as others in greater number will have it, it was ſo called from the high tower erected upon it, in memory of the apparition of the two angels to the apoſtles after the aſcenſion, who ſaluted them in theſe words, *Ye men of* Galilee (60); we ſhall have farther occaſion to inquire, when we come to ſpeak of that remarkable tranſaction; and ſhall only ſay here, that, from the tenor of it, this name of *Galilee* ſeems to be of older date, and to have been given to this ſummit on account of its nearneſs, at leaſt, to the province ſo called; probably, as ſome have thought, from ſome inn, or caravanſera, built there for the reception of the *Galileans*, when they came to ſhare in the three grand ſolemnities that were celebrated at *Jeruſalem*; for every tribe had thoſe kind of conveniencies, which ſtood without the city; there not being room enough within the walls to have contained one tenth part of them at ſuch times.

(D) Thus, for inſtance, on *Palm-Sunday*, the monks and prieſts attend their ſuperior

(57) *Ubi ſup. p.* 28. (58) *John* ii. 1, *& ſeq.* (59) *Vid. Perdic. Epheſ. deſcr. Ieroſol. & auct. anonym. ab eo citat.* (60) *Acts* i. 11.

MOUNT *Calvary*, *alias Golgotha*, is another mountain in this land, held in the greateſt veneration on account of our SAVIOUR's crucifixion upon it. It had thoſe two names probably from its roundneſs, or reſemblance to an human ſkull; though ſome have fetched the etymon farther than we dare to warrant (E); and ſtood antiently without the walls of the city, it being the place where the criminals uſed to be put to death, according to the *Moſaic* law[l]. But *Conſtantine the Great*, after his converſion, cauſed it to be incloſed within the new walls, and erected a magnificent church over it, of which we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel; and it has continued a place of as great veneration among the Chriſtians, as ever the temple was among the *Jews*.

MOUNT *Moriah*, on which the famed temple of *Solomon* was built[m], ſtands ſouth-eaſt of *Calvary*, having *Millo* on the weſt, ſo called from the filling up of that deep valley, in order to raiſe it to a level with the reſt. It is commonly thought, that it was on this mount that *Abraham* was commanded to ſacrifice his ſon *Iſaac*; though that notion is not without ſome difficulties, which we may have occaſion to ſpeak of more fully in the ſequel. The *Samaritans*, by

[l] Vide Hebr. ult. ver. 11. [m] 2 Chron. iii. 1.

from the place where CHRIST, mounted on an aſs, proceeded to *Jeruſalem*. He is dreſſed in his pontifical habit, and mounted alſo on an aſs, and is accompanied by crouds of ſpectators, who cut down and ſtrew branches before him, and make the air reſound with their hoſannas (61).

(E) The common tradition was, that the name of *Golgotha*, which, in *Syriac*, ſignifies a ſkull, was given to this mountain on account of *Adam*'s head having been buried here by *Shem* the ſon of *Noah*, with a prophetic view, that CHRIST, the ſecond *Adam*, being to be crucified upon this mount, his blood might be ſprinkled upon that of the firſt, and might make him partaker of the benefits of his death and reſurrection (62). As to the incloſing of the mount within the walls, tho' it be commonly aſcribed to the emperor *Conſtantine*, yet it was done long before by *Adrian*, who cauſed the city to be rebuilt, not where the old one had ſtood, but more to the northward of it; ſo that mount *Calvary*, which ſtood before without the walls, came to be almoſt in the centre of the new one; as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel.

(61) *Maundrell*, *Pococke*, &c. *alib. Ambroſ. Tertul. Auguſt.* & *al.*

(62) *Vide Hieron. in Epheſ.* v. 14, &

reading

reading its name in *Geneſis* [n] *Moreh*, inſtead of *Moriah*, have taken occaſion to affirm, that it was on mount *Gerizzim*, near *Shechem* and *Moreh*, that GOD directed that patriarch to offer up his ſon.

We ſhall mention but one mount more here; *viz.* that of *Gihon*; and give the names of the reſt in a marginal note. *Gihon* ſtood weſt of *Jeruſalem*, and at a ſmaller diſtance than *Calvary*; *viz.* about two furlongs diſtance from *Bethlehem*'s gate. It was here that *Solomon* was, by his father's expreſs command, anointed king by the prophet *Nathan*, and *Zadok* the high-prieſt [o]. There was a celebrated pool of that name upon it, whoſe water king *Hezekiah* cauſed to be brought, by an aqueduct, into the city. It is ſtill a ſtately pool, 106 paces long, and 67 broad, lined with a wall of plaſter, and well ſtored with water [p] (F). We ſhall conclude this article of the mountains

Gihon, *and other mountains.*

[n] Conf. Gen. xii. 6. and xxii. 2. [o] 1 Kings i. 33, & ſeq. [p] MAUNDRELL. See alſo 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

(F) The other mountains in *Paleſtine*, worth mentioning, are, mount *Garizzim*, on which ſtood the *Samaritan* temple; and mount *Ebal*, or *Hebal*, which ſtood oppoſite to it; and both near the city of *Shechem*, and not over-againſt *Jericho*, where *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* placed them. Theſe two are parted only by a narrow valley of about 200 paces; and the former is very fertile, and the latter very barren. On the former it was that *Moſes* ordered the bleſſings to be put or pronounced; and on the latter the curſes by the *Iſraelites*, when they ſhould have croſſed the *Jordan* (64); which was accordingly done by *Joſhua* (65), as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. There are great controverſies between the *Jews* and *Samaritans*, about the former of theſe mountains; in which they accuſe each other of having corrupted the ſacred text: all which will be likewiſe ſeen in their hiſtory hereafter. Mount *Engadi*, near the lake of *Sodom*, or *Dead Sea*, famed for its fruitful vines, precious balm, and fine palm-trees, on which account it was alſo called *Haxazon-thamar*, or city of palm-trees (66). Its name, *Engadi*, imports the fountain of the goat; and it was in one of its caverns that *David* ſo greatly ſignalized his loyalty and fidelity, in ſparing the life of *Saul*, when he had him in his power (67). It ſtood near the mouth of the *Jordan*, where it throws itſelf into the lake above-mentioned, not far from the city of *Jericho*, and about

(63) *See Calmet. in voc. Garizzim.* (64) *Deut.* xi. 20, *& alib.* (65) *Joſh.* viii. 33. (66) 2 *Chron.* xx. 2. *and Cant.* i. 14. (67) 1 *Sam.* xxiv. 1, *& ſeq.*

tains with obſerving, that thoſe in the kingdom of *Judah* moſtly ſtand ſouthwards of it, towards the land of *Edom*, but thoſe of the kingdom of *Iſrael* are interſperſed within it.

FROM theſe we are naturally led down to the valleys; but we ſhall forbear entering into too nice a diſquiſition of what were properly ſuch, and what might be more pro-

300 furlongs eaſt from *Jeruſalem* (68). Mount *Amalech* (69) and *Gahaſh* were in the tribe of *Ephraim* (70); the laſt had a town and brook of its name, and was near *Timnath-ſerah*, where *Joſhua* was buried. *Piſhgah* and *Nebo*, on the other ſide *Jordan*, whence *Moſes* was allowed to view the *Promiſed Land*; ſoon after which he died, and was buried on one of them (71). Theſe were only parts or ſummits of that famed ridge called the mountains of *Abarim*, near that of *Peor*, over-againſt *Jericho*, in the road between *Livias* and *Heſhbon* (72). *Peor*, more properly *Baal-peor*, ſo called probably from a filthy deity worſhiped there, of which we have ſpoken p. 126 (E), 225, *& ſeq.* The mountains of *Gilboah*, famed for the defeat of *Saul* and *Jonathan* (72), ſtood, according to *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*, about ſix miles from *Beth-ſhean*, or *Scythopolis*; at the foot of them was ſtill to be ſeen a large place called *Gelbus*, and a freſh ſpring running into the valley of *Jezreel* (73). Laſtly, and to name no more, the mountain of *Gilead*, ſo called from the monuments reared upon it by *Jacob* and *Laban* (74). It ſtands to the eaſtward of the *Jordan*, and parted the two tribes and half, on that ſide, from *Arabia deſerta*; and extends from *Lebanon*, on the north, to the kingdom of *Sihon* king of the *Amorites*, yielded ſince to the tribe of *Reuben*; ſo that it muſt have a length of above 70 leagues from north to ſouth (75). This mountain, or rather chain of hills, was much celebrated for its excellent reſin, or rather balm (76). And we are told, that the merchants that bought *Joſeph*, and carried him into *Egypt*, were come from *Gilead*, laden with that and other commodities from thence for that kingdom (77). Mr. *Pococke* hath given us ſome farther account of that famed plant, which is ſtill growing about the plains of *Jericho* (78). To theſe we might add a number of others, known chiefly from the names of the towns that are built upon them; ſuch as the mount of *Samaria*, *Hebron*, *Nazareth*, *Gibeon*, *Ophim*, *Shiloh*, &c. but as they have nothing elſe worth our readers notice, we ſhall ſay no more of them here.

(68) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* ix. *c.* 1. (69) *Judg.* xii. *ult.* (70) *Joſh.* xxiv. 30. (71) *Numb.* xxi. 20. *Deut.* xxxiv. 1, *& ſeq.* (72) 1 *Sam.* xxxi. 1, *& ſeq.* (73) *Loc. Hebr.* (74) *Gen.* xxxi. 21, *& ſeq.* (75) *See Euſeb. in voc. Galaad.* (76) *See Jerem.* viii. 22. xlvi. 11. li. 8. (77) *Geneſ.* xxxvii. 25. (78) *Ubi ſup. p.* 32.

perly

perly called plains. Whoever duly examines the face of this country, ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed into high and low lands, may eaſily think it a needleſs taſk, in a work like this; and thoſe who are curious in ſuch matters may ſee it done with great accuracy by *Reland*, to which we ſhall refer them[q]; neither have we room to dwell on them all, eſpecially as the ſituation of many of them is unknown to us; but ſhall content ourſelves with a ſhort mention of the moſt noted of them: and theſe are,

1. THE valley of *Bleſſing*; in the *Hebrew*, the valley of *Berakhah*, in the tribe of *Judah*, on the weſt ſide of the lake of *Sodom* (G), and in the wilderneſs of *Tekoah*[r]. *Va'ley of* Bleſſing, *&c.*

2. The vale of *Siddim*, or *Haſſidim*, famed for the overthrow of *Chedorlaomer*, and his confederate kings[s], and for the cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* (H), which were here conſumed with fire from heaven, as we have related elſewhere[t]. 3. The valley of *Shaveh*, or royal valley, and king's dale, and named *Shaveh* from a city of that name in it[u]. This is the place where the king of *Sodom* met victorious *Abraham*, after the defeat of the confederate kings. 4. The vale of *Salt*, famed for the overthrow of the *Edomites* by *David* (I) and *Amaziah*[w]. 5. The valley of *Jezreel*, or *Eſdraelon*, or the large or great field; in which ſtood the city of the ſame name, famed for the death of *Jezebel*, the idolatrous wife of *Ahab*[x], by *Jehu*. We took notice a little higher, that this valley reached quite from *Scythopolis* to mount *Carmel*, and was in the tribe of *Iſſachar*[y]. The town ſtood about 10 miles diſtant from

[q] Ubi ſup. cap. 54. [r] See 2 Chron. xx. 26. [s] Gen. xiv. 2. & ſeq. [t] See before, p. 120, & ſeq. [u] Comp. Gen. xiv. 17. and 2 Sam. xviii. 18. [w] 2 Sam. viii. 13. 2 Kings xiv. 7. [x] 2 Kings ix. 30, & ſeq. [y] See EUSEB. in voc. Jezreel; and Joſh. xix. 18.

(G) So ſtiled from a ſignal victory which GOD granted to the good king *Jehoſhaphat* over the combined forces of the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, and *Edomites* (79); and on that account, more properly rendered by the *Septuagint*, κοιλὰς εὐλογίας, or valley of praiſe. Of this victory we have already ſpoken in the hiſtory of thoſe three nations, p. 136, to which we refer the reader.

(H) This valley is alſo called the *Woody valley*, the valley of *Pitch*, *Lime*, and of *Salt*; and is the fatal place which forms now the lake *Aphaltites*.

(I) It is commonly placed in the land of *Edom*, eaſt of the lake of *Sodom*, between *Tadmor* and *Bozrah* (80).

(79) 2 *Chron.* xx. 22——26.

(80) *See Calmet. in voc. Save.*

Scytho-

Scythopolis. 6. The valley of *Mamre*, or *Mambre*, ſo called from the owner of it, an *Amorite*, in alliance with *Abraham*, and for the oak of that name, under which the patriarch dwelt [z], and, after him, his ſon *Iſaac* (K). 7. The vale of *Rephaim*, or of the *Titans* and giants (L), whoſe ſituation near the tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* makes it doubtful, in which of thoſe two tribes it was. *Joſhua*, however, mentions it as one of the boundaries of the former [a]; and it plainly appears to have been pretty near the city of *Jeruſalem*. 8. The vale of *Jehoſhaphat* is mentioned but once in Scripture [b]; and is, by ſome, placed in *Jeruſalem* [c]; and, by others, in the neighbourhood of it [d]; and a third ſort think it the ſame with the valley of *Berakhah*, mentioned a little higher; and to have had both names on account of the victory gained by *Jehoſhaphat*, in that valley [e]. We are more inclined to adopt a fourth notion; which is, that the term is meant ſymbolically by

[z] Geneſ. xiv. 13, & ult. xxxv. 28. [a] Joſh. xv. 8. xviii. 16. [b] Joel iii. 2, & 12. [c] BEDA de loc. BROCARD, & al. plur. [d] CYRIL. ALEX. in Joel. iii. [e] ABEN-EZRA, & al.

(K) This oak, or as ſome verſions render it, terebinth-tree, ſtood about 15 miles from *Hebron*, and 25 from *Jeruſalem*; and was reſorted to, and held in great veneration, not only by the *Jews*, but by the Chriſtians, on account, eſpecially, of *Abraham*'s entertaining the three heavenly viſitors under it (81). *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* tell us, that it was ſtill ſtanding, and much reverenced and viſited in their time (82). The *Jews* have added many fables about its plantation, growth, &c. which ſavour too much of their ſuperſtition to deſerve a place here: and *Joſephus*, who places it nearer to *Hebron*, by nine or ten miles, tells us, it had ſtood there ever ſince the creation (83).

(L) This valley was famed by *Joſhua*, and in the reigns of *David*, and his ſucceſſors, under the name of *Rephaim*, which it had from a race of giants, antient inhabitants of *Canaan*, long before the coming of the *Jews* into it. We read of a great number of gigantic families (84), and we meet with them even from the time of *Abraham* (85) down to thoſe of *David*, whoſe heroes made ſuch havock among them, that they ſeem to have deſtroyed the whole race (86). We have ſpoken of them before, p. 204, 242, 249, &c.

(81) *Geneſ.* xviii. 1, *& ſeq.* (82) *Demonſtr. evang. & in vit. Conſtantin. l.* iii. *c.* 51. *Hieron. loc Hebr. ſub voc.* (83) *Bell. Jud. l.* v. *c.* 7. (84) *Vid. Gen.* xiv. 5. *Joſh.* xii. 4. (85) 2 *Sam.* v. 18, *& ſeq.* xxiii. 13, *& alib. paſſ.* (86) *Ibid. c.* 21, *paſſ.*

the

prophet, like many others of the ſame nature (M). ever that be, it hath been by the generality of the s, and ſome of the fathers, and other divines, under- l literally, and ſuppoſed to be the ſcene of the laſt and ral judgment. 9. The valley of *Hinnom*, or of the ren of *Hinnom*, near the walls of the city of *Jeruſa-* N), infamous for the horrid ſuperſtitions, and bloody performed there in antient times. 10. The valley of *m*, ſo named from one of the four cities which pe- d with *Sodom* by fire from heaven [f], and conſequently near the *Dead Sea*. The town, however, ſeems to have rebuilt ſomewhere in the neighbourhood, ſince we find entioned after the return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity [g]. The valley of *Achor*, near *Jericho*, ſo called from the ble which *Achan* brought on the *Iſraelitiſh* hoſt, by his lege; and for his being put to death there for it [h]. The valley of *Bochim*, or of the mourners, or weepers, lled from the univerſal mourning and weeping which *Iſraelites* made there, on account of the dreadful meſ-

[f] Sam. xiii. 18, & al. [g] Nehem. xi. 34. [h] Joſh. —26.

1) The word *Jehoſhaphat*, ne *Hebrew*, ſignifies the nent of GOD; and may be rſtood in the ſame ſymboli- ſe as that of the valley *ciſion*, as our verſion hath *Threſhing*, mentioned by ſame prophet (87); but, ding to the *Hebrew*, more erly means, here, a valley mined or appointed by for the judging of the ns. Many of the *Jews* imagined mount *Olivet*, the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, contiguous; and that the ne Judge ſhall ſtand on the er, and the nations to be d on the latter. This y (which is generally ſhew- travellers, and affirmed to ar the walls of the city, by Sir *John Mandeville*, *Thevenot*, prince *Radziville*, and the whole claſs of writers, and through which the brook *Cedron* is ſaid to run) appeared, however, of ſuch uncertain ſituation to Mr. *Reland*, than whom no man has more carefully conſidered the geography of this country, that he owns himſelf unſatisfied about it (88).

(N) We have already given an account of this place, and of the abominations practiſed in it: as for the ſituation of it, *Euſebius* places it on the eaſt ſide, cloſe to the walls of *Jeruſalem* (89); but *Reland* ſeems rather inclined to think it on the ſouth ſide of it (90).

) *Joel* iii. 14. (88) *Ubi ſupr. c.* 54. (89) *In voc.* Γαιὴν. *Ubi ſupr.*

ſage

ſage they received from GOD, on account of their diſobedience to his commands, with regard to the nations they had invaded [i]. It is commonly ſuppoſed to have been at ſome ſmall diſtance from *Jeruſalem* (O). 13. The laſt worth mentioning is, the valley of *Elah* (P), famed for the defeat and death of *Goliah* by *David*, and for the victory which the *Iſraelites* gained againſt the *Philiſtines* [k]. The reſt may be ſeen in the laſt note.

THERE were likewiſe ſeveral famed plains in this country; the two moſt conſiderable of which are, that properly ſo called, through the midſt of which the river *Jordan* runs; which is computed about 150 miles in length, and extending ſouthward, according to *Joſephus*, from the city of *Scythopolis*, on the ſea of *Tiberias*, quite to the *Aſphaltite* lake [l]. A great part of this large tract is called, in the New Teſtament, *the land*, or region, *about Jordan*; otherwiſe *the wilderneſs of Jordan* [m]; that is, comparatively with ſome other of the more delightful parts of it; of which we may have farther occaſion to ſpeak. The other is ſtiled *the great plain of Eſdraelon*, or *great plain, and valley of Jezreel*, the *fields of Eſdrela*, and the *plain of Legion* [n]; the firſt of which names it had from the capital

[i] Judg. ii. 1, & ſeq. [k] 1 Sam. xvii. 2, & ſeq. [l] Antiq. l. vi. c. 2. [m] Comp. Matth. iii. 5. Mark i. 4. and Luke iii. 3. [n] Vid. RELAND. ubi ſupr. c. 55.

(O) This ſeems plain from what we read of the battle fought in this valley by *David* againſt the *Philiſtines* (91), near to that metropolis. It is true, ours, and ſome verſions, here read the word *Bochim*, mulberries, it ſignifying both in the *Hebrew*; from which ſome think, this valley, and that of the weepers, to be different; and that the latter was near *Shiloh*, where the tabernacle was when the meſſage came to them.

(P) The word *Elah* is, by the *Septuagint*, and *Vulgate*, rendred a terebinth-tree, and this the valley of the terebinth. Others tranſlate it an oak. We omit many other valleys mentioned in Scripture; ſuch as that of *Eſhcol*, or of the bunch of grapes (92), lying ſouth of the *Promiſed Land*; thoſe of *Ajalon*, *Sorec*, *Jephthael*, *Gai*, &c. ſo named from their chief cities: the valley of fatneſs, near the mount of *Samaria*; the valley of ſlaughter, of viſion, &c. whoſe names are rather prophetic than topical; the valley of artificers, near the *Jordan*; and many others, whoſe ſituation and names are ſtill more obſcure.

(91) 2 *Sam.* v. 24. (92) *Numb.* xxxii. 9.

ezreel, or *Eſdrelon* (Q), and reached, as was lately
l, from *Scythopolis* to mount *Carmel* o. Mr. *Reland*
s this *Great Plain* to have reached partly into *Galilee*,
artly into *Samaria* (R). Beſides theſe two, which
he moſt remarkable plains in all *Paleſtine*, we may
that the whole coaſt from mount *Carmel* down to
uthermoſt borders of it, towards *Idumea*, is altoge-
a plain level ground, excepting here-and-there ſome
and gentle hills, or ſandy heaps. This great extent,
ver, was not all known or called by the ſame name af-
e ſecond temple P; for the northern part of it, from
to *Cæſarea*, and no farther, was called *Sharon*, *Saron*, *Of* Sha-
rona; and was very fertile in paſture-grounds; in ron.
h, Mr. *Reland* thinks q, the *Gadites* fed their nu-
us herds and flocks, and bred ſuch vaſt quantities of
; though we have ventured to ſhew, in a former note,
they had ſome fertile plains of their own called by the
name (S). The ſouthern part of it was called *Se-*
phelah,

USEB. in voc. Jezreel and Eſdrela. JOSEPH. bel. Jud. l. iv.
q RELAND. ubi ſupra.

) Situate at the foot of
it *Carmel*, fifteen miles
of *Nazareth*, and ſuppoſed
me place with the modern
e. The name of *Legion*
probably, given to it from
legion of *Romans* gariſon-
ere, to guard the paſſes
ween *Ptolemais* and *Cæſarea-*
ſtina; the town being, in
meaſure, the key of *Pa-*
, on that ſide. As for
names *Eſdrelon*, and *Eſ-*
, they are plainly a cor-
on, or, if you pleaſe, a
ning, *Græce more*, of the
harſh one of *Jezreel*.
) Hence he concludes it
ve given birth to the μέγα
ν Σαμαρείτιδος, or the
: plain of *Samaria*, of *Jo-*
s (93). The *Septuagint*
nonly tranſlate it Πεδίον
μέγα Ἐσδρηλον. and if it be objected, that neither the Scripture nor St. *Jerom* ſpeak of it as a plain of ſuch large dimenſion, it may be anſwered, that though the territory of that city muſt be, in itſelf, of ſmaller compaſs, yet it was conſiderable enough to cauſe the other parts of the plain, tho' diſtinguiſhed by proper names, to be called by that general one (93); inſtances of that nature being very frequent, and well known.

(S) We have had occaſion to mention ſeveral fertile plains called by the name of *Sharon*, or *Saron*; and that Mr. *Reland* excludes one of them, by making this to be the place where the *Gadites*, who were the greateſt graziers and ſhepherds

(93) *Bel. Jud. l. iii. c. 2.* (94) *Vid. Reland. ubi ſupr.*

of

phelah, or the plain; and extended weſtward and ſouthward of *Eleutheropolis*[r]; which name was given ſtill, in *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*'s time, to all that tract[s] (T). The plain of *Jericho*, though rather a part of the *Great Plain*, properly ſo called, is likewiſe much celebrated in Scripture for its fine palm-trees, its balm-ſhrub, lately mentioned, as well as for its famed roſe and roſe-tree; with which the whole plain was ſaid to be almoſt covered; and ſeveral wonderful virtues are, without any foundation, attributed to it, by authors, and by the inhabitants of thoſe plains: one of them, however, is certain, *viz.* that it is incorruptible; and, being kept ſome little while in water, will blow, and appear in full bloom; and, being taken out, it cloſes up again; and this it will do at any ſeaſon in the year (U). Other plains here are too inconſiderable to be mentioned.

WE find a great many deſerts and wilderneſſes in this country, mentioned in the ſacred books; by which, however, muſt not be underſtood places quite barren, deſtitute, or uninhabited; there being ſeveral of them which

[r] Id. ibid. [s] Onomaſt. in Sephela.

of all the tribes, fed their numerous flocks, and not that which we, after many other authors, ſuppoſe to have been on the other ſide the *Jordan*. We would not willingly differ from ſo accurate an author; but the diſtance of the *Gadites* from the grounds about *Lydda*, *Joppa*, and *Cæſarea*, makes it, at leaſt, very improbable that they ſhould come ſo far, eſpecially as they had the land of *Baſhan*, which was ſpacious and fertile enough for their purpoſes, on their ſide.

(T) The word in the *Hebrew* properly ſignifies a plain or low country, ſuch as this was; and the *Latin* and *Greek* interpreters have accordingly tranſlated it ſo, except that the LXX have here-and-there preſerved its *Hebrew* name. It was in this plain that we are told *Simon* the *Maccabee* fortified the town of *Adiada* (95).

(U) The ſhrub that bears it is ſomewhat like our alder, and ſhoots its flowers in great bunches, which at firſt are of a reddiſh colour, but by degrees grow whiter. It is not peculiar, however, to this plain, there being likewiſe found great quantities elſewhere, particularly in *Arabia*. Some late writers, however, tell us, that the palm-trees are now much more ſcarce, and the fruit ſhort of what they were; and the roſe-tree we are mentioning ſcarce to be ſeen in all that plain (96).

(95) 1 *Maccab.* xii. 38. (96) *Shaw*, *Pococke*, *&c.*

had

had cities and villages, rich, and well-peopled; and few cities there were here, that had not ſome deſert, according to the Scripture idiom, belonging to it, for the feeding of their cattle; ſo that that word commonly meant no more than a land or tract that bore neither corn, wine, nor oil, but was left to its ſpontaneous production (W). Accordingly we find in the deſert of *Judah*, where the baptiſt preached [t], no leſs than ſix cities, beſides the villages belonging to them; *viz. Bethabarah*, *Middin*, *Secacah*, *Nibſhan*, the city of *Salt*, and that of *Engaddi* [u]. We have not room to dwell on a deſcription of all thoſe deſerts; but ſhall only mention ſome of the moſt noted; and theſe are, *Arnon*, in which runs the river of that name through the land of *Gilead*; *Ziph*, where *David* hid himſelf [w]; *Cadeſh*, near *Cadeſh-barneah*, on the ſouth ſide of *Judah* [x], and mentioned as the place where *Moſes* and *Aaron* were puniſhed for ſmiting the rock [y], and where their ſiſter died. The deſert of *Mahon*, or *Maon*, on the borders of *Judah*, on the ſouth of *Jeſhimon*; this was another place where *David* retired from the fury of *Saul* [z]. Thoſe of *Tekoah*, *Bezer*, *Bozor*, or *Bozra*, *Gibeon*, or *Gabaa*, and others of leſs note, were likewiſe denominated from the cities they belonged to, and have nothing worth farther notice, except that the laſt of theſe is mentioned by *Joſephus* [a], as well as all the mountainous tract from *Jeri-*

[t] Matth. iii. 1. [u] Joſh. xvi. 61, 62. [w] Numb. xxi. 13. 1 Sam. xxiii. 15. [x] Gen. xiv. 7, & alib. plur. [y] Num. xx. 1. Exod. xvii. 7, & ſeq. [z] 1 Sam. xxiii. 24. [a] 2 Sam. xi. 24. Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 8.

(W) Mr. *Reland* hath fully ſhewn, that the *Hebrew* word מדבר, *midbar*, which the *Greeks* rendered ἔρημος, and the *Latins deſertum* and *ſolitudo*, bear no analogy to each other; and that the former were ſet aſide for feeding of flocks, whilſt the cultivated lands were ſtiled plains, valleys; and thoſe that excelled in fecundity were diſtinguiſhed with ſome proper epithets, or even names of that import. The *Jewiſh* rabbies likewiſe inform us, that the ſmall cattle, ſuch as ſheep, goats, *&c.* were not ſuffered to feed on theſe, but either in *Syria*, or the wilderneſſes of *Judea* (97); and it is evident, that theſe were fitteſt for that purpoſe, becauſe they produced plenty of thyme, marjoram, ſage, and other aromatic herbs, which gave a more delicious taſte and flavour both to their milk and fleſh, than any paſture-grounds properly ſo called.

(97) *Ubi ſupra*, c. 26.

cho to *Scythopolis*, as quite barren and uninhabited; and includes, under the ſame character, moſt of the ſpace along the *Jordan*, from the ſea of *Tiberias* to the *Aſphaltite* lake; tho' moſt travellers have unjudiciouſly crouded both ſides with towns and villages, without any foundation, and with more zeal and warmth than diſcretion or authority [b].

To theſe we may add ſome woods or foreſts, mentioned alſo in holy writ; ſuch as, particularly, thoſe of *Hareth*, in the tribe of *Judah*, to which *David* withdrew from *Saul* [c]; of *Ephraim*, where *Abſalom* received the due reward of his unnatural rebellion [d]: this ſtood on the other ſide *Jordan*, not far from *Mahanaim*, where *David* abode, while the battle was fought; that of *Lebanon*, where *Solomon* built a ſtately palace [e], ſo called, in all probability, on account of the many ſtately trees that ſhaded it (X); the foreſt of *Bethel*, ſuppoſed to have ſtood near the city of that name, whence the two ſhe-bears came, and devoured the children that inſulted the prophet *Eliſha* [f]. Others of leſs note we paſs over to come to the ſeas, lakes, and rivers of the country.

We begin with the ſeas; of which there are commonly reckoned five (Y); *viz.* The *Mediterranean*, called by the ſacred

[b] Vid. Reland. ubi ſupr. c. 56. [c] 1 Sam. xxii. 5. [d] 2 Sam. xviii. 5, & ſeq. [e] 1 Kings vii. 2. [f] 2 Kings ii. 23, & ſeq.

(X) Some authors have placed this palace in the mountains of *Lebanon*, properly ſo called; whereas it is much more probable, that it ſtood in or near *Jeruſalem*. Witneſs the 300 golden ſhields which were carried before that monarch, and which are expreſly ſaid to have been conſtantly kept in the hall of this palace (98).

(Y) The *Hebrews* gave the name of ים, *yam*, or ſea, not only to thoſe properly ſo called, as the *Mediterranean* and *Red Sea*, but to lakes, and other large pools, which bore no kind of proportion to them, ſuch as the other three we have mentioned above, which were properly mere lakes, and ſome of them not over-large. They even gave that name to ſome large rivers, ſuch as the *Nile*, *Euphrates*, *Tigris*, &c. which we purpoſely take notice of here, becauſe without ſuch previous notice it would be impoſſible to underſtand ſundry paſſages in Scripture, eſpecially in the prophetic books (99). Thus *Hoſea* ſtiles the *Babylo-*

(98) 1 *Kings* x. 17. (99) *Vide int. al. Iſai.* xi. 15. xviii. 2. xxi. 1. xxvii. 1. *Jerem.* li. 36, 42. *Ezek.* xxxii. 2. *Dan.* xi. 45, *&c.*

nian

ſacred writers the *Great Sea*: 2. the *Dead ea*, or lake of *Sodom*: 3. the ſea of *Tiberias*: 4. the *Samachonite Sea*, or lake: and, 5. the ſea of *Jazer* s; which laſt was but a ſmall lake near the city of that name; ſo that only the firſt of them deſerved the name of *ſea*; and this they diſtinguiſhed, not only by the title of *great*, but of *Salt Sea*, Mediterranean. *Sea of the Philiſtines*, and alſo the *Hinder Sea*, or *Sea behind one*; from its ſituation, with reſpect to the land (Z): the *Dead Sea*, called alſo, from its ſituation, the *Eaſt Sea*, Dead Sea. the *Salt Sea*, the ſea of *Sodom*, the ſea of the *Deſert*, and ſea of the *Plain*, by the ſacred writings; and by other authors, the *Aſphaltite Lake*, on account of the vaſt quantities of that bituminous drug which are thrown up by its waves, and thence by the wind towards the ſhore. *Joſephus* aſſures us, it riſes in lumps as big as an ox without its head; ſome are even larger, and others ſmaller; and in great requeſt among phyſicians and embalmers (A). Many things have

s Jerem. xlviii. 32.

nians and *Egyptians* the children of the ſea; for ſo the words of the original import (100). And *Nahum*, ſpeaking of the city of *No-Ammon* in *Egypt*, ſuppoſed to be that of *Thebes* or *Decapolis*, ſays, that the ſea is its treaſure, and the waters of it its ramparts (1); which could be only the river *Nile* (2).

(Z) The *Hebrews* had anciently no other rule for ſtating and diſtinguiſhing the points of the compaſs, than that of looking forthright to the ſunriſing, which they ſtiled קֶדֶם, *kedem*, or front, *i. e.* the eaſt; the right and left made the ſouth and north, and what was behind was the weſt (3). Hence this ſea, which lies weſt of, or behind them, was called *Acharon*, or *Acharonith*; and is as frequently uſed to ſignify the weſt (4), as the *yamin*, or right-hand, for the ſouth.

(A) It is to be obſerved here, that the name of *Dead Sea* is not to be found in the ſacred writings, but hath been given to it becauſe no creature will live in it, on account of its exceſſive ſaltneſs, or rather bituminous quality; for the *Hebrews* rank ſulphur, nitre, and bitumen, under the general name of ſalt. However, ſome late travellers have found cauſe to ſuſpect the common report of its breeding no living creature; one of them having obſerved, on the ſhore, two or three ſhells of fiſh like thoſe of an oyſter, among the pebbles on the ſhore, and which he ſuppoſes to have been thrown up by the waves, at two hours diſtance from the mouth of the

(100) *Ch.* xi. 8. (1) *Ch.* iii. 10. (2) *See Bochart, Calmet, & al.* (3) *See Gen.* xii. 8, 13. xiii. 14, & *alib. paſſ.* (4) *Vide int. al. Pſal.* cvii. 3, *in the original.*

have been ſaid and wrote of this famed, or, if they were indeed true, rather infamous lake; ſuch as that it aroſe from the ſub-

Jordan, which he there takes notice of, leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected to have been brought into the lake by that way (5). A later author, though he ſaw neither fiſh nor ſhells, tells us, on the authority of a monk, that ſome ſort of fiſh had been caught in it; and gives us his opinion, that as ſo many ſorts live in ſea-water, ſome kind may be ſo formed as to live in a bituminous one (6).

It is on account of this bitumen that it hath had the name of *Aſphaltite Lake*, it being reported to have thrown up great quantities of that drug (7), which was much in uſe among the *Egyptians*, and other nations, for embalming of dead bodies (8). But, whatever it may have formerly done, we are aſſured by modern eye-witneſſes, that it is now to be found but in ſmall quantities along the ſhore, though in much greater near the mountains on both ſides the lake (9). But the contrary is ſince affirmed by two more late travellers, the one of which tells us, that it is obſerved to float on the ſurface of the water, and to come on the ſhore after windy weather, where the *Arabians* gather it, and put it to all the uſes that common pitch is uſed for, even in the compoſitions of ſome medicines (10): and another tells us, he was there informed, that it was raiſed at certain times from the bottom, in large hemiſpheres, which, as ſoon as they touch the ſurface, and are acted by the external air, burſt at once, with great noiſe and ſmoke, like the *pulvis fulminans* of the chymiſts, and diſperſe themſelves about in a thouſand pieces (11). From both theſe judicious authors we may conclude the reaſon of Mr. *Maundrell*'s miſtake, both as to the lake's throwing it up only on certain ſeaſons (that reverend gentleman might chance to be there at the wrong time); and likewiſe as to his not obſerving it about the ſhores, ſeeing the *Arabs* are there ready to gather it as ſoon as thrown up: all of them deſcribe it as reſembling our black pitch, ſo as not to be diſtinguiſhed from it, but by its ſulphurous ſmoke and ſtench when ſet on fire; and it hath been commonly thought to be the ſame with that which our druggiſts ſell under the name of *bitumen Judaicum*, or *Jewiſh* pitch, though we have reaſon to think, that this laſt is factitious, and that there is now none of the right *aſphaltus* brought from *Judea*.

It hath, moreover, been confounded with a ſort of blackiſh combuſtible ſtone thrown on the ſhore, and called by ſome *Moſes*'s ſtone, which, being held in

(5) *Maundrell's journey from Aleppo to Jeruſ. p.* 84. (6) *Pocock, ubi ſup. p.* 37. (7) *Brocard. deſcr. ter. ſanct. c.* 7. *Radzivil. p.* 95. (8) *Pococke ubi ſupr.* (9) *Maundrel. ubi ſupr.* (10) *Pocock ubi ſupr. p.* 36. (11) *Shaw's travels, p.* 374, *& ſeq.*

ierſion of the vale of *Siddim*, where once ſtood, as is monly reported, the three cities which periſhed in the culous conflagration, with thoſe of *Sodom* and *Gomor-* B), for their unnatural and deteſtable wickedneſs; on h account this lake hath been looked upon as a laſting ument of the juſt judgment of GOD, to deter mankind ſuch abominations. Hence it is added, that the wa- of the lake are ſo impregnated with ſalt, ſulphur, and r bituminous ſtuff, that nothing would ſink or live in nd that it caſt ſuch ſtench and ſmoke, that the very died in attempting to fly over it. The deſcription viſe of the apples that grew about it, fair without, and aſhes and bitterneſs within, were looked upon as a ier monument of GOD's anger. So likewiſe the de- tion which many travellers give not only of the lake, of all the country round about, of the whole appear- dreadful to behold, all ſulphurous, bituminous, ſtink- and ſuffocating; and laſtly, what hath been farther ned of the ruins of the five cities ſtill being to be ſeen ear weather, and having been actually ſeen in theſe times; all theſe ſurpriſing things, and ill-grounded ns, though commonly, and ſo long, received among ſtians, have been of late ſo much exploded, not only ie teſtimony of very credible witneſſes, but even by the ority of Scripture, that we muſt be obliged to give them pious inventions, unleſs we will ſuppoſe the face and

Falſe re- *ports about* *it exploded.*

ame of a candle, will ſoon , and caſt a ſmoke, and in- able ſtench; but with this ordinary property, that gh it loſes much of its ht and colour, it becoming nanner white, yet it dimi- s nothing of its bulk. But , Dr. *Pococke* tells us, are l about two or three leagues the ſhore. He concludes, ever, from it, that a *ſtra-* of that ſtone under the lake robably one part of the er that feeds the ſubterra- s fire, and cauſes the bitu- to boil up out of it (12.)

(B) Thence called *Pentapolis*: *Strabo*, however, on the authority of an antient and received tradition, reckoned up 13 of them, of which *Sodom* was the capital; and adds, that they were overthrown by a violent earthquake, occaſioned by ſubterraneous fire, which threw up this great and ſulphurous lake, in which all thoſe cities were ſwallowed up (13). *Joſephus* aſſures us likewiſe, that on the overthrow of *Sodom* this vale became the lake *Aſphaltites* (14).

) *Ubi ſupr. p.* 37. 9.

(13) *Geogr. l.* xvi. *p.* 764.

(14) *Antiq.*

nature of all theſe things to have been intirely changed (C). With reſpect to the ſituation of the *Pentapolis* before-mentioned, on the ſame ſpot where the lake now lies, Mr. *Reland* is the firſt that hath attempted to confute it from Scripture; the ſubſtance of whoſe arguments the reader may ſee in note (D). What likewiſe relates to the conſtant

(C) Thoſe in particular, of bodies not ſinking in the water, and of birds being ſtifled by the exhalations of it, appear now falſe in fact. 'Tis true, the quantity of ſalt, alum, and ſulphur, with which it is impregnated, render it ſo ſpecifically heavier (Dr. *Pococke* ſays one-fifth (15), than freſh water), that bodies will not ſo eaſily ſink; yet that author, and others, aſſure us, they have ſwam and dived in it; and, as to the birds, we are told likewiſe, that they will fly over it without any harm. How to reconcile theſe things with the experiments which *Pliny* tells us had been made by *Veſpaſian*, is (16) impoſſible, without ſuppoſing that thoſe ingredients have been ſince much exhauſted, which is not at all improbable; ſuch quantities of them, that is, of the bitumen and ſalt, having been all along, and being ſtill taken off, and ſuch ſtreams of freſh water continually pouring into it, as may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have conſiderably diminiſhed its gravity and denſeneſs. For, with reſpect to its ſalt, we are told, the *Arabs* make quantities of it from that lake, in large pits about the ſhore, which they fill with that water, and leave to be cryſtalized by the ſun. This ſalt, as we obſerved a little before, is in ſome caſes much commended by *Galen*, as very wholſome, and a ſtrengthener of the ſtomach, &c. on account of its unpleaſant bitterneſs (17).

(D) He firſt judiciouſly obſerves, that the five kings of thoſe cities are ſaid to have rendezvouſed in the vale of *Siddim*; which ſeems plainly to intimate, that they did not dwell there, but at ſome diſtance from it: neither, ſecondly, doth the ſacred hiſtorian any-where hint, that thoſe five cities were in this vale: nor, thirdly, is there any mention made, in any part of holy writ, of their ſubmerſion, but only of their deſtruction: he goes on, fourthly, with proving, that this ſuppoſed ſubmerſion is contrary to ſeveral paſſages of Scripture he there quotes; but which we omit for brevity: and laſtly, he produces ſome farther arguments, to prove that not all the five cities, if any, did ſtand on the ſpot where the lake now is: all which he ſubmits to be farther diſcuſſed by the learned (18); in which we ſhall alſo follow his example.

(15) *Ubi ſupr. p.* 36. *Reland, ubi ſupr.* (16) *Nat. hiſt. l.* v. *c.* 16. (18) *Ibid. l.* i. *c.* 38. (17) *See*

ſmoke

ſmoke aſcending from the lake, its changing the colour of its water three times a day, ſo confidently affirmed by *Joſephus*, and other antients, and confirmed by prince *Radziville*, and other moderns[h], who pretend to have been eye-witneſſes of it, is all now in the ſame manner exploded by others of more modern date, and, at leaſt, of equal candor (E). As to what was affirmed of the five cities appearing under the water, in a clear ſky; that too is rather exploded than confirmed (F). As to the water, it is, tho' clear,

[h] Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 5. Radz. ubi ſupr.

(E) All that is ſaid on this head, as well as of the infernal apples mentioned by *Joſephus* and *Tacitus* (19), the reader may ſee exploded in the author above quoted (20); from which may be concluded, that thoſe notions have been vended and entertained by ſuperſtitious votaries, with more zeal than diſcretion, or knowlege, except it be, perhaps, the above-mentioned change of the colour of the water; *viz.* blackiſh in the morning, bluiſh at noon, and yellow and turbid in the evening; which may, by the help of a little optic, be eaſily accounted for: and, as for the apples he is ſatisfied they never had any exiſtence, but in the fickle imaginations of crazy votaries; there being now not the leaſt traces of that kind to be found.

(F) What the ſame author ſays of them is as follows (21): "I carefully ſurveyed the waters as far as my eye could reach; but could diſcern neither heaps of ruins, nor, &c.—but, continues he, I muſt not omit what was confidently atteſted to me by the father-guardian and the procurator of *Jeruſalem*, both men in years, and ſeemingly not deſtitute of ſenſe and probity; *viz.* that they had once ſeen one of thoſe ruins; that it was ſo near the ſhore, and the waters ſo ſhallow at that time, that they, together with ſome *Frenchmen*, went to it, and found ſeveral pillars, and other fragments of buildings." Theſe ruins have been ſince ſuppoſed to be thoſe of *Sodom*, which lay farther north (22); but neither *Reland*, nor any other author, lay any ſtreſs on what was told Mr. *Maundrell*; though they would have made no queſtion of it, had he himſelf affirmed it.

The unhealthineſs of the air about the lake was affirmed by *Joſephus* (23) and *Pliny*, eſpecially on the weſt (24): the monks that live in the neighbourhood confirm the ſame, and

(19) *Bell. Jud. l.* v. *c.* 5. *Hiſt. l.* v. (20) *Maundrell ubi ſupr. p.* 83, *& ſeq.* (21) *Ubi ſupra, p.* 85. (22) *Vide Calmet in voc.* (23) *Ubi ſupra.* (24) *Nat. hiſt. l.* v. *c.* 15.

No discharge of its water.

clear, so impregnated with salt, that those that dive into it, come out covered with a kind of brine [i]. There is one remarkable thing relating to this lake, generally agreed on by all travellers and geographers; *viz.* that it receives the waters of *Jordan*, a considerable river we shall speak of in the sequel; the brooks of *Jabok*, *Kishon*, *Arnon*, and other springs which flow into it from the adjacent mountains, and yet never overflows, though there is no visible way to be found, by which it discharges that great influx. The common opinion is, that it hath some subterraneous vent, either into the *Mediterranean*, or the *Red Sea* [k] (G). It is inclosed on the east and west, with exceeding high mountains, many of them craggy, and dreadful to behold; on the north it has the plain of *Jericho*; or, if we take in both sides of the *Jordan*, it has the *Great Plain*, properly so called, on the south; which is open, and extends beyond the reach of the eye. *Josephus* gives this lake 580 furlongs in length, from the mouth of the *Jordan* to the town of *Segor*, on the opposite end; that is, about 22 leagues, and about 150, or five leagues, in its largest breadth [l]; but our modern accounts commonly give it 24 leagues in length, and six or seven in breadth. On the west side of it is a kind of promontory, where they pretend to shew the remains of *Lot*'s metamorphosed wife [m]. *Josephus* says it was still standing in his time; but when prince *Radziville* inquired after it, they told him there was no such salt pillar or statue to be found in all that part [n]. However, they have found

[i] GALEN. descript. medicam. SALLUST. c. 19. POCOCK. [k] See RELAND. ubi supra, and the authors quoted there. [l] Antiq. l. viii. c. 2. de bell. l. iv. c. 14. [m] MAUNDREL. ubi supra, p. 84, & seq. [n] Ubi supra.

would have dissuaded Dr. *Pococke* from going to it on that account; and, as he ventured to go and bathe in it, and was, two days after, seized with a dizziness, and violent pain in the stomach, which lasted near three weeks, they made no doubt but it was occasioned by it; and he doth not seem to contradict it (24).

(G) Doctor *Shaw* (25) hath here endeavoured to account for it in the same ingenious way as Dr. *Halley* had done by the *Mediterranean*, that is, by exhalation, without having recourse to any other solution; and we shall submit both computations to the judgment of the learned; such philosophical disquisitions being foreign to a work of this nature.

(24) *Ubi sup. p.* 38. (25) *Ubi sup. p.* 373, *& seqq.*

means,

means, about a century after him, to recover, as they pretended to assure Mr. *Maundrell*, a block or stump of it [n], which may in time grow up, with a little art, into its antient bulk.

THE sea of *Tiberias*, or *Galilee* (H), is, in most respects, quite opposite to that of *Sodom*; and is highly commended by the *Jewish* historian [o], amongst other things, for the sweetness, coolness, and excellency, of its water, and the abundance and variety of noble fish that breed in it; contrary to the other, which suffers nothing to live in it, and whose waters are represented as altogether distasteful and horrid [p]. The river *Jordan* runs quite through it, and supplies it with fresh water: and here it was that St. *Peter*, *Andrew*, *John*, and *James*, exercised their profession of fishermen [q]. *Josephus* [r] gives it an hundred furlongs in length, and about forty in breadth. *Sea of Tiberias.*

3. THE lake of *Samachon*, or *Samacon*, near the city of *Dan*, and the spring-head of the *Jordan*, which runs quite through it, lies about an hundred furlongs north of that of *Tiberias*. We do not find it once named in the Old Testament, either by that, or any other name (I), by which one *Of Samachon.*

[n] Ubi sup. [o] Bell. Jud. l. iii. c. 18. [p] L. iv. c. 1.
[q] Mat. iv. 18. Mark i. 16, & alib. [r] L. iii. c. 18.

(H) It had several other names, in the sacred writings; such as *Cinnereth*, *Cinneroth*, or sea and lake of *Kinnereth*, or *Kinneroth*; the lake or water of *Genezareth*, or *Genezar*; and the like. The name of sea of *Galilee* was given to it on account of its being almost surrounded with that province 26). The other names, of *Cinnereth*, &c. were, most probably, from the towns of these names adjacent to it; though some fetch them from a musical instrument of that name, in use among the *Jews*. But *Reland* rather chuses the former etymon, from the country of that name in the tribe of *Naphtali* (27); as that of *Tiberias* is certainly from the city of that name situate on the south-west shore of the lake. *Josephus* adds, with relation to its water, that the neighbouring inhabitants, who made use of it, were wont to expose it all night to the open air, in summer-time, which gave it a coolness equal to that of snow (28).

(I) Whence it derived that name, is not easy to guess. The *Greek* of *Josephus* (29) writes it Σαμαχωνίτις and Σεμεχωνίτις, which some derive from the *Arabic samach*, *a fish*, in

(26) *Vid. Num.* xxxiv. 11. *Josh.* xii. 3. 1 *Maccab.* xi. 67. *Joseph. ubi sup.* (27) *See Heb. ubi sup. l.* i. *c.* 40. (28) *Ubi sup. l.* iv. *c.* 1. (29) *Ibid.*

the

one may conclude it to have been known to the ſacred hiſtorians (K). Its length is computed near ſixty furlongs, or about ſeven miles; and its breadth thirty furlongs, or three miles and an half. But a late traveller, who viewed it, aſſures us, it is now no more than four in breadth, where broadeſt, and in other places not above two[s]. As to the lake, it is famed only for the thickneſs of its water, from which it is ſuppoſed to have had its name, as was hinted in the laſt note but one. *Joſephus* adds, that the whole territory about it was full of marſhes[t]; and that the city of *Hazor*, where reigned *Sabin*, one of the kings of *Canaan*[u], was ſeated upon it; as that of *Seleucia* hath ſince been. We have gone through the three principal ſeas, or lakes, of *Paleſtine*; for that of *Jazer* we have already taken notice of, as too inconſiderable to deſerve a farther deſcription; and that of *Phiala* ſhall be mentioned in the ſequel, on another account. We ſhall therefore come to the rivers.

Of theſe, the *Jordan* is the moſt conſiderable, and the only one that deſerves that name; the others, though often

[s] Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 73. [t] Joseph. ubi ſup. [u] Vid. Joſh. xi. 5. Judg. iv. 2.

the plural *ſamachon:* others from the *Chaldee ſamak, red*; on account of its reddiſh muddy water. Some think it to be the ſame lake of which *Pliny* ſpeaks (30), and which he places about 150 furlongs from the *Mediterranean*, not far from *Lebanon:* and adds, that it produced ſome odoriferous reeds. *Joſephus* ſays, that the marſhes about it extend themſelves as far as *Daphne* (31); but it is probable, that this is a miſtake of the copyiſt, and that he wrote *Dane*, or *Dan*; ſince he ſays there, that the waters of the *Jordan* fall into this lake a little below the temple of the *golden calf*, which is known to have been in the city of *Dan* (32).

(K) Some authors have therefore ſuppoſed, that the waters of *Merom*, mention'd in *Joſhua* (33), were this *Samachonite* lake (34); becauſe it is ſaid, in *Joſephus*, that the *Hazor* where *Jabin* reigned was ſituate upon it. But this conſequence hath been ſo well confuted by another learned critic, that nothing can be replied to it. We ſhall refer our reader to that judicious author, for fear of drawing it to too great a length (35); and only obſerve, from him, that the *Merom* of *Joſhua* and *Judges* (36) was far enough from the lake above-mentioned: ſo that it doth not appear to have been at all mentioned in Scripture.

(30) *L.* xii. *c.* 22. (31) *Bell. Jud. l.* iv. *c.* 1. (32) *See* 1 *Kings* xii. 29. (33) *Joſh.* xi. 5, & 7. (34) *Pocock. & al.* (35) *Calmet. in Merom.* (36) *Ch.* v. 18.

mentioned

mentioned under that title, being rather brooks, or rivulets, in compariſon of either that, or the *Nile*, *Euphrates*, &c. and theſe are, the *Arnon*, *Jabok*, and *Cherith*, on the other ſide *Jordan*; the *Sorec*, *Kiſhon*, *Boſor*, *Belus*, the brook of *Jezreel*, which falls into the *Jordan* near *Scythopolis*, the *Nahar-el-farat*, and ſome others of leſs note; of which we ſhall juſt ſay ſomething in the margin (L), and only deſcribe that of *Jordan* here.

THAT

(L) The *Arnon*, oft mention'd in Scripture, hath its ſource among the mountains of *Gilead*, and runs down, at firſt, from north to ſouth; thence, turning from eaſt to weſt, falls into the *Dead Sea* on the eaſt ſide of it. The *Jaboc* ſprings from the ſame mountains, and falls into the *Jordan* a little above the ſea of *Tiberias*. That river divided the country of the *Ammonites* from that of *Gaulonitis*, and the kingdom of *Baſhan*. The *Cherith* famed only for the prophet *Elijah*'s retreat (37). Its ſpring is not known, but it falls into the *Jordan* a little below *Bethſhean*, or *Scythopolis* (38). The *Sorec* runs through the valley of the ſame name, in the tribe of *Dan*, and near the place where the infamous *Delilah* dwelt (39). *Joſephus* places it near *Zorah* and *Eſhtaol*, where *Samſon* reſided (40). This valley, and the *Caphar Sorec*, or *town of* Sorec, were famed for an excellent wine often mentioned in Scripture (41), and cried up by the *Jewiſh* rabbis (42); inſomuch that the word *Sorec* ſeems, in many places, to mean, emphatically, either an excellent vine, or the fruit of it (43). *Kiſhon*, *al. Ciſſon*, runs through the vale of *Jezreel*, near and ſouth of mount *Tabor*, whence it runs into the ſea at the port of *Acco*, or *Acra*, al. *Ptolemais*. It is a pretty large river, and receives many ſprings from mount *Carmel*, and the plain adjacent. Dr. *Pocock* was told, that it riſes to the ſouth of mount *Tabor*; and near this river it was that *Elijah* cauſed the prophets of *Baal* to be ſlain. Doctor *Shaw*, who ſaw the four chief ſprings of it called *Ras al Kiſhon*, or *head of* Kiſhon, adds, that it receives ſo many ſprings in its courſe, which, in rainy ſeaſons, fall into it as ſo many torrents, that it overflows all its banks, and runs with ſuch rapidity, as to ſweep all before it. Its courſe, likewiſe, which, he ſays, p. 332. is not above ſeven miles in length, is haſtened by its declivity, tho', except in ſuch extemporaneous overflowings abovementioned, it never falls into the ſea in a full ſtream, but burieth itſelf in a bank of ſand, which the north winds throw againſt the mouth of it. *Boſor*, or *Bezor*, parts the tribes of *Judah* and *Simeon*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Medi-*

(37) 1 *Kings* xxv. 3. (38) *Vid. Euſeb. & Hieron.* (39) *Judg.* xvi. 4. (40) *Loc. Heb. in voc. Saara.* (41) *Vid. inter al. Gen.* xlix. 11. *Iſa.* xii. 25, *& ſeq. Jer.* ii. 21, *& alib. plur.* (42) *Midraſh. in loc. ſup. citat. Kimch. in Rad. & al.* (43) *Vid. ſup. in voc.* שרק.

terranean

THAT famed river, of which a late author [w] ſays, that
d. next to the *Nile*, he hath not ſeen ſo conſiderable an one, either in the *Levant*, or *Barbary*, hath its ſource at the famed lake of *Phiala*, about ten miles north of that of *Sa-*

[w] Dr. SHAW, ubi ſup. p. 373, & ſeq.

terranean between *Gaza*, or, rather, *Majuma*, and *Anthedon*. It is alſo called the river, or torrent of the deſert (44), which ſome have thence, inadvertently, confounded with the river of *Egypt*, mentioned, alſo, in ſome places of holy writ (45); tho' by this laſt could only be meant the *Nile*, or the right-arm of it, far enough from this of *Bezor*. *Belus*, *Bel*, *Beleus*, a ſmall river of *Galilee*, that diſcharges itſelf into the *Mediterranean* about two furlongs from *Ptolemais* (46). *Pliny* tells us (47), that it ſprings from a lake, or marſh, called *Cendevia*; and that its courſe is only about five miles; and that it is filled with ſand, which the ſea is continually throwing into it; and it is of that ſand they make glaſs. *Joſephus* (48) and *Tacitus* (49) ſay much the ſame; but our modern travellers, and thoſe who have wrote of the cruſade, ſpeak of this as of a thing now out of uſe, and only known to them from the writings of theſe antient authors (50). Dr. *Shaw* ſays, it is now called *Kardiana*; and that, as it runs through the plain of *Eſdraelon*, it receives ſeveral ſprings, which deſcend from mount *Carmel* (51). The laſt river, worth mentioning, is called *Nahar-el-farat*, or *Nehel-frat*, that is, *the river of the mouſe*, which hath its ſource about a league to the north-eaſt of *Jeruſalem* (52). The reaſon of its name is ſuppoſed to ariſe from its ſtream's burying itſelf in the ground, as ſoon almoſt as it begins to run; and ſo continues riſing, and loſing itſelf thro' the vale of *Jericho*, till it falls into the *Jordan*. To theſe we might add ſome other curious fountains and ſprings, of excellent water, which diſcover themſelves along the ſea-ſhore, a little below *Bellmount*, and which are ſuppoſed to have their ſource at about a league diſtance to the eaſtward of it; where there is a ſpacious grotto, famed for a plentiful ſtream, which burſts out at once, and loſes itſelf immediately, under the ſame cave. This place, which, the laſt-quoted author tells us, is near half a mile long, and ſometimes fifty, and ſometimes an hundred yards broad, is vaulted, by nature, in ſo regular a manner, that art alone ſeems to be concerned in the performance. Other waters, ſuch as the pools of *Solomon*, *Siloam*, &c. may be taken notice of in a more convenient place.

(44) *Amos* vi. 14. (45) *Joſh.* xv. 4, 47. 2 *Chron.* viii. 8, & alib. (46) *Joſeph. de bell. Jud. l.* ii. c. 19. (47) *L.* xxxvi. *c.* 26. (48) *Ubi ſup.* (49) *Hiſt. l.* v. (50) *Vid. geſt. del ſer. Franc. & al. mult.* (51) *Ubi ſup. p.* 322. *Vid. Pocock. ubi ſup. p.* 54. *Maundrel. & al.* (52) *Pocock. ubi ſup. p.* 322.

machon;

machon; though this was not fully proved till *Philip* the tetrarch tried the experiment of throwing ſome ſtraw, or chaff, into the lake, which came out at the *Panion*, or *Paneas*, or the place where that river emerges out of the earth, after having run about 120 furlongs under-ground; and which was, till then, ſuppoſed to be the ſpring of it. This *Phiala*, or *Vial*, a name commonly given to all other reſervoirs of that kind, is ſituate in a moſt delightful country, and ſo excellently well adapted for commerce, that marts and fairs are held in the places adjacent all the ſummer long, by the neighbouring inhabitants [x]. The origin of the name *Jordan* is variouſly deduced, as the reader may ſee in the following note (M); but its ſtream was looked upon as ſo conſiderable, in reference to the reſt we have lately deſcribed, which are but mere brooks in compariſon of it, that it is ſometimes ſtiled, by way of emphaſis, *the river* [y]. *Joſephus*, in ſpeaking of it, ſeems to make two rivers, or ſtreams, of it, which he calls the greater and leſſer; the laſt of which he makes to ſpring from the *Panium* above-mentioned, and the former from mount *Leba-*

Its ſpring-head.

Name.

[x] SANCH. ap. Reland. ubi ſup. l. i. c. 41. [y] JOSEPH. ant. l. v. c. 1. l. viii. c. 3.

(M) Its *Hebrew* name is, properly, *Jarden*; but as the *Greeks* and *Latins* have wrote it *Jordanes*, and *Jordanis*, ſome etymologiſts have made two words of it; *viz. Jor*, which in *Hebrew* ſignifies river; and *Dan*, a ſmall city near the ſpring-head of it. Others have attributed to it a twofold ſource; *viz.* the *Jor* and *Dan*, whoſe waters, uniting, made the compound word *Jordan*. Both etymons are falſe, that river having but one ſpring-head, mention'd above; and its name being of much older date than the city of *Dan*, which was not built, or, at leaſt, ſo named, till the *Danites* took poſſeſſion of *Laiſh*, and called it *Dan*, after the name of their progenitor (53), which was not till above eighty years after the *exodus*. Some pretend, that *Moſes* gave it that name by a prolepſis, not uncommon to that and other ſacred writers: but why doth he not then call it *Jordan*, rather than *Jarden*? We therefore agree intirely with thoſe who derive that name from ירד *jarad*, *deſcendit*, or *jarden*, *deſcenſus*, from its rapid deſcent thro' that country. The *Arabs* call it *Arden* or *Harden*, and *Ordounon*, the *Perſians Aerdun*, and the *Nubian* geographer, or the ſharif *Edriſi*, gives it the name of *Zacchar*; which, in *Arabic*, ſignifies *tumid*, *ſwelling*, *overflowing*; and is no leſs proper a name for it (54).

(53) *Judg.* xvii. 1, & *ſeqq.* & 29.

(54) *Vid. Reland. ubi ſup. c.* 43.

non [z]: but it is plain, he means not two diſtinct ſtreams, or rivers; but only diſtinguiſhes between that which is nearer the fountain-head, which he rightly ſtiles the leſs; from that which is farther from it, and which is, by that time, grown large enough to have the title of great. And in this he hath only followed the example of profane writers, ſeveral inſtances of which the reader may ſee in *Reland* [a], and other geographers.

THE courſe of the *Jordan*, after it hath taken its ſecond riſe from the *Panion*, is moſtly ſouthward, bending a few degrees towards the weſt: after a run of about ten or twelve miles, it carries its waves quite through the *Samachonite* lake, whence, after a courſe of about eighteen or twenty miles more, excluſive of its windings, it enters into the ſea of *Tiberias* on the north ſide of it, and comes out again on the ſouth ſide, at a ſmall diſtance from the city of that name: it thence continues its courſe ſtill ſouth-weſtward, through a plain and deſert of about ſixty miles more, and falls into the *Aſphaltite* lake above-deſcribed. Its courſe is very rapid, though its bed is very deep. As to its breadth, a late author tells us, it is about that of the *Thames* at *Windſor* [b]; and another gives it only thirty yards in breadth [c]; but obſerves, that its depth makes ſufficient amends, it being three yards deep, even at the very brink. Its courſe and banks are various, according to the places it runs through, ſome very beautiful, others choaked up with high and thick reeds, canes, and trees; ſuch as willows, tamariſks, *&c.* which quite hide the ſight of it; and are a harbour for lions, and other wild beaſts [d]. We ſhall refer our reader to *Joſephus*, *Reland*, and the other authors laſt quoted, for a farther deſcription of this river, and the towns, ruins, woods, and other particulars, to be ſeen on each ſide of it; a farther detail of which would carry us beyond our bounds.

IT is recorded, in holy writ, as well as by *Joſephus*, and others, to have overflowed its banks, conſtantly, about the time of the early harveſt, or ſoon after *Eaſter* [e]; contrary to the nature of other rivers, which commonly ſwell moſt during the winter, for which many reaſons have been aſſigned; one of which, in particular, is very wild; *viz.* its

[z] Ibid. & l. iii. c. 18. [a] Ubi ſup. [b] POCOCK. ubi ſup. p. 33. [c] SHAW, ubi ſup. p. 374. [d] Vid. RADZIVIL. MAUNDREL. POCOCK. & al. ubi ſup. [e] Joſh. iii. 15. 1 Chron. xii. 15. Eccluſ. xxiv. 26. JOSEPH. ubi ſup.

having a ſubterranean communication with the *Nile* (N). But the moſt probable is, the melting of the ſnows about that time, and the early rains of that ſeaſon, which pour down plentifully into it. However, our modern travellers aſſure us, that it hath loſt that quality; that river having, as they ſuppoſe, by the rapidity of its current, worn its chanel deeper than formerly, or perhaps diverted ſome of its waters another way. So that, at preſent, it hath, in ſome ſenſe, a twofold bank, the nethermoſt of which is that which contains its water during its natural ſtate, and the uppermoſt when it is ſwelled up to its higheſt mark. Mr. *Maundrell*, who was there in *March*, the time mentioned for its overflow, doth farther aſſure us, that it was then two yards below the brink of its chanel [f], which, he ſays, was then deeper than his height. Dr. *Pocock*, however, tells us, that thoſe banks are fifteen feet deep [g]; which makes it probable, that it hath worked itſelf a deeper bed; which may well enough be ſuppoſed the cauſe of its not overflowing, as it formerly did. We are told, farther, both by him and other travellers, that, between the upper and lower bank, there are vaſt numbers of reeds, canes, and trees, growing; which are commonly inhabited by the lions, and other wild beaſts above-mentioned; and which, at the time of the river's overflowing, are obliged to abandon their dwellings, till the waters are again abated: and this is elegantly alluded to by the prophet *Jeremy* [h]. The waters of it are commonly very turbid, by reaſon of its rapidity; but are affirmed to be very wholſome, and incorruptible [i]: and we are farther aſſured, that other extraordinary virtues are commonly aſcribed to them, by the credulous and ſuperſtitious; even to the waſhing away ſin (O).

Ceaſed.

Banks infeſted with wild beaſts.

Waters.

All

[f] Ubi ſup. [g] Pocock. ubi ſup. p. 33. [h] Ch. xlix. 19. l. 44. [i] Radziv. ubi ſup.

(N) One reaſon for this ſtrange ſuppoſition is, that the *coracinus*, a fiſh pretended to be peculiar to the *Nile*, hath been taken in the *Jordan*. A wild concluſion this, as well as its premiſe, and not worth a farther confutation (55).

(O) Dr. *Pocock*, who, among others, mentions this particularity, adds, that not only men, but women, are ambitious of reaping the benefit of theſe ſalutiferous waters; the former by ſwimming in it, not without great hazard, by reaſon of its great rapidity; on which account, they are obliged to take

(55) *Vid. Alken. ap. cand. ibid.*

faſt

All that need be added, with regard to this famed river, is, that the plain, on both ſides, from the ſea of *Tiberias*, quite to the *Aſphaltic*, or *Dead Sea*, which *Joſephus* ſays is 1200 furlongs in length, and 120 in breadth, is extremely dry, ſultry, and unhealthy, during the heat of the ſummer; and every-where barren, except that part which lies near, and is watered by that river [k]. We have, by this time, taken a view of the principal ſeas, lakes, and rivers, of *Paleſtine*; and ſhall now give a ſhort account of its moſt remarkable rarities.

Natural rarities. THESE are commonly divided, rightly enough, into natural and artificial; but in a country, like this, where ſo much chaff is commonly mixed with the wheat, one had need make a farther diſtinction of them into *certain*, *probable*, *doubtful*, and *falſe*: but we hope we ſhall ſo far forbear entering into a detail of thoſe of the third and fourth claſſes, as to make that diſtinction needleſs; by referring thoſe of our readers who are fond of ſuch things, once for all, to the authors often quoted in this ſection.

Petrified fruits, &c. AMONG thoſe of the natural kind, we may juſtly reckon the fine citrons, melons, olives, peaches, and other ſuch fruit, in ſtone, found upon mount *Carmel*; which yet, with a moſt curious exactneſs, imitate thoſe vegetable productions, both within and without: and we are farther told, that the melons, when opened, emit an agreeable ſmell [l]. Our author adds, that here, alſo, are found a kind of oyſters, and other fiſh; and, as he was told, even bunches of grapes, of the ſame ſtony nature and conſiſtence; but whether owing to petrefaction, or the luxuriant work of nature, is yet undetermined. Of theſe, and ſome other ſuch curioſities, of a ſuperſtitious nature, the reader may ſee the judgment of a learned traveller and divine, in

[k] JOSEPH. de bell. l. iii. c. 18.

[l] LE BRUYN voy. au Levant, vol. iv. p. 308, quarto edit.

faſt hold of ſome of the boughs of the trees that grow along the banks, to prevent their being carried away with the ſtream. As for the latter, they content themſelves with ſtripping to their under-garments, and having the water poured upon them (56) by ſome of the by-ſtanders. The *Latin* prieſts, he ſays, erect altars along thoſe banks, where they ſay maſs to the devout pilgrims.

(56) *Ubi ſup. p.* 33.

the

the following note (P). Of the ſame kind are the little round ſtones, exactly reſembling peas, which are found on a ſpot of ground near *Rachel*'s tomb, not far from *Bethlehem*, which they pretend to have been not the work of nature, but the effect of a miracle wrought by the *Virgin Mary*.

Peas-ſtones.

(P) The greateſt part of the mountain of *Carmel*, and of thoſe in the neighbourhood of *Jeruſalem* and *Bethlehem*, are, ſays Dr. *Shaw* (57), made up of a kind of white chalky ſtrata, in the former of which they gather a great many ſtones, which, being in the form, as is pretended, of olives, melons, peaches, *&c.* are commonly impoſed upon pilgrims, not only for ſuch curioſities, but as antidotes againſt ſeveral diſtempers. The olives, the *lapides Judaici* of the ſhops, have been always an approved medicine againſt the gravel and ſtone: but little, continues he, can be ſaid in favour of the melons and peaches, which are only ſo many different ſizes of round hollow flint-ſtones, beautified in the inſide with ſuch ſparry and ſtalagmitical knobs, as are made to paſs for the like number of ſeeds and kernels. The little round calculi commonly called the *Virgin Mary*'s peas, the chalky ſtone of the grotto near *Bethlehem*, and called her milk; the waters of *Jordan* and *Siloam*; the oil of zacone, the roſes of *Jericho*, beads made of the olive-ſtones of *Gethſemane*; with various curioſities of the like nature; are the preſents which pilgrims uſually receive in return for their charity.

Thus far our author; who, by way of illuſtration, gives us, likewiſe, ſome other inſtances of ſuch petrifications in various fiſhes, or, as he ſtiles them, foſſil fiſhes, in his phyſical obſervations on *Syria* and *Phœnice*, and concerning which he expreſſes himſelf in the following terms (58), concerning ſundry remains of the deluge: "Upon the *Caſtravan* mountains "above *Baronte*, is another curious bed, likewiſe, of white-iſh ſtone of the ſlate kind, "which unfolds, in every ſleak "of it, a great number and variety of fiſhes: theſe, for the "moſt part, lie exceeding flat "and compreſs'd, like the foſſil fern-plants; yet, at the "ſame time, are ſo well preſerved, that the ſmalleſt "ſtrokes and lineaments of "their fins, ſcales, and other "ſpecifical diſtinctions, are eaſily diſtinguiſhed. Among "thoſe that were brought to "me from this place, I have a "beautiful ſpecimen of the "ſquilla, which, though the "tendereſt of the cruſtaceous "fiſhes, yet hath not ſuffered "the leaſt injury from the "length of time, or any other "accidents." We ſhall beg leave to add, that thoſe curious ſpecimens, which our learned author hath brought with him from thence, and which ſome of us, among many more curi-

(57) *Ubi ſup. p.* 372. (58) *Ibid.*

Mary [m]. We have likewiſe had occaſion to mention the ſand of the river *Belus*, which was not only excellent for making glaſs, but is reported to have, by ſome accident, miniſtred the hint of that noble invention [n]. On the ſame road is a fountain, called *the apoſtles fountain* [o]; and, a little farther, the deſert to which our Saviour retired, and was tempted by the devil [o]; a moſt barren and diſmal place this! and ſo dreadfully torn and mangled, to all appearance, that a beholder is ready to think the earth hath there ſuffered ſome extraordinary convulſion, which had turned its very bowels inſide-outwards [p]. Near this deſert, or, rather, as a part of it, is ſeen a very craggy high mountain, called *Quadrantana*, or *Quarantania*, of difficult and dangerous aſcent, which is ſaid to be that on which the tempter ſhewed our Saviour all the kingdoms of the world. Our author rightly obſerves here, that thoſe who, from our verſion's calling it a wilderneſs, imagine it to be a wood, or ſome kind of wilderneſs, are moſt egregiouſly miſtaken: here being neither tree nor ſhrub to be ſeen, but rock only, and moſt rugged cliffs. On the top of the above mentioned mountain are two chapels, one higher than the other, about both which are a great many hideous caves and holes in the rock, formerly the ſolitary retreat of chriſtian anchorets [q]; and, probably, likewiſe, of the more ancient *Eſſenes* (Q).

Hot and medicinal waters, of ſeveral ſorts, may be likewiſe ranked under this claſs; and of theſe they had variety. It may be obſerved, in general, that the *Hebrew* names *chammah*, *chamath*, and *chamim*, which the *Greek* and *Vulgate* write *emmaus*, *amatha*, *hamata*, *amath*, and *amathus*, always ſignify ſuch places as had theſe hot waters: and

[m] MAUNDREL. ubi ſup. p. 87. SANDYS, &c. [n] MAUNDREL. ibid. p. 56. [o] Mat. iv. 1, & ſeq. [p] MAUNDREL. ubi ſup. p. 79. [q] Ibid. 80. RADZIVIL. peregr. p. 99.

oſities, have been favoured with the ſight of, do perfectly anſwer the above deſcription, and richly deſerve the title of natural rarities.

(Q) A ſect of *Jewiſh* monks, or hermits, of whom we ſhall ſpeak, in the ſequel of this hiſtory. We forbear mentioning a vaſt number of other places, and pretended rari with which they feed the fa of the religious pilgrims; as the ſtones which the tem deſired *Chriſt* to turn into br and a great number of ot which theſe religious g have the art of turning money, without any mirac

them, we find ſeveral in *Paleſtine*, whoſe waters were famed for curing a variety of diſeaſes; ſome by bathing, others by drinking. The ſuperſtitious *Jews* were ſuch admirers of ſome of them, as to imagine, that their virtue was miraculous; though *Joſephus* owns it to be natural. Thoſe, in particular, of that *Emmaus* about 22 leagues from *Lydda*, on the ſea-ſide, and ſince called *Nicopolis*: the waters were of ſuch efficacy againſt moſt diſtempers, that the Chriſtians attributed it to our Saviour's having waſhed his feet in them, and given that virtue to them: inſomuch, that *Julian* the apoſtate cauſed their ſource to be ſtopt, out of hatred to him.

Saline efflorescences.

OTHER natural rarities are, 1. The ſaline efflorescences, which are obſerved, at the diſtance of ſome few leagues from the *Dead Sea*, much like thoſe which are mentioned to be near *Aleppo*, after an inundation; a plain indication, that the whole plain about muſt be, in an extraordinary manner, impregnated with that mineral[r]. 2. The hillocks, with which the plain, about an hour's diſtance from the *Dead Sea*, is here-and-there covered, not unlike thoſe places in *England* where there have been ſome lime-kilns, but which are here pretended to be the pits where the kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* were overthrown by the four kings[s]. 3. The celebrated fruit called, by the *Arabs*, *zachone* (R), in the plain of *Jericho*, which grows on a kind of thorny buſh, with ſmall leaves, and both in ſhape and colour reſembles a ſmall unripe walnut. The *Arabs* bray the kernels of it in a mortar, and throw the pulp into ſcalding water, on the ſurface of which the oil riſes; which, being ſkimmed off, they apply inwardly for bruiſes, and outwardly

The zachone.

[r] MAUNDRELL, p. 81. [s] Gen. xiv. paſſ. See MAUND. ubi ſup. p. 83. and before, p. 194, & ſeqq.

(R) Dr. *Pocock*, who ſaw it, and calls it *xoccum*, and ſtiles it a tree, gives us a more particular account of it, as follows: the bark of it is like that of the holly: it hath very ſtrong thorns, and a leaf ſomething like that of the berberry-tree: it bears a green nut; the ſkin or fleſh over it is thin, and the nut ribbed; hath a thick ſhell, and a very ſmall kernel. They grind the whole, and preſs an oil out of it, as they do out of olives, and call it a balſam. I take it to be the *myrobalanum* mentioned by *Joſephus*, as growing about *Jericho*; eſpecially as it anſwers to the fruit deſcribed by *Pliny* as the produce of that part of *Arabia* which was between *Judea* and *Egypt* (59).

(59) *Obſerv. in Paleſtin. vol.* ii. *p.* 32.

for wounds; and prefer it, in both caſes, even to the balm of *Gilead*[t]. On the ſame plain grows the famed wood-olive, the outward coat of which is green, like that of the common olive; but, being taken off, diſcovers a nut of woody ſubſtance, ribbed lengthwiſe, and of the thickneſs of an almond ſhell. The kernel within is like that of a piſtacho, and without of a cheſnut brown, but inſipid, in all likelihood[u]. Much of the ſame nature is that ſort of tree which the monks of the convent in *St. John*'s deſart ſhew, and ſtile the locuſt-tree, and pretend to be the right locuſt-tree, of whoſe fruit the baptiſt lived; on which account, *Radziville* calls them by no better name than monuments of the ignorance of the middle times[w]; which may be juſt enough, with regard to that particular (S); but doth not forbid their being ranked among the natural rarities of this country, ſince we do not find they grow any-where elſe. Dr. *Pocock* gives us this account of them: they are called caroubs, and bear a fruit like a bean, but ſlatter, in which are ſome ſmall ſeeds: the ſhell of it, when dry, is eaten, and has an agreeable taſte: and it is on theſe that the baptiſt fed, as they there pretend[x]. Thus much ſhall ſuffice for the natural rarities of this land. As for the *dudaïms*, or, as our verſion renders that word, the mandrakes,

[t] MAUNDRELL, p. 87. [u] LE BRUYN, ubi ſup. p. 278.
[w] Peregr. p. 89. [x] Ubi ſup. p. 46.

(S) It is, indeed, the common opinion, that the ἀκρίδες, or *locuſts*, which the baptiſt fed upon, were the ſame which we call by that name, and not the fruit above meant: and it is plain, that, in moſt parts of *Aſia* and *Africa*, where they come, ſome years, in ſuch quantities, that they darken the ſun, and would devour every green thing that came in their way, if the inhabitants did not deſtroy them; in theſe parts, we ſay, it is common for people to eat them, and even to preſerve them in ſalt or pickle, and ſeveral other ways: and that this kind of food was of very antient date, may be inferred, from the permiſſion that is given for eating it in the *Levitical* law, where a particular diſtinction is made between reptiles with and without wings; the former of which might be eaten, for the reaſon there given (60); *viz.* their having wings and legs, to raiſe themſelves up into the air. The common way of dreſſing them was, by plucking off the leg and wings, and boiling them over a blaze, in a pan full of holes; or elſe, when they came in ſwarms, to knock them down and lay them in heaps, and then kindle a fire about them (61)

(60) *Levit.* xi. 21, *& ſeqq.*
(61) *Leo Afer, Ludolph. & al.*

mentioned in *Geneſis*; the *kikaion*, or gourd of *Jonah*, and ſome others, of the ſame doubtful nature; we may have occaſion to ſpeak of them in the courſe of this hiſtory.

THE artificial ones are ſtill more in number, and would, in all likelihood, tire our readers, were we to give the ſame detail and deſcriptions which travellers have given us: but this we ſhall avoid, by mentioning only the moſt remarkable, and beſt atteſted of that kind: among which, we may rank, 1. The ruins of *Ptolemais*, or *St. John d'Acre*, or *Acra*, from its antient *Hebrew* name *Acco*, or *Accho* (T). Whoever conſiders theſe ruins with attention, would be almoſt induced to conclude, that the city conſiſted only of caſtles, without the intermixture of private houſes. It had two walls, well flanked with towers, and other bulwarks; and each wall had a ditch, lined with ſtone, and many private poſterns beneath: but now that huge wall, and all its arches, *&c.* are turned topſy-turvy; and its fragments like ſo many huge rocks upon the foundation [y]. In the fields, without theſe ſtupendous works, are ſeen, ſcattered up and down, great ſtone balls, of at leaſt thirteen or fourteen inches in diameter, formerly uſed in battering the city, before the uſe of cannon was known [z]. Among the ruins within thoſe broken walls, which carry ſtill ſome tokens of their antient magnificence and ſtrength, the cathedral, formerly dedicated to St. *Andrew*, challenges particular notice, both on account of its height above the reſt, and neighbourhood to the ſea, and of the viſible relicks of its antient ſplendor; it being a noble gothic ſtructure, with a portico round it [a]. 2. The church of *St. John*, the titular ſaint of the city, the remains of which appear to be a low maſ-

Ruins of Acra.

Its cathedral, and other antiquities.

[y] SANDYS, l. iii. p. 159. [z] MAUNDREL. ubi ſup. p. 54. [a] Idem ibid. POCOCK. ubi ſup. p. 53.

(T) This town is, among ſeveral others, mentioned in the book of *Judges* (62), as being in the tribe of *Aſher*, but ſo ſtrong, that that tribe could not drive out the old inhabitants: ſo that it ſeems to have retained its antient name among the natives, ſeeing the *Arabs* do ſtill call it *Akka*, at this time (63). The name of *Ptolemais* was ſince given it from one of the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt* (64); and that of *Acra*, probably, from its fortifications, and importance; whence the knights of *St. John of Jeruſalem* did afterwards give it that of *St. John d'Acre*.

(62) *Ch.* i. *ver.* 31. (63) *Pocock. ubi ſup. p.* 52. (64) 1 *Maccab.* v. 15, *& alib.*

five building; ſo that, it is probable, there was a grand church over it. In the vault of it there is a relief of St. *John*'s head in a charger. 3. The convent of the knights hoſpitallers, whoſe remaining walls bear ſufficient teſtimony of its ſtrength and grandeur. 4. The palace of their grand maſter, ſtill exhibiting a large and noble ſtaircaſe, and part of a ſtately chapel, or church, belonging to it; the walls of which are ſtill intire. 5. The biſhop's palace, of which ſome remains are ſtill to be ſeen, near the cathedral. 6. Laſtly, and to name no more (U), the reſidue of a once-famed nunnery, and the church belonging to it; the walls of the former ſtill ſtanding, and the latter ſtill intire (W). To theſe, however, we may add ſome ruins of

(U) Other travellers give us ſome farther fragments of the ruins above-mentioned; particularly *Thevenot*, who ſays, there are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of about thirty churches, and, particularly, of one, above the reſt, where the knights kept a treaſure which was known only to them by a particular piece of marble. This treaſure, we are told, was afterwards fetched away by the *Malteſe*, who came thither in the diſguiſe of merchants (65). *Sandys* adds (66), that this treaſure was kept in the vault of the church above-mentioned, and that, being diſcovered to the ſucceſſors of thoſe knights, it was about 40 years before his time brought away by the galleys of *Malta*; the poor inhabitants of the town abandoning the place, when they ſaw them land. Mr. *Maundrell* thinks the church in queſtion to have been the cathedral. Dr. *Pocock* adds another remarkable piece of antiquity; *viz.* the remains of a ſtrong building called *the iron caſtle*, from which, he ſays, there ſeem to have been three walls by the ſea-ſide, beſides other buildings (67). The town is now poorly built and inhabited, ſcarcely a mile about, and without walls, or any other defence; the *Arabs* not permitting it to be incloſed, leſt they ſhould loſe the power they have now over it, and be, in time, quite ſhut out of it. The *Greeks* have a biſhop and an old church in it, and the *Latin* fathers a kane, or inn, with a chapel which ſerves them inſtead of convent. All the *Europeans* likewiſe lodge in it, except t *Engliſh* conſul, who hath houſe of his own.

(W) Concerning this nu nery, we are told a remarka particular; *viz.* that, when town was taken by the *Tu* the lady abbeſs exhorted flock to cut off their noſes, mangle their faces, in ord preſerve their chaſtity. ſhewed them the exam which was immediately foll by all the nuns, with ſuch that when the *Turkiſh* baſ

(65) *Voyage au Levant*, *p.* i. *l.* ii. *c.* 53. (66) *In his travels p.* 160. (67) *Ubi ſup. p.* 55. (68) *Pocock. ubi ſup. p.* 52, 5

of a palace, which, by the paſſant lion, appears to have had our king *Henry* for its founder. We ſhall conclude this article of *Acco*, with the curious pyramidal hill about half a mile eaſt of it, which is ſo improved by art, if it be not altogether owing to it, that its ſteepneſs renders it altogether inacceſſible, except on the ſouth-weſt ſide: ſo that, from its ſituation and form, it appears to have been a mound, or camp, of the beſiegers; it being about half a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile broad. And it is on this hill that the baſha commonly pitches his pavilion, when he takes this town in his circuit. We omit ſome other curious particulars, related by the ſame author, which the reader may ſee in his book [b].

II. THE remains of *Sebaſte*, or the antient *Samaria*, though long ago laid in ruinous heaps, and a great part of it turned into plowed land, and garden-ground, do ſtill retain ſome monuments of its antient grandeur, and of thoſe noble edifices with which king *Herod* cauſed it to be adorned (X): particularly, towards the north ſide of it, is ſeen a large ſquare piazza, incompaſſed with marble pillars, ſome ſtanding, ſome lying; together with the fragments of ſtout walls at a diſtance from it. But the moſt worth notice is the church, ſaid to have been built, by the empreſs *Helena*, over the place where St. *John the baptiſt* was beheaded, or, as ſome others will have it, buried; the dome of which, together with ſome other parts, adorned with fine marble columns, capitals, and curious moſaic work, ſhew it to have been a moſt noble fabric (Y). *Ruins of Samaria.*

III. JACOB's

[b] P. 52, & ſeqq.

held them ſo horridly mangled, in a fit of rage, he ordered them all to be maſſacred (69).

(X) This city was inlarged and beautified by *Herod*, and called by him *Sebaſte*, and *Auguſta*, in honour of the emperor *Auguſtus*, his good friend, and patron (70).

(Y) The poor remains of this church are now divided into two parts, one of which belongs to the *Chriſtians*, the other to the *Turks*; which laſt is paved with marble, and hath a chapel under-ground, into which one deſcends by a ſtaircaſe of 23 ſteps: and in it are ſeen three tombs, ſurrounded with low walls; in which, it is pretended, the baptiſt lies buried, between the prophets *Eliſha* and *Obadiah*. They likewiſe ſay, that it was in that chapel that he was impriſoned, and beheaded. The *Turks* will, for a little mo-

(69) *Maundrel. Pocock. & al. ibid. Jerom, &c.*

(70) *Joſeph. ant. l.* XVII. *c.* 11.

Jacob's well.

III. JACOB's well is ſtill ſhewed, and reverenced by travellers, not only on account of its antiquity, and of the patriarch whoſe name it bears; but by Chriſtians much more, on account of *Chriſt*'s condeſcending to hold a conference with the *Samaritan* woman. It ſtands, indeed, at preſent, too far for the people of *Samaria* to have fetched their water from it; but it muſt be remembered, that that city, which *Joſephus* tells us [c] was no leſs than twenty furlongs in compaſs, ſtretched itſelf farther this way than the ruins of it above-mentioned now do. The well is, at preſent, covered with an old ſtone vault; into which being let down through a very ſtreight hole, the mouth of it is diſcovered. It is all hewn out of the ſolid rock, and about three yards in diameter, and thirty-five in depth, five of which Mr. *Maundrell* found full of water (Z).

The pools of Solomon.

IV. THE pools of *Solomon*, ſo called from his being commonly allowed to have cauſed them to be made, in order to ſupply not only his palaces and gardens, but, as ſome think, even the city of *Jeruſalem*, with water, appear ſtill, by what remains of them, to have been a work of immenſe coſt and labour, and worthy of that great monarch (A). The ſame we may ſay of the ſealed fountains, which lie oppoſite to them, towards the north-weſt corner of the ſame hill, in the neighbourhood of *Bethlehem*: theſe pools are three in a row, one over the other, and ſo diſpoſed, that the water of the uppermoſt may deſcend into the ſecond, and from the ſecond into the third. They are all three quadrangular, and all of an equal breadth; *viz.*

Sealed fountains.

[c] De bell. l. i. c. 16.

ney, let *Chriſtians* go down into the chapel, and behold the tombs, through ſeveral holes in the wall that ſurrounds them (71). Mr. *Maundrell* ſays, the *Turks* have erected a ſmall moſque over theſe tombs, but will admit a *Chriſtian* into it for a little money (72).

(Z) This plainly contradicts a fabulous legend believed among the ſuperſtitious people, that this well is dry all the year, except on the anniverſary of the day on which our Saviour ſat on it; when, they tell you, it bubbles up with abundance of water (73).

(A) Theſe ſtupendous works, which were the delight, and ſuppoſed the contrivance of that famed monarch, are alluded to in his book of *Eccleſiaſtes*; where, among other inſtances of his grandeur and magnificence, he reckons up his gardens and vineyards, his fountains, conduits, *&c.* (74).

(71) *Thevenot's voy. part* ii. *c.* 56. (72) *Maundrel. ubi ſup. p.* 59.
(73) *Idem ibid. p.* 63. (74) *Ch.* xi. 5, 6.

about

about ninety paces; but in length they differ, the firſt of them being 160 paces, the ſecond 200, and the third 220: and all three are of a conſiderable depth, well walled and plaſtered, and contain a large quantity of water. About 220 paces diſtant from them, is the ſpring which ſupplies them, and which the friers will have to be the ſealed fountain ſpoken of in the *Canticles* (B). The aqueduct is built on a foundation of ſtones, and the water runs in earthen pipes, about ten inches in diameter, which are caſed with two ſtones, hewn ſo as to fit them; which are likewiſe covered over with other, but rough ſtones, well cemented together; and the whole is ſo ſunk into the ground on the ſide of the hills, that, in many places, nothing is to be ſeen of it [d]. This work did formerly extend the length of five or ſix leagues, and appears, by the ſtrength and contrivance of it, to have been deſigned to laſt as long as the world. And though neither of our two authors have given us the dimenſions of thoſe ſtones, yet, by their manner of expreſſing themſelves, eſpecially the former, they appear to *Aqueduct.*

[d] See MAUNDRELL. *ubi ſup.* p. 88. POCOCK. *ubi ſup.* p. 44. THEVENOT, *&* al.

(B) It is plain, from the tenor of the whole (75), that *Solomon* there ſpeaks allegorically, alluding to the ſingular chaſtity of his ſpouſe, there celebrated. But the friers have found a way of amuſing the people with a pretended tradition, that he really cauſed theſe ſprings to be ſhut up, and ſealed with his royal ſignet, that the waters might be preſerved pure and uncorrupted. Mr. *Maundrell* adds (76), that it was no difficult thing to ſecure them, ſeeing they riſe under-ground, and have no avenue to them but by a little hole, like the mouth of a narrow well. However that be, they are ſuppoſed to be the ſame which *Pilate* cauſed to be conveyed thence to *Jeruſalem*, a little before the beginning of the *Jewiſh* war (77); and the ſpot of ground the ſame where *Joſephus* informs us, *Solomon* uſed frequently to take his diverſion (78). Whether the reſervoirs, here mentioned, conveyed the waters quite to the city, or no, is a queſtion that cannot be eaſily determined. We read, not only that *Pilate*, but, long before, *Hezekiah*, brought theſe waters from one to the other: but whether the conduit that conveyed them had not been made by *Solomon*, and been only broken by the enemy, in ſome of their wars, is not improbable; ſeeing that which is ſtill remaining is commonly aſcribed to him.

(75) *Cant.* iv. 12. (76) *Ubi ſup. p.* 89. (77) *Joſeph. ant. l.* viii. *c.* 2. (78) *Bell. Jud. l.* ii. *c.* 13.

have

have been very conſiderable in bigneſs. However, all theſe great precautions have not been able to prevent, in a great meaſure, its being deſtroyed by the violent hands of the *Arabs*, who make no ſcruple to break all before them, whenever they are in want of water. So that there are only ſome fragments of it here-and-there to be found, though enough to convince us, that, upon the whole, it muſt have been a very expenſive and ſtupendous work. As for the gardens, if any ſuch there were here, they have long ſince been deſtroyed; and the ſpot, at preſent, appears but little adapted to ſuch noble plantations (C). To theſe we may add,

Pools of Bethesda, &c. V. THE famed pools of *Bethesda* and *Gihon*, the former at *Jeruſalem*, 120 paces long, 40 broad, and, at leaſt, 8 deep, but now without water, and the old arches, which it ſtill diſcovers at the weſt end, quite dammed up; the other about a quarter of a mile without *Bethlehem*-gate weſtward, a ſtately relick, 106 paces long, and 67 broad, lined with wall and plaſter, and ſtill well ſtored with water. The reader may ſee a fuller account of theſe, and ſome others of inferior note, in the authors often quoted, which we are forced to omit, for brevity-ſake.

Antiquities of Bethlehem, VI. IN the city of *Bethlehem*, beſides a great many holy places, ſuch as the ſtable, and the very manger and place where the divine infant was born and laid, *&c.* they ſhew a grotto cut wholly out of a chalky rock, in which, they pretend, the bleſſed *Virgin* concealed herſelf and child from the fury of *Herod*; and where ſome of her milk, having fallen on the ground, gave not only an uniform whiteneſs to the whole place, but likewiſe a miraculous virtue to it, to increaſe the milk of ſuckling women (D). At *Nazareth* is

(C) The ground, it ſeems, appears, at preſent, ſo rocky and barren, that Mr. *Maundrell* thinks, *Solomon* diſplayed his wealth more than his wiſdom, if he made choice of it for the purpoſe ſuppoſed (79): though, as he there adds, if it be ſo plain that here were his ſealed fountains, it is not unlikely that here muſt have been his gardens alſo. The ſituation ſeems to correſpond with this deſcription, the ſpot being a rocky valley, deſcending from the pools, and incloſed, on all ſides, with high mountains.

(D) It is ſurpriſing to hear with what ſtupid greedineſs theſe legends are ſwallowed, not only by the ſuperſtitious *Latins*, *Greeks*, &c. but by the very *Turks* and *Arabs*; inſomuch that lumps of that chalk

(79) *Maundrel. ubi ſup.* p. 88.

are

is a ſtately church under-ground, built, as is reported, on the very cave where the *Virgin Mary* received the angel's ſalute; and where, juſt at the ſection of the croſs, are erected two pillars of granite, each a little above two feet in diameter, and about three feet diſtant from each other. Theſe are ſuppoſed to ſtand on the places, the one where the angel, the other where the bleſſed *Virgin* ſtood at the time of the annunciation (E). Near this church are ſeen ſome noble remains of a much larger one, ſuppoſed, from the architecture of it, to have been built by the empreſs *Helena*, or about her time. There are ſeen, among other fragments, ſeveral capitals and baſes, and other pieces of antient work in a tolerable good taſte; and over a door there is an old alt-relief of *Judith*'s cutting off the head of *Holophernes*[e]. But the greateſt curioſity in this way is, the great church, built by the ſame empreſs, over our Saviour's ſepulchre, and, from thence, called the church of the *Holy Sepulchre*; but of this we ſhall have a more proper occaſion to ſpeak, when we come to deſcribe the city of *Jeruſalem*. *and* Nazareth.

THE VIIth claſs of artificial rarities in this country, and the laſt worth mentioning in this place, is, that of the ſepulchral monuments that are ſcattered all over it, and out

[e] POCOCK. ubi ſup. p. 63.

are broken off in great quantities, and carried to *Jeruſalem*, where, being impreſſed with the ſeal of the city, they are conveyed thence into *Europe*, and other parts. Our author adds (80), that he met with a phyſician, at *Venice*, ſimple enough to aſk him for ſome of it, for a patient of his, who was ſcanty of her milk.

(E) The latter, or innermoſt of theſe pillars, we are told (81), hath been broken away by the *Turks*, in expectation of finding ſome hidden treaſure under it; ſo that, at leaſt, eighteen inches of it are clean gone, between it and its pedeſtal: nevertheleſs, it remains erect, tho' by what art it is ſuſtained, our author could not diſcern. It touches the roof above, and is, probably, hung upon that, unleſs you had rather take the frier's account of it, that it is ſupported by a miracle (82).

Dr. *Pocock* adds (83), that they ſhew you the very ſpot from which, they ſay, the holy houſe was removed to *Loreto*. There is a deſcent into this church by ſteps, and within it a grotto cut out of the ſoft rock, to which, it is ſaid, the houſe adjoined; ſo that the grotto was part of their habitation. This church, our author adds, is mentioned by writers of the ſeventh and twelfth centuries.

(80) *Vid. Maundrell, p.* 91. *Le Bruyn ubi ſup. p.* 221. (81) *Idem ibid. p.* 112. (82) *Ibid.* (83) *Ubi ſup. p.* 63.

of

BUT the moſt curious, grand, and elaborate piece, in this kind, are the grots which are ſtiled the ſepulchres of the kings, without the walls of *Jeruſalem*, north of *Bezetha*. Why they are ſtiled the royal ſepulchres (I), and to what kings they belonged, is not agreed on; though there is not the leaſt queſtion to be made of their being real depoſitories of the dead, as appears from the coffins which are ſtill to be ſeen in them, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel. But whoſeſoever they were, the whole appears a work of ſuch vaſt expence and labour, that it may be juſtly enough pronounced a royal work, the moſt noble, ſurpriſing, and magnificent, in that kind; and, if really the ſepulchres of the antient *Jewiſh* monarchs, the moſt, if not the only authentic remains of the old royal ſplendor, that are to be met with in or about *Jeruſalem*. They are all cut out of the ſolid marble rock. On the eaſt ſide is the entrance, ten feet deep into the ſtone, leading into ſeveral deep, ſpacious, and elaborate apartments; the firſt of which is a large ſtately court, about 120 feet ſquare, neatly

(I) This name is ſuppoſed, by a late learned traveller, to be taken from *Joſephus*, who ſays, the wall went by the ſepulchres of the kings (89). However, prince *Radziville* roundly affirms the kings of *Judah* to have been interred here; imagining, that they were formerly within, though now without the walls of the city (90): in which miſtake he hath been followed by other travellers (91). Whilſt Mr. *Maundrell* (92), examining the matter more cloſely, concludes it certain, that none of the kings of *Judah* or *Iſrael* were buried here, unleſs, perhaps, *Hezekiah*. Whence he thinks it not improbable, that they were the ſepulchres of the ſons of *David* mentioned in the ſecond book of *Chronicles* (93).

But here Dr. *Pocock* judiciouſly obſerves, that *Joſephus*, particularly, mentions the ſame wall running likewiſe along by the ſepulchre of *Helena* queen of *Adiabene*; and that this laſt had three pyramids over it. Moreover, *Villalpandus*, in deſcribing theſe royal repoſitories takes notice of one pyramid ſtanding over them in his time from which our author concludes this famed grot to be the ſepulchre of *Helena*, other two pyramids having been, probably, deſtroyed before, as the third hath ſince his time. However be, they commonly go by the name of the ſepulchres of kings, meaning of *Judah*; more frequently, the ſepulchres of *David*; of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the following hiſtory.

(89) *Pocock. uli ſup. p.* 20. *Bruyn, Thevenot, & al. ver. ult.*

(90) *Peregr. p.* 104.

(92) *Ubi ſup. p.* 76.

(93) *C*

cut, and poliſhed, out of the ſame marble quarry. On the left, or ſouth ſide of it, is a noble gallery, or portico, with a kind of architrave in front, ſupported by columns, all, likewiſe, cut out of the ſame rock. It was once adorned with feſtoons, and other architecture, but now almoſt defaced; and on the left of the portico is the deſcent into the ſepulchres, into which one enters by creeping on one's belly on the ground, through a narrow paſſage, which brings you into the firſt apartment.

THIS is a large handſome room, about ſeven or eight yards ſquare, ſo very neatly and exactly formed, that it may be juſtly ſtiled a fine chamber, hollowed out of one ſolid piece of marble. From three of the ſides of this chamber, you may paſs into a great number of others, all of the ſame fabric and ſquare, but a great deal leſs, and of unequal bigneſs; and from theſe into others, ſtill leſs, one within another, of an oblong figure, ſome of which are divided into two, and others not; the innermoſt of which are deeper than the reſt, by a deſcent of ſix or ſeven ſteps. In every one of theſe rooms, the firſt excepted, are ſtone coffins placed in niches, carved in the ſides of the chambers, which were formerly covered with handſome ſemi-circular lids, adorned with flowers, garlands, &c. but moſt of them are now broken to pieces (K). But what appears

Rooms, niches, coffins.

(K) The misfortune is, that travellers, who venture into ſuch obſcure and damp places, are commonly full of gloomy apprehenſions and dread; which, in ſpite of all their curioſity, makes them hurry over every thing that is ſhewed to them, and make all the haſte they can out of them. And hence proceeds the difference we meet with in their accounts. Thus, with reſpect to theſe coffins, *Le Brun* mentions no more than three, one broken, the other two intire (94); which ſhews, that he did take only a tranſient view: whilſt *Maundrell* ſeems to inſinuate, as if there were a greater number of them ſtill intire; though he doth not ſpecify how many (95). *Radziville* computes, that about forty odd might be conveniently depoſited in the ſides, or niches, cut in the ſides of theſe leſſer apartments. And *Le Brun* thinks, there is room enough for fifty coffins. Dr. *Pocock*, who hath been moſt curious in his delineation, neither tells us the number of thoſe coffins, nor how many the whole number of thoſe cells might contain; but takes notice of ſix or ſeven of the farthermoſt of them, which are ſmall, and moſtly about three feet high, which, he thinks, were deſigned for ſmaller bodies †.

(94) *Voy. au Levant, vol.* ii. *p.* 195. *4to edit. & ſeqq.* † *Ubi ſup. p.* 25.

(95) *Ubi ſup. p.* 104.

moſt ſurpriſing, and hath, till of late, puzzled moſt of the beholders, is, that, on the doors leading from one chamber to another, the door-caſes, hinges, pivots, *&c.* are all of the ſame ſtone with the reſt; which is juſtly looked upon as a wonderful piece of art; ſince theſe doors appear to have been cut out of the very piece to which they hang, and not wrought elſewhere, or from any other block: and that this ſhould have been all done by lamp, or torch-light, for no other they could have, makes the whole ſtill more ſurpriſing [n]. But the whole myſtery of theſe doors ſeems, of late, to have been unravelled by a more curious beholder [o], who obſerved, that the only one of them now left hanging, and which is two feet and an half wide, five feet and an half long, and five inches thick, and left rough within, did not touch its lintel, by at leaſt two inches; ſo that he believes it might have been eaſily lifted up, and unhinged. He took notice, beſides, that thoſe which had been thrown down, had their hinges at the upper-end twice as long as thoſe at the bottom; which plainly diſcovers the whole contrivance; which is, however, juſtly to be admired, and much more ſo, if Dr. *Pocock*'s obſervation be right, that the door-places are cut archwiſe at the top on the outſide, and in a ſtrait line within [p]. This laſt hath given us a more curious delineation of theſe ſepulchres, and the proportions of the ſeveral inner apartments within, than any we know; and to him we ſhall refer our curious readers for a fuller account. Thus much ſhall ſuffice for the artificial rarities of *Paleſtine*.

Extraordinary doors.

We might add to theſe, a good number of ſupernatural ones, which are much cried up by the monks, and other devotees, as well as by moſt travellers; but as they are, for the greateſt part, founded upon too ſlight an authority to deſerve a place in this work, we ſhall only ſingle out two or three of the moſt remarkable; *viz.* firſt, the impreſſion of our Saviour's foot, or feet, in the rock, on the mountain from which he aſcended into heaven, and of which we have already given an account, in ſpeaking of that mount: the next is the cleft ſaid to have been made on the ſame mountain, by the miraculous earthquake that happened at our Saviour's crucifixion [q]. It is incloſed in the great church of *St. Sepulchre*, and is about a ſpan wide, and two deep; after which, it cloſes, and opens again below, as one may ſee in another chapel contiguous to the ſide of *Calvary*,

Miraculous rarities.

Cleft of the rock.

[n] Thevenot, Le Bruyn, & al. [o] Maundrel, ubi ſup. p. 78. [p] Ubi ſup. p. 20, & ſeq. [q] Mat. xxvii. 51.

and

and runs down, to an unknown depth, in the earth (L). The laſt we ſhall name is the *Akeldama*, or *field of blood*, formerly *the potter's field*, and ſince ſtiled *campo-ſanto*, or *holy field*, purchaſed with the price of *Judas*'s treaſon [r], for the burial of ſtrangers. This ſpot, which is not above thirty yards long, and fifteen in breadth [s], has, they affirm, acquired ſuch virtue, that its earth will conſume a dead body, though only laid upon it, and not at all covered by it, in twenty-four hours, according to ſome; or forty-eight, according to others, to the very bones. But ſome more clear-ſighted ſpectators have found reaſon to be convinced, that, if it ever had ſuch a pretended virtue, it hath ſince loſt it; and that the dead bodies, buried in it, are nothing near ſo ſoon corrupted as the above-quoted authors affirm (M). We ſhall cloſe this article with two other

Field of blood.

[r] Mat. xxvii. 7. Acts i. 18. [s] MAUNDREL. ubi ſup. p. 101, & al.

(L) That this rent was made by the earthquake that happened at our Lord's paſſion, ſays Mr. *Maundrell* (96), there is only tradition to prove: but that it is a natural and genuine breach, and not counterfeited by art, the ſenſe of every one that ſees it may convince him; for the ſides of it fit each other like two tallies: and yet it runs in ſuch intricate windings, as could not be counterfeited by art, nor arrived at by any inſtrument (97).

(M) *Radziville*, (98) and *Sandys* (99) are the two authors who profeſs to have been eye-witneſſes of this extraordinary virtue. A greedy grave, the latter ſays, it is, that is great enough to devour the dead of a whole nation. But Mr. *Maundrell*, who hath examined it more cloſely, aſſures us, that the earth of it is of a chalky ſubſtance; and that, by looking through the holes at which the bodies are let down, he could obſerve many of them under ſeveral degrees of decay: from which he juſtly concluded, that it did not make that very quick diſpatch, as is commonly reported.

However that be, this is now the burying-place of the *Armenians*, who, for a ſmall ſum, will admit thoſe of other nations to be interred in it, that it may ſtill bear the name of a ſepulcre for ſtrangers. They have walled it round, to prevent the *Turks* abuſing the bones of *Chriſtians*; and one half of it is taken up by a building in the nature of a charnel-houſe, ſquare, and about twelve yards high, with little open domes on the top, for the convenience of letting down the dead bodies: and this charnel-houſe is the proper place of burial (100).

(96) *Ubi ſup.* (97) *Ubi ſup. p.* 77. (98) *Ubi ſup. p.* 64.
(99) *Travels, p.* 146. (100) *Radzivil. ubi ſup. Maundrel. ubi ſup. p.* 101.

inſtances of the ſuperſtition that reigns in theſe regions of holy pilgrimages; and which, being peculiar to the *Turks*, will convince our readers, that they are no leſs credulous, and fond of wonders, than the *Greeks* and *Latins*. The firſt is a ſort of pillar jetting out of the city-wall, over-againſt the valley of *Jehoſhaphat*, of which, they tell you, among many other wonders, that it is to be the place whereon their prophet ſhall ſit in judgment at the laſt day, whilſt all the children of *Adam* ſhall be gathered below, in the valley, to receive their everlaſting doom from his mouth. The other is the wall which they have cauſed to be reared to ſtop the entrance into the temple-gate; from a prophecy, that goes current among them, that their expulſion out of that land, and final extirpation, will come in at that gate[t] (N).

WE ſhall ſay nothing here of the topical rarities which are ſhewn to, and viſited by all ſtrangers; there being ſcarce any place or tranſaction mentioned, either in the Old or the New Teſtament, but they ſhew you the very ſpot of ground where the one ſtood, and the other was done, even to thoſe very ones which are mentioned in the parabolic way: ſuch as the houſe of *Dives*, and the ſty or place where *Lazarus* was laid (O); and many others of the

[t] MAUNDREL. ubi ſup. p. 103, & ſeq. THEVENOT, ubi ſup part. i. c. 50.

(N) This laſt particular is confirmed by moſt travellers; who add, that, on the ſame account, and from that ſame ſuperſtitious dread, they ſhut up all the other gates of the city every *Friday*, which is their ſabbath, till after morning-ſervice is over; it being on that day, and time, that their final expulſion is expected to be accompliſhed.

(O) They go even beyond this, and will ſhew you others of which not the leaſt mention is made in holy writ: ſuch as the identical olive-tree to which they pretend our Saviour was tied, whilſt his enemies were looking out for freſh accuſation and falſe witneſſes, in order t condemn him with more ſeem ing juſtice. The place whe he fainted under his croſs, a left the print of his face on napkin, or handkerchief, w which a woman, whom th have ſtiled St. *Veronica*, ca to wipe the ſweat off his bro The gallery where *Pi* brought him forth to the *J* bedecked with the cruel em of mock-royalty; *viz.* ragged purple ſcornful and crown of thorns; many others of the like na which are rather a diſcre his religion; eſpecially as

the like nature; for which we ſhall refer thoſe, that are curious in ſuch kind of things, to the authors often quoted through this ſection. Having gone through our general deſcription of the *Holy Land*, we ſhall now take a ſhort view of the ſeveral lots and countries aſſigned to the twelve tribes; in doing which, we ſhall begin with thoſe of the two tribes and an half ſeated beyond the *Jordan*, as being the firſt conqueſt they made, in their way to the *Land of promiſe*. The next ſhall be that of the other nine and an half on this ſide of that river, and ſtiled, more properly, the *Holy*, or *Promiſed Land*; and in which we ſhall deſcribe them, not according to their ſeniority, or dignity, but as they lie in our way from north to ſouth, according to the limits we aſſigned them at the beginning of this ſection: and, laſtly, we ſhall, according to our promiſe, give the topical deſcription of thoſe countries that were contiguous to *Judea*, and whoſe inhabitants were either intermixed with, or near to, and concerned with the *Jews*, and whoſe hiſtory hath been given in the ſeveral foregoing chapters (P).

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are chiefly calculated to obtain the more money from the devout ſtrangers, and for which this only excuſe can be made; *viz.* the extreme poverty, and cruel exactions, which thoſe fathers labour under, through the tyranny of the *Turkiſh* government, and under which it would be impoſſible for them to ſupport themſelves, did not theſe pious frauds bring them, from time to time, ſuch charitable relief.

(P) It will not be amiſs to give our reader a ſhort ſketch of this country, as it lay before the *Iſraelites* took poſſeſſion of it, at leaſt ſo far as relates to thoſe ſeven nations which they were utterly to deſtroy, and which were then in actual poſſeſſion of the *Promiſed land*, properly ſo called.

We have already taken notice, that they were deſcended from *Ham*, or *Cham*, the youngeſt ſon of *Noah*, who is rightly ſuppoſed to have come with his eleven ſons, ſoon after the diſperſion of *Babel* (1). Five of them we have already ſeen ſettled in *Phœnice* and *Syria*; viz. *Heth*, *Jebus*, *Hemor*, *Girgaſhi*, and *Hevi*; and who, with their father *Canaan*, became the heads of ſo many nations. *Sena* was another, whoſe ſettlement we are in the dark about: only ſome authors, from the affinity of the names, ſuppoſe the deſert of *Sin*, and mount *Sinai*, to be the place; and to have been ſo called from him (2). The *Hithites*, or *Hittites*, inhabited about *Hebron*, quite up to *Beerſheba*, and the brook *Beſor*, reckoned by *Moſes* the ſouth

(1) *Gen.* x. 6. 15, & *ſeq.* *See before*, *p.* 188, & *ſeqq.* (2) *Heylin*, *Tremel. Villet*, & *al.*

The two tribes and half *beyond* Jordan.

WE have had occaſion, in ſome former chapters, to mention ſome friendly embaſſies, ſent by *Moſes* to the kings of *Edom*, *Moab*, and thoſe of the *Amorites* and *Baſhan*, for leave to paſs through their country into the land of *Canaan*; and that, upon their being refuſed by them all, they were expreſly forbid to commit any hoſtilities againſt the former, but ordered to fight themſelves a paſſage through the territories of the two latter; which they did with ſuch ſucceſs, as to make themſelves maſters of both their kingdoms; which they found ſo rich, de-

limits of *Canaan*. The *Jebuſites*, or deſcendants of *Jebus*, dwelt near them on the north, as far as the city of *Jebus*, ſince *Jeruſalem*; the *Amorites* poſſeſſed the country on the eaſt ſide of *Jordan*, between the river *Arnon* on the ſouth-eaſt, and mount *Gilead* on the north, afterwards the lot of *Reuben* and *Gad*. The *Girgaſhites* lay next above the *Amorites*, on the eaſt ſide of the ſea of *Tiberias*, and their land was afterwards poſſeſſed by the half-tribe of *Manaſſeh*. The *Hivites*, deſcended from *Hevi*, dwelt northward, under mount *Libanus*. The *Perizzites*, who make one of the ſeven nations of the *Canaanites* (3), are ſuppoſed by *Heylin*, and others, to be the deſcendants of *Sena* above-mentioned; and, it is very likely, ſince we read nothing of their abode in cities, *&c.* that they lived diſperſed, and in tents, like the *Scythians*, roving on both ſides *Jordan*, on the hills and plains; and that they were called by that name from the *Hebrew* *pharatz*, which ſignifies to diſperſe. The *Canaanites* dwelt in the midland of all, and were ſurrounded by the reſt. This is, as near as can be concluded from the ſacred writings, the ſituation of thoſe ſeven nations, doomed to deſtruction for their horrid idolatry and wickedneſs, when the *Iſraelites* firſt enteted into their land (4).

And here it will hardly be needful to remind our readers that the ſtubborn *Iſraelite* were ſo far from deſtroyin thoſe inhabitants, and rootin up the memory of them, ar their horrid idolatries, th they quickly fell in love wi their ways, contracted affini and alliances with them, t by degrees, they gave into their abominations, and came like them, quite c trary to the expreſs comm of GOD. Upon which acco the reſidue of thoſe nat were reprieved from their dr ful doom, and ſuffered to and be a perpetual puniſh to them.

(3) *Geneſ.* xiii. 7. *Joſh.* xvii. 15, *& alib. paſſ.* *Joſeph. Roland. Cellar. Calmet, &c.*

(4) *De his vi*

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lightful, and ſpacious, that the two tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and half of *Manaſſeh*, were permitted to ſettle in them [u]. Accordingly, that of *Reuben*, which was the eldeſt, was allowed, by the divine lawgiver the ſouthern part of their new conqueſt. This region extended from the north-eaſt coaſts of the *Dead Sea* along the eaſtern banks of the *Jordan*; and was divided on the ſouth from *Midian*, by the river *Arnon*; on the north, from the tribe of *Gad*, by another ſmall river; and was hemmed in on the eaſt, partly by the *Moabites*, and partly by the *Ammonites*; whilſt the *Jordan* parted it on the weſt from *Canaan*, properly ſo called. It reached from 31. deg. 40 min. to 32. 25. of latitude, and from 36 to 37 eaſt longitude; and was every-where fertile in corn, wine, fruits, and eſpecially in paſture-grounds. *Joſephus* (*antiq. l.* iv. *c.* 5.) rightly compares this country to a peninſula, or to an iſland, the weſt ſide of which is waſhed by the river *Jordan*, the north by that of *Jabbok*, and the ſouth by that of *Arnon*. It had likewiſe three celebrated mountains, *viz. Nebo*, *Piſgah*, and *Peor*, or *Phegor*. We have not room to enter into a further deſcription of them; they were probably, all three, parts of the ſame chain; and the laſt of them might be ſo called from ſome filthy deity of that name worſhiped there [w]. The chief towns in it were *Heſhbon* the capital, *Jaza*, *Bamoth Baal*, *Bethpeor*, *Medaba*, *Mephath Abilah*, *Edom* or *Adam*, *Shittim*, *Livias*, *Bethabarah*, *Macheron*, *Bezer*, *Bozor*, or *Bozrah*, *Laſa* or *Laiſh*, ſince *Callirhoe*, *Cedmoth* or *Kedemoth*, *al. Jethſan*, and *Bethjeſimoth* †. We know ſo little of thoſe cities, and of their true ſituation, that we ſhall ſay nothing farther of them; and only obſerve in general, that thoſe which have the *Hebrew* word *beth* before them, which ſignifies either houſe or temple (as *Bethpeor*, *Bethſhemeſh*), were probably ſo named from ſome particular deity, except it may be that here of *Bethabarah*, which ſignifies either a fording-place, or the office where any kind of cuſtom or tribute was paid, which was uſually done at ſuch noted fords.

The lot of Reuben.

Cities.

On the north ſide of *Reuben* was ſeated the tribe of *Gad*, having likewiſe the *Jordan* on the weſt, the *Ammonites* on the eaſt, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on

Of Gad.

[u] Deut. ii. 1, & ſeqq. iii. 1, & ſeqq. & alib. paſſ. See alſo before, p. 189. [w] Vid. Numb. xxv. 3, & ſeqq. and before, p. 125. † De his vide Deut. iii. paſſ. JOSEPH. RELAND, CELLAR. & al.

the north, and reaching from 32. 5. to 32. 50. of latitude, and from 36. 15. to almoſt 37 eaſt longitude. It was no leſs rich and fertile than the former, eſpecially in paſture-grounds, as hath been formerly hinted. Its chief towns were *Mahanaïm* and *Penuel*, both ſo named by *Jacob* [x], *Succoth*, where he built his booths, *Miſpha*, or *Maſpha Rabbah*, the metropolis of *Baſhan*, ſince called *Ribboth*, and more lately *Philadelphia*, *Ramoth Gilead*, or high lands of *Gilead*, *Rogelim*, the native place of good old *Barzillai* [y], *Thiſhbi*, *Sharon*, *Sophar*, *Armon*, *Mageſh*, *Debbir* or *Dabbir*, *Aſhtaroth*, *Jazer* or *Jahſor*, *Dibbon*, *Aroer*, *Bethharan*, and *Enon* or *Ennon*, the place where *John* baptized [z]; which laſt was on the eaſt bank of *Jordan*, between that and *Salim*, about eight miles ſouth of *Scythopolis* [a].

Cities.

Half Manaſſeh. NORTHWARD of *Gad* was ſeated the half-tribe of *Manaſſeh*, having that on the ſouth, the *Jordan* and *Samachonite* lake on the weſt, the hills of *Baſhan* and *Hermon* on the eaſt, and part of the *Lebanon* on the north. This territory, which was almoſt as large as the other two, extended from 32. 36. to 33. 36. of latitude, and was more properly called afterwards *Upper Galilee*, or the *Galilee of the Gentiles*; of which more in the next article. It had ſeveral large territories, and conſiderable cities: thoſe of the former ſort, were known by the names of *Gilead*, *Batanea*, *Gaulonitis*, *Auranitis*, *Machonitis*, *Geſhur*, *Auran* or *Amram*, and *Argob*; all of them ſo called from their capitals. We ſhall juſt give a ſketch of the chief of them. 1. *Gaulonitis* extended from *Peræa* quite to *Lebanon*. Its capital, once a famed city, was given to the *Levitical* tribe, of the family of *Gerſhom*, and was made a city of refuge [b]. It was the birth-place of the famed *Judas Galilæus*, or *Gaulonites*, chief of the *Herodian* ſect [c]. 2. *Gilead*, ſo called from the ſon of *Machir*, and grandſon of *Manaſſeh* [d]. We have already ſpoken of the mountains of that name. 3. *Batanea* was properly the land or kingdom of *Baſhan*, bounded by *Gilead* and the *Ammonites* on the eaſt, by the brook *Jabbok* on the ſouth, by mount *Hermon* on the north, and by the *Jordan* on the weſt; the canton of *Argob* was part of it, and both were famed for their ſtately oaks, and vaſt

[x] Gen. xxxii. 2, & ſeqq. [y] 2 Sam. xvii. 27, & ſeqq. [z] John iii. 23. [a] Vid. EUSEB. loc. Hebr. & ſub voc. Ænon. & auct. ſup. citat. [b] Deut. iv. 43. Joſh. xxi. 27. [c] JOSEPH. de bell. [d] Numb. xxvi. 29, & ſeqq.

herds

herds of cattle [e]. 4. *Auranitis*, or *Auran*, was another fertile canton, ſituate between the upper ſpring of *Jordan*, and the country of *Geſhur*. Others place it along the ſea of *Tiberias*; and we are told, that the *Syrians* and *Arabs* called that coaſt by that name [f]; and *Joſephus* makes it the ſame with *Iturea* [g]. 5. *Machonitis*, or *Maachonitis*, from its capital *Maachah*, was a ſmall canton, near the head of the *Jordan*, on the eaſt ſide of it, in the way to *Damaſcus*. It was the utmoſt border north of this half-tribe; and we find, that the *Manaſſites* forbore todeſtroy the old inhabitants, and lived friendly with them [h]: the ſame is ſaid there of the *Geſhurites*, who lived in the next canton to *Maachonitis*.

THE cities of this half-tribe were *Boſra*, or *Bozrah*, *Selſcha*, *Maachah*, or *Maacati*, *Gerſhon*, *Aſhtaroth*, *Adrach*, or *Hadrach-kedar*, or the tents of *Kedar* (Q), *Sueta*, *Gamala*, *Eſdrai*, *Gilead*, *Pella*, *Abel*, *Abel-Maachah*, or *Abel-Beth-Maachah*, *Jabeſh-Gilead*, *Corazin*, or *Corozaim*, *Julias*, *Bethſaida*, near the deſert of its name, *Geraſa*, *al. Girgeſha*, *Hippo*, *Gadar*, and *Ephron*, beſides a good number of others of leſſer note.

The nine tribes and half *on this ſide of the* Jordan.

CROSSING the *Jordan* from the half-tribe of *Manaſſeh*, we laſt deſcribed, we enter into the province of *Lower Galilee*, which lay on the fartheſt northern verge of *Judea* (R), and in which we find the tribes of *Aſher*, *Zebulun*, Galilee.

[e] Vide RELAND Palæſt. illuſtr. l. i. p. 200. & ſeqq. [f] GOL. not. in Abu'lpharag. Vid. RELAND. ubi ſup. cap. 20. [g] Ant. l. xvii. c. 7. [h] Joſh. xiii. 13.

(Q) This, tho' mentioned as a city, was more probably a canton of the *Kedarites*, or deſcendants from *Iſhmael* (5), which are mentioned by *Pliny*, and other antient writers, under the names of *Cedarenes*, *Cedræi*, &c. and as living a kind of wandering life in tents, and were diſperſed about *Arabia*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*, &c. and are ſtill to this day not only over all theſe countries, but have ſpread themſelves from *Arabia* into almoſt every part of *Afric*; and, in all probability, were wont then, as they are known ſince, to live moſtly upon plunder and rapine. Hence, probably, that pathetic expoſtulation of the Pſalmiſt, Pſal. cxx. 5, *& ſeqq.*

(R) The province of *Galilee*, as hath been obſerved a little higher, was divided into upper and lower; the former beyond,

(5) *Vid. Geneſ.* xxv. 13.

Zebulun, *Naphtali*, and *Iſſachar*, ſettled by lot. It was very fertile and champain, except on the northern ſide towards *Syria*; and produced excellent corn, wine, oil, fruits of all ſorts, with little labour; and was, in its flouriſhing ſtate, ſo full of towns, beſides villages without number, and all of them ſo populous, that *Joſephus*, who was made governor of it, tells us, that the leaſt of them contained fifteen thouſand ſouls[1]; but whether or no he hath ſpoken within compaſs, there is reaſon ſufficient to believe, that the country was really very rich and populous, and its inhabitants of a ſtout and warlike diſpoſition, and very zealous for the *Jewiſh* religion, as will be made more evident in the ſequel of this *Jewiſh* hiſtory. It had, in particular, a ſpacious valley, ſo very rich, that it was ſtiled, by way of emphaſis, *the fat valley*: it hath been ſince better known by that of *St. George*, from a fort or caſtle built on it, and dedicated to that ſaint.

Tribe of Aſher.

1. THE tribe of *Aſher* was ſeated on the north-weſt corner of the province, adjoining on the north ſide to *Phœnice*; and having the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, *Zebulun* on the ſouth, and *Naphtali* on the eaſt. It had ſome conſiderable cities near the ſea, though no ſea-port of any note (S). It was ſo fruitful in corn, wine, oil, *&c.* of the beſt kinds, that it fully anſwered the bleſſing which dying

[1] De bell. l. iii.

and the latter on this ſide *Jordan*. The former, ſurnamed alſo *Galilee of the Gentiles*, probably, becauſe inhabited by moſt of that ſort, whom the *Manaſſites* had ſpared, and lived intermingled with, or rather, perhaps, becauſe it lay contiguous to the heathen nations. This, we are now upon, was ſtiled *lower*, on account of its ſituation, and flat country, in compariſon with the other, which was altogether mountainous. There has been, however, no ſmall controverſy, whether *Galilee* did really extend beyond *Jordan*, and whether it contained any part of the kingdom of *Baſhan*; for, in that caſe, the diſpute would be at an end; this laſt being known to be on the other ſide of that river: but, as it would carry us beyond our bounds, to enter farther into it, we ſhall refer our readers to *Lightfoot* and *Cellarius*, who have wrote for the one, and *Reland*, who hath declared againſt them, or to *Calmet*, who has, we think, decided the controverſy between them (6).

(S) The famed city of *Tyre*, which is ſituate on this coaſt, ſouth a little from the mouth

(6) *Diſſert. on the ſacred geography, prefixed to his comment on Joſhua.*

of

dying *Jacob* gave to it; *that the bread of it ſhould be fat, and that it ſhould yield royal dainties* [k]. It was in this tribe that the lands of *Miſpha* and *Cabbul* lay, which *Solomon* gave to *Hiram* king of *Tyre* [l]; who, being diſpleaſed with it, gave it that contemptible name. The chief towns of it were *Elkath*, or *Alcath*, *Cana* the greater, *Gabala*, *Rahab*, *Aphek*, *Hacok*, *Giſchala*, *Bethſhemeſh*, *Achſaph*, *Beth-Dagon*, *Acca*, *Accoa*, *Acra*, or *Ptolemais*, lately deſcribed, with a good number of inferior towns. *Their cities.*

2. The tribe of *Naphtali* lay on the eaſt of *Aſher*, between it and the *Jordan*, over-againſt the half-tribe of *Manaſſeh*. It was very fertile, and had, on the north, the ſpring-heads of the *Jordan* formerly mentioned; and extended along the weſtern banks of it, from mount *Lebanon* down to the ſea of *Tiberias*. The chief towns in it were *Dan*, which was formerly called *Laiſh* and *Laſhem* [m], and taken by a colony of the *Danites*, who gave it the name of their tribe (T), *Beerim*, *Emath*, and *Arbites*, *Tribe of* Naphtali. *Their cities.*

[k] Geneſ. xlix. 20. [l] 1 Kings ix. 11, & ſeqq. [m] Judges xviii. 14, & ſeqq.

of the *Eleutherus*, has, however, been ſuppoſed to have belonged to the *Aſherites*; but it is much queſtioned, whether they ever drove the antient inhabitants out of it. Beſides, if *Joſephus* may be credited, that city was not built till about 240 years before the temple of *Solomon* (7). This is wide enough, indeed, from what *Herodotus* ſays of it, that the prieſts of it boaſted their temple of *Hercules* to have been erected 3096 years before that author, which brings it about 1290 years before the flood (8). But, beſides that all thoſe heatheniſh prieſts prided themſelves in ſuch prodigious antiquity, one may eaſily ſuppoſe, that there were two cities of that name; the old one, built at ſome diſtance from the ſea, on which was the temple abovementioned, and the new, ſince built on an iſland, or neck of land overagainſt it, and at about 700 paces diſtance from the land (9). But we ſhall refer our readers to what has been already ſaid of it in the hiſtory of *Phœnice* (10).

(T) This city became afterwards infamous for the calf ſet up by *Jeroboam* (11), which was reſorted to by all the revolted tribes on this ſide; and, as it ſtood on the utmoſt verge of *Judea*, as *Beerſheba* did on the oppoſite, it gave riſe to the common proverb, *from Dan to Beerſheba*. When the *Romans* took it, they gave it the name

(7) *Antiq. l.* viii. *c.* 2. (8) *L.* ii. *c.* 44. *Vid. Uſh. in an. mund.* 3559. (9) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 19. (10) *See before, p.* 322, *& ſeqq.* (11) *Joſ. antiq. l.* xx. *c.* 8. *De bell. l.* i. *c.* 16.

of

Arbites, each a capital of a considerable territory, *Heliopolis*, antiently *Hir-Chereſh*, or the city of the ſun; and ſince then *Balbek*, deſcribed in a former chapter[n], *Alledim*, *Amath-dor* or *Amathar*, *Hir-Cajathain* or *Kirjathaim*, *Ablala*, *Merom*, near the lake of its name, *Harozeth*, or *Arazoth*, *Hazor*, tents or camp of *Heber*, where the *Kenites* dwelt, *Maskeloth*, *Migdudel*, *Kadeſh-Naphtali*, *Sepher* or *Kirjath-Sepher*, ſuppoſed, from its name, an antient univerſity, or city of books, *Bethſhemeſh*, different from that in *Aſher*, *Carthan*, *Hamman*, ſo called from its hot waters, *Mons Chriſti*, and *Capernaum* (U).

Tribe of Zebulun. 3. On the ſouth of *Aſher* and *Napthtali*, was ſeated the tribe of *Zebulun*, or *Zabulon*, having the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, the ſea of *Galilee* on the eaſt; and, being parted on the north from *Aſher* by the river *Jephtael*, and on the ſouth from *Iſſachar* by that of *Kiſhon*; and, by its vicinity to the ſea, the number of its ports, and largeneſs of its commerce, it exactly verified the bleſſings given to the tribe, both by *Jacob* and *Moſes* (W). The cities

[n] P. 266, & ſeqq.

of *Paneas*, and beſtowed it on *Philip* the ſon of *Herod*, who called it *Cæſarea Philippi* (12): and it is from this city, that the woman (13) came to be healed of her flux; in memory of which, we are told, ſhe cauſed a ſtatue to be reared to her divine phyſician, which ſtood till *Julian* the apoſtate cauſed it to be pulled down (14).

(U) This laſt was ſituate on the north ſide of the ſea of *Tiberias*, at ſome diſtance weſt from the mouth of the *Jordan*; but though we are told it ſtood till the ſeventh or eighth century, as appears from the travels of *Adamnanus* and *Villibaldus*, yet the true ſituation of it is quite loſt. It was the reſidence of our Saviour, and ſcene of many ſignal miracles during the ſpace of three years; for which he met with ſuch ungrateful returns, that he told them, their fate would be worſe than that of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*; and that their proud city, which was exalted ſo high, ſhould be reduced to the loweſt degree of ruin (15); from which it is juſtly concluded, that it was ſituated on ſome conſiderable eminence near that ſea.

(W) The former of theſe foretold (16), that this tribe ſhould dwell at the haven of the ſea, and be a reception for ſhips, and ſtretch its border unto *Sidon*; and the latter adds (17), that it ſhall rejoice in its going out, or commerce; ſuck the abundance of the ſeas, and of treaſures hid in the ſand:

(12) *Matth.* ix. 20, *& ſeqq.* (13) *Mark* v. 25, *& ſeqq. & alib.* (14) *Euſeb. lib.* viii. *c.* 4. *Nicepb. l.* viii. *c.* 15. (15) *Matth.* xi. 23. (16) *Geneſ.* xlix. 13. (17) *Deuter.* xxxiii. 18, 19.

both

cities of it were *Zabulon*, the capital (X), *Bethſaida*, *Magdalon*, *Jotapa*, *Joppa*, *Cinnereth*, ſince *Tiberias*, on the lake of that name, *Cartha*, *Bethulia*, *Rimmon*, *Dothaim*, *Damna*, *Somerom*, *Tabor*, both city and mount, *Sapha*, *Saffa*, or *Siporis*, *Nazareth*, *Cana* the leſſer, commonly *Cana* of *Galilee*, *Iconium*, and *Sicaminum*, *al. Porphyreon* (Y), and *Heiphah*, *al. Ceipha*. 4. Cities, &c.

both which were fulfilled by the large commerce it drove, as well as by its metals, and the manufacture of glaſs from the ſand of the river *Belus*, of which we have had occaſion to ſpeak a little higher, and which ran through part of this tribe.

(X) This city ſeems to have paſſed from the tribe of *Aſher*, to which it joins, to this of *Zebulun* (18). It ſtood on the *Mediterranean*, near the mouth of the *Jephtael*; and was once ſtiled *Zabulun Andron*, or of men, on account of its extraordinary populouſneſs (19). It was adorned with fine buildings, after the manner of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Berytus*, and much admired on that account by *Ceſtius*, who, nevertheleſs, took, plundered, and burnt it to the ground (20).

(Y) Its antient name was היפה *heipha*, and not כיפה, which we take notice of, becauſe the *Greeks* and *Latins* having changed it into *cepha* and *capha*, ſome have taken a notion, that it was ſo called from the rocky ground, which they ſuppoſe it to be built upon, or ſurrounded with. This is, in particular, Dr. *Pococke*'s conjecture (21), who adds, that there are many ſepulcres cut in it, moſtly like ſingle coffins, but not ſevered from the rock, and very much in the *Jewiſh* taſte; from which he concludes, that it was antiently inhabited by *Jews*. The names of *Sycaminos* and *Porphyreon* were probably given to it, the firſt from the *Sycamine* trees, which grew about it; and the latter from the ſhell-fiſh which was taken on its coaſt, and which they uſed in dying of purple. It is ſituate at the foot of mount *Carmel* to the north of it, on the gulf of *Ptolemais* or *Acco*; and is only parted from it by its fair and ſpacious haven, ſo that thoſe two cities ſtand but at about fifteen miles diſtance by ſea, or, in a direct line, but ſeven or eight; the way by land being twice as long (22). Dr. *Pococke* adds, that it is now the real port of *Acra*, where ſhips lie at anchor, it being a bad ſhore on the other ſide, where they cannot ride in ſafety, by reaſon of the ſhallowneſs of the water (23).

Other towns in this tribe, that deſerve notice, are, *Magdalon*, in the fruitful canton of *Gennezar*, *Genezar*, or *Genezareth*, a very ſtrong ſea-port on the *Mediterranean*; *Jottapa*, on the ſame coaſt, ſtrongly ſituated on a craggy rock, in-

(18) *See Joſh.* xix. 27. (19) *Joſeph. de bell. l.* iii. *c.* 2. (20) *Id. ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 22. (21) *Ubi ſup. p.* 56. (22) *Nubien. geograph. ap. Reland. ubi ſup. p.* 819. (23) *Ubi ſup.*

acceſſible

Tribe of Iſſachar.

4. THE laſt tribe in lower *Galilee* was that of *Iſſachar*, bounded like the former by the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, by *Zebulun* on the north, by the *Jordan* on the eaſt, which parted it from that of *Gad*, and on the ſouth by the other half of *Manaſſeh*. Its moſt remarkable places were the mounts *Carmel*, and *Gilboah*, and the valley of *Jezreel*, all lately deſcribed. The great plain of *Megidda*, called alſo *the plain* of *Galilee*, and now *Saba*, from a caſtle built upon it, and famed, like that of *Jezreel*, for the many battles fought upon it; as well as for the abundance of corn, wine, oil, *&c.* it produced. The chief towns were *Tarichea*, *Ceſion*, *Iſſachar*, *Camoth*, *Engannim*, *Rabboth*, *Cadeſh*, *Aphek*, *Enhadda*, *Shunem* or *Sunæ*, the place where the hoſpitable *Shunamite* lodged the prophet *Elijah*, *Endor*, where the pythoneſs entertained king *Saul*, *Naim*, where Chriſt raiſed the poor widow's ſon, *Bethſhemeſh*, *Jezreel*, or *Eſdrelon*, *al. Eſdraelon*, and *Caſtrum Peregrinorum* (Z). And thus far reached the province of lower *Galilee*.

Cities.

SOUTH

acceſſible on all ſides but one, and famed for the noble defence which it made againſt the *Romans*, under *Joſephus*, who commanded in it; *Joppa*, another convenient ſea-port on the ſame coaſt, a few miles from the former; *Tiberias*, on the lake of *Galilee*, and ſo called by *Herod*, in honour of *Tiberius*, and built and adorned by the former on the ſpot, where the antient *Cinnereth* ſtood; *Bethulia*, a place of ſtrength, and reſidence of the famed *Judith*; *Tabor*, a *Levitical* city upon the mount of that name, and already deſcribed; *Nazareth*, the place where our Saviour was brought up, ſituate on a hill, ſome miles from the brook *Kiſhon*; and *Cana* of *Galilee*, famed for his firſt miracle there (24). Thoſe who deſire a further account of thoſe places, may ſee it in *Joſephus*, *Reland*, *Calmet*, &c.

(Z) Amongſt them, was that of *Tarichea*, ſeated on the banks of the ſea of *Galilee*, about eight miles ſouth of *Tiberias*, of great ſtrength, and famed for the defence it made againſt *Veſpaſian*. *Joſephus* places it where we have (25); but *Pliny* (26), in the middle of the lake towards the weſt end of it. *Jezreel* ſtood on the weſt foot of mount *Gilboah*, was the royal reſidence of *Ahab* king of *Iſrael*, and became infamous for the death of *Naboth*, and the ſad cataſtrophe of *Jezebel* (27). *Aphek*, another royal city in the valley of *Jezreel*, where *Saul* and his army encamped near mount *Gilboah* (28). There were other cities of the ſame name; one in *Judea*, another in *Aſher*, and a

(24) *John* ii. 1, *& ſeqq.* (25) *In vita ſua*, *& bel. Jud. l.* ii. *c.* 26.
(26) *Vide Reland. ubi ſup.* (27) 1 *Kings* xxi. *paſſ.* (28) 1 *Sam.* xxix. 1, *& ſeqq.*

third

SOUTH of *Zebulun* lay the other half-tribe of *Manaſſeh*; and ſouth of this, that of *Ephraim*, ſince known, as will be ſeen in the ſequel, by the name of *Samaria*; it being in this laſt tribe, that the fatal rupture of the two kingdoms of *Judah* and *Iſrael* began, of which a fuller account will be given in its proper place. The territories of theſe two tribes, though contiguous, varied pretty much, ſome parts being mountainous and rocky, barren, and even deſert; whilſt others, and by much the larger, were pleaſant, fertile, and well inhabited. That of *Manaſſeh* was hemmed in, north and ſouth, by *Iſſachar* and *Ephraim*, and eaſt and weſt, by the *Jordan* and *Mediterranean*. It had an admirable variety of plains, mountains, valleys, ſprings, and a good number of ſtately cities; among which were thoſe that follow: *Beth-ſhean, al. Scythopolis, Salem, Aner, Bezech, Abel-Meholah, Caſtrum Alexandrinum, Tirſhah* or *Terſa, Acrabata, Thebez, Thanac* or *Tanac, Gath-Rimmon, Maccoth, Ennon, Megiddo, Gilgal, Dor* or *Dora, Cæſarea Palæſtina*, and *Antipatris* (A). *Other half of Manaſſeh.*

THE

third in *Syria*; where was fought the famed battle between *Benhadad* king of it, and *Ahab* (29). *Caſtrum Peregrinorum* was a fortreſs built in the time of the holy war, for the ſecurity of pilgrims travelling towards the *Holy Land*, and ſtood near the ſea-ſide about ſeven or eight miles weſt of *Bethſhemeſh*.

(A) *Beth-ſan*, or rather *Beth-ſhean* (30) ſince called *Scythopolis* (or the city of the *Scythians*, after an irruption of that nation into *Judea* in the reign of *Joſiah* king of *Judah* (31), who rebuilt it, and gave it that name) ſtood on a little skirt of land that ran into the tribe of *Iſſachar*, and became one of the ten ſtiled *Decapolis*. By the ruins of it ſtill remaining, it appears to have been an opulent city. The ſecond book of *Maccabees* places it 1600 furlongs, or 75 miles north of *Jeruſalem* (32), and *Joſephus* about 120 from *Tiberias* (33), which laſt ſhews it was not ſo near that ſea as the geographers commonly place it. *Salem*, on the north-eaſt corner of this tribe, near the weſt coaſt of the *Jordan*, is ſuppoſed to have been the ſeat of the celebrated *Melchizedek*, who is alſo believed to have been king of *Jeruſalem* (34). *Bezek* was the royal reſidence of the tyrant *Adonibezek* (35). *Caſtrum Alexandrinum* was a place fortified by *Alexander* the ſon of *Ariſtobulus* againſt the inſulting *Romans* (26). *Dor*, or *Dora*, was a ſtrong city, and

(29) 1 *Kings* xx. 26, *& ſeqq.* (30) *Vid. Judg.* i. 27. (31) *Vide Syncel. p.* 214. (32) *Ch.* xii. 29. (33) *De vit. ſua, p.* 1025. (34) *Vide Calmet, in voc. Jeruſalem, Reland, Baſnag. & al. See alſo before, p.* 208. (35) *Judges* i. 4, *& ſeqq.* (36) *Joſeph. ubi ſup.*

indifferent

Ephraim. THE tribe of *Ephraim* took up the ſouth ſide of *Samaria*, and extended, like that of *Manaſſeh* laſt-mentioned, from the *Mediterranean* on the weſt, to the *Jordan* on the eaſt; being bounded on the ſouth by the territory of *Benjamin*, and part of *Dan*. Here, likewiſe, ſome parts are rocky and mountainous, though covered with trees, and good paſture, and the low lands exceedingly rich, fruitful, and even luxuriant. The cities and towns were numerous, large, and well peopled; among which, were theſe that follow; *viz.* *Saron* or *Sarona*, *Lydda* or *Dioſpolis*, *Elon*, *Ramathaim* or *Arimathea*, *Bethoron*, *Gazer*, or *Gaſera*, *Timnath-Serah*, *Pharaton* or *Pirathon*, *Caſtrum Hyrcaneum*, *Sichem* or *Shechem*, ſince *Neapolis*, *Samaria*, ſince *Sebaſte*, *Jechman*, *Taphnah*, *Dog*, *Dech*, or *Dagon*, *Najoth*, *Gath Rimmon*, *Michmaſh*, ſince *Byra*, and *Shilo* or *Sio* (B). Theſe were the chief places in the tribe

Cities.

indifferent ſea-port, on the ſea-coaſt, and ſeized on by *Tryphon* from *Jonathan Maccabeus*, who was there taken and ſlain (27) by that traitor. It is commonly placed between *Cæſarea-Palæſtina*, and mount *Carmel*, about three leagues off the former. But the moſt conſiderable of all was the *Cæſarea* above-mentioned, antiently ſtiled *Strato*'s tower, but greatly adorned and fortified by *Herod*, and made ſince the reſidence of the *Roman* governors, and metropolis of *Paleſtine*; and here it was that St. *Paul* pleaded his own cauſe before *Feſtus* (28). The reader may ſee it amply deſcribed by *Joſephus* (29), who places it about 600 furlongs, or 26 miles, weſt of *Jeruſalem*. It had a fair commodious haven, and was inhabited partly by *Greeks*, and partly by *Jews*, who were ever at daggers-drawing againſt each other, and ever hatching ſome ſedition, till it was taken by *Veſpaſian*, who put a *Roman* colony in it. *Antipatris* was next to it in opulence and beauty, and built by *Herod* on the ſpot where the antient *Caphar ſalama* ſtood. The old itinerary of *Jeruſalem* places it ten miles from *Lydda*, and 25 ſouth from *Cæſarea*; but *Joſephus*, on the road between this and *Jeruſalem*; which if right, it could not ſtand ſo near the ſea, as it is commonly placed (30). However, it was finely ſituate in a delightful plain, and incompaſſed with a ſtately grove; and the whole ſo well watered, that it was eſteemed the richeſt and ſweeteſt ſpot in all *Paleſtine* (31).

(B) *Sharon*, ſince latinized into *Sarona*, an antient royal city, conquered by *Joſhua* (32), and ſo called from its delightful and fertile ſituation, as was hinted a little higher, ſtood

(27) 1 *Maccab.* xiii. *paſſ.* xv. 11, *& ſeqq.* (28) *Acts* xxv. 4, *& ſeqq.*
(29) *De bell. l.* i. *c.* 3. *Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 19. (30) *Id. ibid. c.* 13.
(31) *Joſeph. de bell. l.* i. *c.* 16. (32) *Joſh.* xii. 18.

upon

tribe of *Ephraim*. And thus have we gone through two parts of *Paleſtine* on this ſide *Jordan*. The laſt, and moſt conſiderable part, is ſtill to be ſpoken of.

JUDEA,

upon an eminence about 12 miles ſouth-weſt from *Antipatris*, on one ſide, and from the ſea on the other (33). *Lydda*, antiently *Lud* or *Lod*, 15 miles ſouth from *Sarona*; the *Greeks* called it *Dioſpolis*, or the city of *Jupiter*, probably from ſome temple dedicated to him there. But, ſince the holy war, it hath been called *St. George*; and a magnificent church was built, and dedicated to that ſaint by the emperor *Juſtinian*, on account of his being reported to have been martyred and buried there. It was one of the three toparchies that were diſmembered from *Samaria*, and given to the *Jews* (34), and was one of thoſe places where the *Jews*, after the deſtruction of their metropolis, ſet up an academy, in which the celebrated *R. Akiba* was for ſome time profeſſor, but was forced to reſign his place to *Gamaliel*, who was ſucceeded by *Teſipho*, or *Trypho*, another learned rabbi, falſly ſuppoſed to be that againſt whom *Juſtin* the martyr wrote his learned dialogue (35). *Lydda*, though in the tribe of *Ephraim*, ſeems to have been yielded to that of *Benjamin*, ſince the return from the captivity (36); and it was here that St. *Peter* wrought a miraculous cure on old *Æneas* (37). *Timnath-ſerah*, ſince *Thimnaſtra*, the inheritance and burying-place of *Joſhua* (38), gave name to a juriſdiction, called *Toparchia Tamnitica*. A few miles from it ſtood the ſtrong caſtle or fortreſs of *Hyrcanium* (39).

Sichem, antiently *Shechem*, the place where *Dinah* was deflowered by the prince of its name (40), ſtood ten miles eaſt from *Hyrcanium*, in the valley between the mounts *Ebal* and *Garizzim*. The name of *Shicar*, which ſignifies drunken, was given it by the *Jews*, in contempt for their revolt from the kingdom of *Judah*, in alluſion to the prophet, who ſtiles them drunkards of *Ephraim* (41); but it was once conſiderable, being a *Levitical* city of refuge, and afterwards the metropolis of the revolted kingdom ſince the deſtruction of *Samaria*. It is, to this very day, the *Samaritans* place of worſhip; they having formerly built a ſchiſmatic temple, which is ſtill ſtanding, and repaired to by them on all their religious feſtivals (42). *Samaria*, antiently *Somerom*, from the mountain on which it was built, was likewiſe the capital of the revolted kingdom, and raiſed by its monarchs to a great height of ſplendor; but

(33) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* xiv. *c.* 8. 1 *Maccab.* xi. 34. (34) *Joſeph. ibid.* (35) *Vide Baſnag. hiſt. des Juifs.* (36) *Nehem.* xi. 35. (37) *Acts* ix. 33, *& ſeqq.* (38) *Joſh. c. ult. v.* 30. (39) *Joſeph. de bell. l.* i. *c.* 14. (40) *Geneſ.* xxxiv. *paſſ.* (41) *Iſai.* xxviii. 1. (42) *Maundrell, ubi ſup.*

JUDEA, *properly so called.*

Judea *proper.*

THIS canton which contained the tribes of *Benjamin*, *Judah*, *Dan*, and *Simeon*, was situate on the most southern side of the whole, having *Samaria* or *Ephraim*, last described, on the north, the *Mediterranean* on the west, *Idumea* and *Egypt* on the south, and the *Jordan* and *Dead Sea* on the east. The climate was much warmer than that of the other two, being mostly under the 32d degree of latitude; but was so well refreshed with cooling winds from the seas and mountains, that it was quite moderate and delightful. The soil was here likewise beautifully variegated with plains, hills, valleys, and some deserts, most of them well watered with pleasant streams, rivulets, and a vast number of springs, which came down from the mountains; so that, in the whole, it was as fertile in corn, wine, oil, fruits, pasture-grounds, *&c.* as any of the rest[o].

Tribe of Benjamin.

1. THE tribe of *Benjamin* lay contiguous to *Samaria* on the north, to *Judah* on the south, and to *Dan* on the west, which parted it from the *Mediterranean*. It had not near so many cities and towns as most of the rest; but this was amply compensated by its containing the most considerable, and the metropolis of all the rest, *viz.* the so justly celebrated city of *Jerusalem*, the centre of the *Jewish* worship and religion, and the seat of all the *Jewish* monarchs and pontiffs, and of the famed *Sanhedrim*, or grand court and council of the nation; of all which we

[o] See JOSEPHUS, RELAND, &c. ubi sup.

after it was destroyed by the *Assyrians*, the new colonies, which they sent to repeople it, never could raise it to its antient greatness, till *Herod* rebuilt and adorned it with many stately edifices, as has been already hinted: how it was again destroyed, will be seen in the sequel; and we have already given an account of its melancholy remains, under the article of artificial rarities. *Shiloh* is the last place in this tribe worth mentioning. It stood on the north borders of that of *Benjamin*, about 10 or 12 miles south of *Shechem*, in the district of *Acrabatene*; and was once a famed city, whilst the ark continued in it (43); since which its ruined state became a kind of a proverb, or by-word (44). And it was so ruined in St. *Jerom*'s time, that there was nothing to be seen of it, but the foundation of the altar of burnt-offerings (45).

(43) *See* 1 *Sam.* iv. 3, 17. (44) *Jerem.* vii. 12, 14. xxvi. 6, 9.
(45) *Jerom, com. in Sophon. & epitaph. Paulæ.*

ſhall give an account in the ſequel. The other places of note, ſuch as the mounts *Moriah*, *Zion*, *Gihon*, *Calvary*, *Olivet*, &c. the valleys of *Hinnom*, *Rephaim*, *Jehoſhaphat*, &c. belonging to this tribe and city, have been ſpoken of under another article. The other cities, beſides the great metropolis above-mentioned, were *Jericho*, *Gibeon*, *Bethel*, *Gibeah*, *Hai*, *Gilgal*, *Anathoth*, *Neb*, or *Nebo*; to which we may add, the two noted villages of *Bethany* and *Gethſemane*. *Cities.*

OF the antient ſtate, name, ſituation, and ſtrength of that once famed capital of the *Jebuſites*, and of its conqueſt, in part, by the *Iſraelites* under *Joſhua*, and its total reduction by *David*, we have already ſpoken in a former chapter [p], and ſhall have farther occaſion to do ſo, in the hiſtory of that monarch, who did immediately ſet about fortifying and adorning it with ſome new works and edifices, and is ſuppoſed to have given it the name of *Jeruſalem* (C); though it did not riſe to its zenith of opulence and *Jeruſalem deſcribed.*

[p] See before, p. 208, (A).

(C) Which name, in the *Hebrew*, properly ſignifies the viſion, inheritance, or poſſeſſion of peace. The *Greeks* and *Latins* called it *Solyma* and *Heroſolyma*, which ſome authors have imagined to be a compound of the *Greek* ἱερὸς and Σόλυμα, but without foundation. Much wider from the mark are they, who derive the former from the *Solymi* mentioned by *Homer* and *Chœrilus*, a wonderful people, according to them, who ſpoke the *Phœnician* tongue, wore their hair cropt round and ſhort, and dwelt in the mountains, called by their name, near a very large lake (46); all which, among others, *Tacitus* (47) and *Joſephus* have thought could not be applicable to any other than the *Jews*, whom they ſuppoſed called *Solymi*, from their capital of *Solyma*. We need not, indeed, wonder ſo much at *Tacitus* giving into ſuch a notion, who had ſo ſuperficial a knowlege of the *Jews*, their laws, and their way of living; but that *Joſephus* ſhould be of that ſentiment, who knew in particular, that the cutting of the hair round, was ſo expreſly forbidden by the levitical law (48), and conſequently a faſhion not uſed by them, is ſomewhat ſurpriſing; eſpecially conſidering the great diſtance of the *Dead Sea*, which is the lake ſuppoſed to be here meant; and that the *Jews* knew nothing of the weapons which thoſe poets ſay were uſed by the *Solymi*, particularly the helmets, made of the skin of horſes heads, dried in the ſmoak; and we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew in the ſequel,

(46) *Vid. Joſeph. cont. Apion. l.* i. xix. 27.

(47) *Hiſt. l.* v. c. 2.

(48) *Levit.*

and grandeur, till the reign of his ſon *Solomon*, as will be ſeen in the ſequel.

THIS city, in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, was divided into four parts, each incloſed with its own walls; *viz.* 1. The old city of *Jebus*, which ſtood on mount *Zion*, where the prophets dwelt, and where *David* built a magnificent caſtle and palace, which became the reſidence, both of himſelf and ſucceſſors; on which account it was emphatically called, *the city of* David (D). 2. The lower city, called alſo, *the daughter of* Zion, being built after it; on which ſtood the two magnificent palaces, which *Solomon* built for himſelf and his queen; that of the *Maccabean* princes; and the ſtately amphitheatre built by *Herod*, capable of containing 80,000 ſpectators; the ſtrong citadel, built by *Antiochus*, to command and overtop the temple, but ſince razed by *Simon* the *Maccabee*, who recovered the city from the *Syrians*; and, laſtly, a ſecond citadel, built by *Herod*, upon an high and craggy rock, and called by him, *Antonia*. 3. The new city, moſtly inhabited by tradeſmen, artificers, and merchants; and, 4. Mount *Moriah*, on which was built the ſo famed temple of *Solomon*, deſcribed in the ſixth and ſeventh chapters of the ſecond book of *Kings* (E); and, ſince then, that rebuilt by

that the cavalry was of little uſe among the *Jews*, whoſe country was too rough and mountainous for it, and what they uſed was of much later date.

Who theſe *Solymi* were, is foreign to our preſent purpoſe; and we ſhall forbear ſaying any thing concerning them, eſpecially as as authors are ſo divided about them, ſome placing the *Solymian* hills as far as *Piſidia* (49), others as near as the lake of *Aſphaltites*, where the *Moabites* and *Midianites*, who were reckoned among the *Arabs*, dwelt, and who were reported to have cropped their hair in that round form; and *Joſephus* ſeems in ſome meaſure to confirm this laſt notion, who tells us of a town called *Solyma* on the other ſide *Jordan*, in the province called *Gaulonitis* (50).

(D) This ſtately building was greatly enlarged and beautified by *Solomon*; but, being deſtroyed with the reſt of the city and temple, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, was never thoroughly rebuilt ſince till the reign of *Herod the Great*, who raiſed it to a moſt ſumptuous and elegant ſtructure, and inſcribed it to *Agrippa* and *Cæſar* (51).

(E) This ſo celebrated ſtructure hath been exhibited to the world by ſo many authors, and in ſuch variety of forms, eſpecially of late more than ever, and hath been ſo

(49) *Vide Le Moine varia ſacra, vol.* ii. *p.* 826. *Calmet in voc.* (50) *In vita ſua.* (51) *Id. antiq.*

highly

by the *Jews* on their return from *Babylon*, and afterwards built almoſt anew and greatly adorned and enriched, by *Herod*.

THE

highly cried up for its wonderful elegance and regularity, even to the affirming, that all the five orders of architecture, and their moſt beautiful ornaments, were taken from it (52), that we might well excuſe ourſelves from attempting a deſcription of it in a work of this nature, conſidering eſpecially how impoſſible it is to reconcile that vaſt diſcrepancy, which we find among thoſe that have been already publiſhed, to each other, and much more to the ſacred books above quoted, from which alone they ſhould have fetched all their intelligence, inſtead of having recourſe, as they have had, to thoſe of *Joſephus* and the *Jewiſh* rabbis, whoſe luxuriant fancy, and ambition of raiſing the reputation of their *Jewiſh* monarch, have enriched that edifice with a ſurpriſing number and variety of parts and embelliſhments, for which there is not the leaſt foundation, or any mention made in the inſpired writers. *Joſephus* may indeed be ſuppoſed to have deſcribed that which he had ſeen, and which was in his time deſtroyed by the *Romans*, with a faithful exactneſs, and without any partial exaggeration; but then it muſt be remembered, that this was neither the antient temple of *Solomon*, or much leſs that which was rebuilt after the return from the *Babyloniſh* captivity, which, we find, was ſo inferior to it, that thoſe who had ſeen the former, wept at the ſight of the latter (53). But this was what we may properly call a new one, built only on the foundation of the old, but enriched by *Herod the Great*, with every thing that was curious and coſtly, either in art or nature, as well as with all the improvements which architecture had received during a ſeries of ages, both from *Greece* and *Rome*. And as for the *Talmudiſts*, they lived long after the deſtruction of it, and never ſaw it in any other form, than that heap of ruins, in which the *Romans* left it, according to our Saviour's expreſs prediction (54), and *Joſephus*'s ample teſtimony of it. Theſe are ſtill leſs to be followed, or indeed to be credited, who have, without any authority, but that of their own fertile brain, ſo much improved upon that of *Joſephus*, and have raiſed it to that ſtupendous fabric, in which *Villalpandus*, *Lamy*, *Whiſton*, and many others, have repreſented it. And no wonder, conſidering the materials coſt them little but paper and ink, nor any other labour but that of the fancy.

We ſhall, however, for the ſatisfaction of the learned, venture to give our reader a plan

(52) *See Villalpand. N. De Lyra, Capel. & al.* (53) *Ezra* iii. 12.
(54) *Matth.* xxiv. 2.

Solomon's temple. THE reader may ſee, by what hath been ſaid in the laſt note, the reaſon why he is not to expect a particular deſcription of this ſo celebrated ſtructure, in this ſection, but in a ſeparate appendix at the cloſe of this hiſtory. In the mean time, ſetting aſide all controverted points concerning it, we ſhall confine our preſent account of it to ſuch particulars only, as are agreed on all hands, and founded on the authority of the divine writers, but which will ſerve to give our readers a general idea of the whole. As firſt, that there were no leſs than 163,300 men employed in the work. 2. That, notwithſtanding that prodigious number of hands, it took up ſeven whole years in building. 3. That the height of this building was 120 cubits, or 82 yards, rather more than leſs; and the courts round it, about half as high. 4. That the front, on the eaſt ſide, was ſuſtained by ramparts of ſquare ſtone, of vaſt bulk, and built up from the valley below, which laſt was 300 cubits high, and, being added to that of the edifice, amounted to 420 cubits; to which, if we add, 5. The height of the principal tower above all the reſt, *viz.* 60, will bring it to 480 cubits, which, reckoning at two feet to a cubit (F), will amount to 960 feet; but, according to the length of that meaſure, as others reckon it, *viz.* at two feet and

Dimenſions, &c.

and deſcription of that noble edifice, as it has been communicated to us by a learned friend, who hath taken it, not from *Joſephus*, nor from the *Talmudiſts* and *Jewiſh* comments, but wholly and ſolely from the account of the ſacred hiſtorians, without any other embelliſhments, arts, or dimenſions, but ſuch as may be fairly drawn from a right underſtanding of them. But, as the piece is quite elaborate, and too critical to be inſerted in this geographical ſection, we ſhall ſubjoin it by way of appendix, together with ſome other curious remarks of the ſame author on the antient city of *Jeruſalem*, from the ſame inſpired fountain, in his own words, at the cloſe of the firſt part of this *Jewiſh* hiſtory.

(F) This *Hebraic* meaſure is very differently ſettled by authors, *viz.* by Bp. *Cumberland* and others, to 20 inches and an half, by others at 18. *Capellus* and others think the *Jews* had two cubits, one ſacred, the other common; the firſt of 36, the other of 18 inches; which they prove from ſundry dimenſions, which *Moſes* gives to the *Levitical* territory round their cities; *viz.* in one verſe at 1000 cubits, and, in the very next at 2000 (55); the former being ſuppoſed the ſacred, and the ſecond the common. Likewiſe the columns reared by *Solomon* are ſaid in one place to be 18, and in another

(55) *Numb.* xxxv. 4, 5.

and an half, it will amount to 1200 feet; a prodigious height this, from the ground, and ſuch as might well make *Joſephus* ſay, that the very deſign of it was ſufficient to have turned the brain of any but *Solomon* [q]. The reader will eaſily adjuſt the above difference of cubits, from what hath been ſaid in the laſt note. 6. Theſe ramparts, which were raiſed in this manner, to fill up the prodigious chaſm made by the deep valley below, and to make the area of a ſufficient breadth and length for the edifice, were 1000 cubits in length at the bottom, and 800 at the top, and the breadth of them 100 more. 7. The huge buttreſſes which ſupported the ramparts, were of the ſame height, ſquare at the top, and 50 cubits broad, and jutted out 150 cubits at the bottom. 8. The ſtones, of which they were built, were, according to *Joſephus*, 40 cubits long, 12 thick, and 8 high, all of marble, and ſo exquiſitely joined, that they ſeemed one continued piece, or rather poliſhed rock. 9. According to the ſame *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, there were 1453 columns of *Parian* marble, and twice that number of pilaſters, and of ſuch thickneſs, that three men could hardly embrace them, and their height and capitals proportionable, and of the *Corinthian* order. But it is likely, *Joſephus* hath given us theſe two laſt articles from the temple of *Herod* (G), there being nothing

[q] Antiq. l. viii. c. 2.

other 35 cubits in height (56); which cannot well be reconciled without ſuppoſing the above difference. Notwithſtanding which, it is ſtill much queſtioned, whether the *Jews* had any ſuch twofold cubit, at leaſt before their return from the captivity, when there was a neceſſity to diſtinguiſh between that which they had been uſed to at *Babylon*, and that which was in uſe amongſt them before that time. And this ſeems expreſly marked by the prophet (57), who ſays, that the true cubit was a cubit and an hand-breadth, which is allowed by moſt commentators to be the true *Jewiſh* cubit.

(G) We muſt here refer our curious readers, for a further account of this edifice, to the learned *Capellus*, one of the beſt and moſt accurate authors, who hath wrote on this ſubject, next to the inſpired writers, and who has taken the pains to ſhew all the miſtakes of the *Jewiſh* hiſtorian, as far as he differs from the Scripture account; and hath alſo taken to pieces thoſe of the *Talmudiſts*, and of *Villalpandus*, and thoſe other authors, who have too cloſely followed them. The

(56) *Conf.* 1 *Kings* vii. 15. 2 *Chron.* iii. 15. (57) *Ezek.* xliii. 13.

nothing like them mentioned by the ſacred hiſtorians, but a great deal about the prodigious cedars of *Lebanon*, uſed in that noble edifice, the excellent workmanſhip of them, adapted to their ſeveral ends and deſigns, together with their gildings, and other curious ornaments. The only thing more we ſhall venture to add is, what is affirmed in the text r, that all the materials of this ſtupendous fabric were finiſhed and adapted to their ſeveral ends, before they were brought to *Jeruſalem*, that is, the ſtones in their quarries, and the cedars in *Lebanon*; ſo that there was no noiſe of ax, hammer, or any tool, heard in the rearing of it. Thus much ſhall ſuffice at preſent to give our readers an idea of this immenſe work; the remainder will be beſt ſeen in the appendix above promiſed. The various fates, both of the city and temple, will alſo be more properly mentioned in the ſequel of this hiſtory; and, as we have taken notice of the moſt remarkable places, mountains, valleys, &c. under a former article, we ſhall now conclude this with an account of its preſent deplorable condition, under the *Turks*. As for other towns of note in the tribe of *Benjamin*, the reader may ſee all that is worth notice concerning them, in the margin (H).

THIS

r 1 Kings vi. 7.

reader will there find, likewiſe, not only all the dimenſions we have given above from him, fully proved, but likewiſe all the other parts of it, ſuch as the holy and moſt holy place, the chambers, and other ſtone rooms, court of the prieſts, of the laymen, of the women, and of the gentiles, or proſelytes; all which would carry us too far to enter into a detail, in a work like this. We ſhall, however, take care, that nothing eſcape us that is worthy our reader's notice, or hath any relation with, or may ſerve to explain, any part of the following hiſtory; but theſe, to avoid needleſs repetitions, will be referred to the appendix.

(H) 1. *Nob*, *Nobe*, *Noba*, *Namba*, a ſacerdotal city at the fartheſt end weſtward of this tribe, and the place where the ark ſome time reſted, after the taking of *Shiloh* by the *Philiſtines*, and which was ſo totally ruined by king *Saul* (65), on account of the ſmall aſſiſtance which the high-prieſt *Abimelech* had given the fugitive *David*, that St. *Jerom* tells us, it ſtill lay in ruins in his time, which were then to be ſeen at ſome ſmall diſtance from *Dioſpolis* (66).

(65) 1 *Sam.* xxi. *paſſ.*

(66) *Comment. & loc. Hebr.*

2. *Gibeon*,

THIS once ſtately and opulent metropolis is at preſent called by the *Turks*, *Cudſembaric* and *Coudſherif*, and reduced

2. *Gibeon*, *Gabaon*, ſo ſtiled from its being advantageouſly ſituate on an eminence about forty or fifty furlongs, or ſix or eight miles north from *Jeruſalem* (67), and famed for the ſtratagem which its inhabitants, who were originally *Hivites*, made uſe of to obtain a peace and alliance with *Joſhua* (68), was then a conſiderable, opulent, and populous city, and had a conduit or pool, much celebrated in Scripture and *Joſephus* (69); and was, upon ſome account or other, not mentioned by either of them, made the reſidence of the ſacred ark (70).

3. *Gibeah*, or *Gibeath-Saul*, ſo called for being the birth-place of that monarch, and to diſtinguiſh it from *Gibeath-Phineas*, in the tribe of *Ephraim*, ſtood ſeven or eight miles north from *Jeruſalem*, and as many north-weſt from *Gibeah* (71), and became fatal to the tribe of *Benjamin* for the inſult offered to the wandering *Levite* and his concubine; and much more for the obſtinacy of the *Benjamites*, in refuſing to deliver up the inhabitants of it to condign puniſhment (72); in which action that tribe ſufficiently verified *Jacob*'s prophetic character of it: *Benjamin ſhall raven like a wolf*, &c. (73).

4. *Gilgal*, *Galgal*, *Galgala*, ſituate on the banks of the *Jordan*, where the *Iſraelites* croſſed at their entrance into the *Promiſed Land*, and famed for the monument which *Joſhua* reared there, in memory of that miraculous paſſage (74).

5. *Bethel*, antiently *Luz*, but ſo ſtiled by *Jacob* in memory of his ſignal viſion there (75), that word ſignifying, the houſe of GOD. It ſtood on the weſt of *Ai*, a *Canaanitiſh* city, taken immediately after *Jericho*, about twelve miles north from *Jeruſalem*, on the road to *Shechem* (76), and became infamous for the golden calf ſet up there by *Jeroboam* (77). It ſtood on the borders of *Ephraim*, and was afterwards made a ſtrong fortreſs by the revolted tribes, and a thorn to the kingdom of *Judah*, who often tried, in vain, to recover it from them; till *Abijah* took it, and new-fortified it againſt them (78).

6. *Anathoth*, a ſacerdotal city, ſituate between *Gilgal* and *Jeruſalem*, the birth-place of *Jeremiah*, and inheritance of many of the *Jewiſh* pontifs.

7. *Bethany*, a famed village on the road between *Jericho* and *Jeruſalem*, and the dwelling-place of *Lazarus*, and his two ſiſters (79); there are

(67) *Conf. Joſeph. antiq. l.* vii. *c.* 10. *& bell. Jud. l.* ii. *c.* 37. (68) *Joſh.* ix. 3, *& ſeqq.* (69) 2 *Sam.* ii. 16. *Jerem.* iv. 12. *Joſeph. de bell. l.* ii. *c.* 24. (70) 1 *Chron.* xxi. 29, *& ſeqq.* (71) *Joſh.* xviii. 24. *Ezr.* ii. 26. *Joſeph. ubi ſup.* (72) *Judg.* xix. *& ſeqq.* (73) *Geneſ.* xlix. 27. (74) *Vid. Joſh. paſſ.* (75) *Geneſ.* xxviii. 10, *& ſeqq.* (76) *Euſeb. loc. Hebr. in voc.* Ayyal. (77) 1 *Kings* xii. 26, *& ſeqq.* (78) 2 *Chron.* xiii. 26. (79) *John* xi. 1, *& ſeqq.*

reduced to a poor thinly inhabited town, of at moſt three miles in circuit. It ſtands in 31 deg. 48 min. of north latitude,

ſtill ſome remains of an old caſtle ſtanding, ſaid to have been theirs: and the tomb out of which he was raiſed, and which hath a deſcent of 25 ſteps, and at the bottom the ſmall room, where he was laid, are ſtill ſhewn, and held in great veneration (80), both by *Turks* and *Chriſtians*.

8. *Gethſemane*, which ſignifies an oil-preſs, was a village on the mount of *Olives*, and perhaps ſo called, becauſe of the preſſing of that oil there. It is chiefly noted for a garden, to which our Saviour was wont to reſort at night with his diſciples, and where he was betrayed by *Judas*, and led away bound.

9. *Ai*, by the *Septuagint Aai*, by *Joſephus Aina*, and by others *Ajah*, was ſituate weſt of *Bethel*, and at a ſmall diſtance north-weſt from *Jericho*. It was at this city, that the *Iſraelites*, under *Joſhua*, met with a ſurpriſing repulſe; which put them upon the ſtratagem hereafter mentioned, by which they carried and deſtroyed both the town and its inhabitants (See *Joſh.* vii. 3. *& ſeqq.*).

The laſt, and moſt conſiderable city in this tribe, next to *Jeruſalem*, was that of *Jericho*, about ſix miles weſt from the *Jordan*, and 22 almoſt eaſt from *Jeruſalem*. It was ſituate in a ſpacious fertile plain, covered with all ſorts of fruits, eſpecially palm-trees, and ſtiled from thence the *city of palms* (81). It is alſo affirmed to have produced the famed balm in great plenty, of which there are now no remains (82). It was an opulent and populous royal city, and that with which *Joſhua* began the conqueſt of this land, who deſtroyed and laid it under a curſe (83), ſo that it was not reſtored till the reign of the idolatrous king *Ahab*, when the people had loſt all ſenſe of religion; and *Hiel* ventured to rebuild it, though with the death of his two ſons (84). However, we may ſuppoſe with *Joſephus*, that there had been a new one built, at ſome ſmall diſtance from it, and called by the ſame name, ſince we find it mentioned more than once in the hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* kings long before *Ahab* (85): he adds, that when this laſt was rebuilt, the inhabitants made no difficulty to remove from the other to this. He likewiſe mentions near it a fine ſpring, which ſupplied the whole place with a ſufficiency of water (86); only we read, that it was originally bitter and ſaltiſh, till the prophet afterwards gave it a ſweet taſte, and foretold its virtue, from which it had the name of the fountain of

(80) *Maundrel, ubi ſup. p.* 79. *Pococke, ubi ſup. p.* 29. (81) *Deut.* xxxiv. 3. (82) *Ant. l.* iv. *c.* 5. (83) *Joſh.* vi. *paſſ. & ver.* 26. (84) 1 *Kings* xvi. 34. (85) *Vid. int. al.* 2 *Sam.* x. 45. (86) *De bello, l.* v.

Elijah

latitude, and 35. 34. of eaſt longitude, on a rocky mountain ſurrounded on all ſides, except on the north, with ſteep aſcents, and deep valleys below; and theſe again environed with other hills at ſome diſtance from them. The ſoil now, for want of care, is, for the moſt part, ſtony, ſandy, and barren; yet here-and-there produces ſome corn, wine, oil, *&c.* eſpecially about the neighbourhood of the city; but, at a diſtance from it, ſcarcely bears any thing but graſs, heath, and other ſpontaneous herbs and ſhrubs, which are left to run to ſeed. There was a period indeed, after its total deſtruction by *Titus Veſpaſian*, in which it was likely to have recovered its former grandeur; namely, when the emperor *Adrian* built a new city, almoſt upon the ſpot of the old one, which he called *Ælia Capitolina*, and adorned with walls, and other noble edifices, permitting the Chriſtians to ſettle and live in it. But this was a ſhort-lived change; ſo that when the pious empreſs *Helena*, mother of *Conſtantine the Great*, and, by birth, a *Britiſh* lady, came to viſit this theatre of the world's redemption, ſhe found it in ſuch a forlorn and ruinous condition, as raiſed her pity into a noble zeal of reſtoring it to its antient luſtre. To which end ſhe cauſed, with a great deal of coſt and labour, all the rubbiſh that had been thrown upon thoſe places, where our Saviour had ſuffered, had been buried, *&c.* to be removed; in the doing of which they found the croſs, on which he died, as well as thoſe of the two malefactors, who were put to death with him; and, as the writers of thoſe times relate, diſcovered, by a miracle, that which had borne the Saviour of mankind. Mount *Calvary* thus cleared, ſhe cauſed a magnificent church to be built upon it, which ſhould incloſe as many of the ſcenes of his ſufferings, as could be conveniently done; which ſtately edifice is ſtill ſtanding, and is kept in good repair, by the generous offerings of a conſtant concourſe of pilgrims, who annually reſort to it, as well as the contributions of ſeveral Chriſtian princes.

Rebuilt by Adrian.

Reſtored by the empreſs Helena.

THE walls of it are of ſtone, the roof of cedar; the eaſt end incloſes mount *Calvary*, and the weſt the holy ſepulcre.

Elijah (87): the city was afterwards adorned with a magnificent palace, and other edifices built by *Herod*: but of all its antient ſplendor nothing now remains; the place being dwindled into a poor village, except ſome arched parts of an old conduit, ſuppoſed to have been made to convey the waters of the ſpring abovementioned into the city, and parts adjacent (88).

(87) 2 *Kings* ii. 2, *& ſeqq.*

(88) *Pococke, ubi ſup. p.* 31.

The great church of St. Sepulcre.

ſepulcre. The former is covered with a noble cupola, ſupported by 16 maſſive columns, which were cruſted with marble. The centre of it is opened on the top juſt over the ſepulcre, and over the high altar at the eaſt end is another ſtately dome. The nave of the church conſtitutes the choir; and in the inſide iſles are ſhewn the places where the moſt remarkable circumſtances of our LORD's paſſion were tranſacted, together with the tombs of *Godfrey* and *Baldwin*, the two firſt Chriſtian kings of *Jeruſalem*. Going up an aſcent of 22 ſteps, we come to a chapel, where that part of *Calvary* is ſhewn, on which Chriſt was crucified, and the very hole in the rock, in which his croſs was fixed. The altar hath three croſſes on it, and is richly adorned, with other coſtly embelliſhments, particularly with forty-ſix lamps of immenſe value, that hang before it, and are kept conſtantly burning. Adjoining to this, is another ſmall chapel, fronting, like this, the body of the church. At the weſt end is that of the ſepulcre, which is hewn in that form out of the ſolid rock, and hath a ſmall dome or lantern, ſupported by pillars of porphyry. The cloiſter round the ſepulcre is divided into ſundry chapels, appropriated to the ſeveral ſects of Chriſtians, who reſide there, ſuch as *Greeks*, *Armenians*, *Maronites*, *Jacobites*, *Copts*, *Abyſſines*, *Georgians*, &c. and on the north-weſt are the apartments of the *Latins*, who have the care of the church, and are forced to reſide conſtantly in it, the *Turks* keeping the keys of it, and not ſuffering any of them to go out, but obliging them to receive their proviſions in at a wicket.

Ceremonies performed at Eaſter.

EASTER is the time in which the grandeſt ceremonies are performed within this place, and which chiefly conſiſt in repreſentations of our LORD's paſſion, crucifixion, death, and reſurrection; all which are acted with their concomitant circumſtances, though, as we are informed by ſeveral witneſſes of undoubted credit, in a manner not altogether ſo ſuitable to the ſacredneſs of the ſubject. At this ſolemnity every pilgrim, paying a certain fee, is admitted in to aſſiſt at the ſolemn proceſſion, and other ceremonies belonging to it; and, at the end of it, is let out again: and of theſe there is commonly a vaſt concourſe, and ſome of them that chuſe to go in on the eve of *Good Friday*, and to ſtay till *Eaſter Monday*. We muſt refer our readers, for the farther particulars of this grand ceremony, and of this and other edifices, built by that pious empreſs in other parts of this city, as well as ſeveral other particulars of *Judea*, to

thoſe

thoſe authors, who have written of them; particularly thoſe mentioned in the margin[s]; and, amongſt them, to the Rev. Dr. *Shaw*[t], and Dr. *Pococke*[u], who have enriched their account of thoſe ſacred places, with many curious and learned remarks, well worth the reading; but which we are obliged to omit, for fear of running beyond our bounds.

THE laſt thing we ſhall take notice of under this article, is an edifice erected on mount *Moriah*, on the ſouth-eaſt part of the city, called *Solomon's Temple*, and ſtanding on or near the ſpot where the antient one did. But, as we are well aſſured, that the old one was totally deſtroyed by the *Romans*, according to our Saviour's prediction, it is not eaſy to gueſs when, or by whom, this mock one was rear'd. The entrance into it is at the eaſt end, under an octagon, adorned with a cupola, roof, and lantern; and forward, towards the weſt, is a fair ſtrait iſle, like that of a church, the whole ſurrounded with a ſpacious ſquare court, walled on every ſide. The extent of this place, according to Mr. *Maundrell*, is 570 common paces long, and 370 broad. In the midſt of it, and where the *Jewiſh ſanctum ſanctorum* is ſaid to have ſtood, is erected a *Turkiſh* moſque, neither conſiderable for its largeneſs nor ſtructure, but which, nevertheleſs, makes a ſtately figure, by the ſole advantage of its ſituation. This place, our author tells us, is held in ſuch veneration by the *Turks*, that a ſtranger cannot go near its border without being in danger of forfeiting his life, or religion[w]. It lies over-againſt the mount of olives, and is parted from it by the vale of *Jehoſhaphat*; and one may eaſily judge what an immenſe labour it muſt have coſt to level ſuch a ſpacious area upon ſo ſtrong and rocky a mountain. Dr. *Pococke*, who hath taken a more particular view of that edifice, much extols the beauty of the proſpect, as well as the materials and workmanſhip of it; the ſtones, both without, and (as he was told) within, being caſed with tiles of different colours, but chiefly green; the colonnades being of the *Corinthian* order, finely wrought, and the arches turned over them; being, as he ſuppoſes, the porticos leading to the inſide of the building, which, he thinks, was formerly a Chriſtian church. The reader may ſee the farther particulars in that author[x].

A mock temple built.

Revenenced by the Turks.

[s] RADZIVIL. THEVENOT, SANDYS, LE BRUYN, RELAND, MAUNDRELL, & al. mult. [t] Travels to the Levant, p. 344, & ſeqq. [u] Ubi ſup. vol. ii. p. 5, & ſeq. [w] MAUNDRELL, ubi ſup. p. 106. [x] Ubi ſup. p. 14, & ſeq.

THE

Present government of the city.

THE city is now under the government of a ſangiac, whoſe reſidence is in an houſe ſaid to have been that of *Pontius Pilate*, over-againſt the caſtle of *Antonia*, built by *Herod the Great*; where they ſhew the ſtairs by which our Saviour aſcended up to the gallery where that governor expoſed him to the people; at leaſt they ſhew a new flight of them: for, as to the old ones, called *ſcala ſanta*, they are ſaid to have been carried to *Rome*. All that we ſhall add, concerning this famed city, is, that many of thoſe ſtately churches, built in memory of ſome remarkable goſpel-tranſaction, have been ſince turned into moſques, into ſome of which money will procure an entrance, and into others not. Both friers, and other Chriſtians, are kept ſo poor, by the tyranny of the government, that the chief ſupport and trade of the place conſiſts in providing ſtrangers with food, and other accommodations, and ſelling them beads, relics, and other religious trinkets; for which they are obliged to pay conſiderable ſums to the ſangiac, as well as to his officers: and theſe are ſeldom ſo well contented with their uſual dues, but they frequently extort ſome freſh ones from them, eſpecially from the *Franciſcans*, whoſe convent is the common receptacle for all pilgrims, and for which they have conſiderable allowances from the pope, and other crowned heads; beſides the uſual preſents which theſe ſtrangers generally make to them at their departure.

The tribe of Judah.

The tribe of Judah.

THIS canton extended ſouth of *Benjamin* about 27 miles, that is, quite to the mountains of *Seir*, or *Edom*, which were the frontiers between it and *Idumea*; and was bounded on the eaſt by the *Dead Sea*, and on the weſt by the tribes of *Dan* and *Simeon*, both which lay between it and the *Mediterranean*. *Judah* was reckoned the largeſt and moſt populous tribe of all the twelve, and the inhabitants the ſtouteſt, and moſt valiant. It was, moreover, the chief and royal tribe, from which the kingdom was denominated, as hath been already hinted. The land was beautifully variegated with fertile plains, hills, dales, ſmall lakes, ſprings, *&c.* and produced great plenty of corn, wine, oil, fruits, paſture, *&c.* except where it lay contiguous to *Idumea*. It was properly in the territory of *Judah* that the *Canaanites* dwelt; and here it was, likewiſe, that *Abraham* and his deſcendents ſojourned, till their

their going down into *Egypt*. The principal places in this tribe were, *Libna*, *Makkedah*, *Azecha*, *Beth-zor* or *Bethſora*, *Emmaus*, *Nicopolis*, *Bezech*, *Bethlehem*, *Tekoah*, *Engaddi*, *Odalla*, *Keylah*, *Hebron*, *Jether*, *Jerimoth*, *Taphnah*, *Kirjath-Jearim*, *Maon*, *Holon*, *Gozen*, *Gelo*, *Cabzael*, *Hazor* or *Chadzor*, and *Maſſada*; the moſt remarkable of which the reader will find deſcribed in the margin [y] (A). *Cities.*

[y] De his vid. RELAND. ubi ſup. l. i. c. 18, & ſeq. CELLARIUM, JOSEPH. & al.

The

(A) At the head of all theſe we may juſtly place the royal city of *Bethlehem*, not only on account of its being the birth-place of king *David*, and from him emphatically ſtiled the city of *David*, but much more ſo, as it was appointed by providence to be the birth-place of the Saviour of the world (1), though at preſent reduced to a poor village. It is ſituate on an hill, in a fertile and delightful plain, about five or ſix miles, according to *Joſephus* and *Euſebius*, but ſeven or eight, according to more modern travellers, ſouth of *Jeruſalem* (2); and is ſtill held in great eſteem, both for the magnificent church which the pious empreſs *Helena* cauſed to be built over the grot where the Divine Infant was born, and for the great concourſe of pilgrims, who yearly repair to it. The building, which is roofed with cedar, ſupported by four rows of ſtately pillars of white marble, ten in a row, and the walls faced with the ſame ſtone, we have already deſcribed with the other artificial rarities, together with the moſt remarkable things in and about it: the Chriſtians chiefly live here upon making croſſes, beads, and models of the church of *St. Sepulcre*, of wood inlaid with mother of pearl; which they ſell to the pilgrims (3). Our author adds, that the women of *Bethlehem* bear a much better character than thoſe of *Jeruſalem*: but whether the reaſons he gives for it will bear the teſt, we ſubmit to the reader's judgment (4).

Hebron, now called *El-kahil*, the antient ſeat of *David* before he had taken *Jeruſalem* (5), ſtands on a ridge of mountains, which overlook a moſt delicious valley twenty miles ſouth of that metropolis. The old city hath long ſince lain in ruins, but near to them ſtands a village, in which is ſtill a good handſome church, built by the ſame pious empreſs, over the cave where *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, and *Leah*, lie buried. The *Turks* have ſince turned it into a moſque, and the place is much revered by them, as well as by the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*.

(1) *Micah* v. 2. *Mat.* ii. 2, & *ſeq.* (2) *Maundrell*, *Pococke*, &c.
(3) *Pococke*, *p.* 41, & *ſeqq.* (4) *Ibid.* (5) 2 *Sam.* ii. 2, & *ſeqq.*

The tribe of Dan.

Tribe of Dan.

SOUTH-WEST of the tribe of *Judah*, between it and the *Mediterranean*, lay the two laſt tribes we have ſtill to ſpeak of;

Chriſtians. *Hebron*, as inconſiderable as it is now, in other reſpects, was juſtly eſteemed one of the antienteſt cities in the world; ſince *Moſes* himſelf tells us, it was built ſeven years before *Thanis* in *Egypt* (6). Its antient name was *Kirjath-arba*, or the city and birth-place of *Arba*, the father of *Anak*, and of his gigantic ſons (7). And, ruinated as it now is, it is ſtill the capital of a diſtrict, ſtiled, by the *Turks*, the territory of the friends of GOD, and conſiſting of about twenty-five villages more (8).

Makkedah, a royal city, near which the five *Amoritiſh* kings were put to death by *Joſhua* (9), was once a very ſtrong city, and placed, by *Euſebius*, about eight miles from *Eleutheropolis* (10).

Lebna, a ſtrong city, ſituate in a narrow neck of land in this tribe, which ran northwards between thoſe of *Dan* and *Benjamin*. It fell, at firſt, to the lot of *Judah* (11), and became afterwards a prieſtly city of refuge (12); and is indifferently called *Lebna*, *Libona*, and *Lobna*, in the *Vulgate*, *Euſebius*, St. *Jerom*, &c.

Azecha, another ſtrong place, both by ſituation, and its ſtout walls; ſeated in the ſame north-weſt corner with *Lebna* and *Makkedah*, in the valley of *Terebinth*, where *David* ſlew *Goliah* (13). This city, as well as *Lebna*, revolted from *Judah*, and formed themſelves into free ſtates. And *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom* tell us, there was ſtill a city, of the name of *Azecha*, ſtanding in their time (14).

Bethzor, or *Bethſora*, ſo called from its ſituation upon an high and ſtrong rock, was a very ſtout fortreſs, eſpecially about the time of the *Maccabees* (15); but had formerly been fortified by king *Reboboam*, to keep the *Danites* in awe. And indeed it was, by its ſituation, a key of the kingdom on the ſide of *Idumea* likewiſe (16). The author of the 2d book of *Maccabees* (ch. xi. ver. 5.) places *Bethſora* within five furlongs diſtance from *Jeruſalem*: but that is a palpable error; for it could not then have been in the tribe of *Judah*: but *Euſebius* aſſures us, it was twenty miles from it, on the road to *Hebron* (17). And near it is ſaid to be the fountain

(6) *Num.* xiii. 22. (7) *Joſh.* xiv. 15. xv. 13. (8) *Maundrel. ubi ſup. Reland. Palæſt. illuſt. p.* 272, & *ſeqq.* 752, & *alib. paſſ.* (9) *Joſh.* x. 11, & *ſeq.* (10) *Loc. Hebraic.* (11) *Joſh.* v. 42. (12) *Ibid.* xxi. 13. 1 *Chron.* vi. 57. (13) 1 *Sam.* xvii. 1, & *ſeqq.* (14) *Loc. Hebr. ſub voc.* (15) *Joſh.* xv. 28. 1 *Macab.* v. *paſſ.* (16) *Jerom*, & *Euſeb. in voc.* (17) *Ubi ſup.*

of; *viz.* *Dan* and *Simeon*; beyond which were ſtill ſeated, along the ſea-coaſt, the antient *Philiſtines*, once maſters of the

in which *Philip* baptized the eunuch of queen *Candace* (18); which ſtands on ſo craggy an hill, as ſeems quite unfit for ſuch a ſcene; unleſs it hath been altered, ſince that time, for the worſe, which is far from improbable (19). However that be, on the top of the hill where *Bethzor* is ſuppoſed to have ſtood, there is now a village called *St. Philip*, probably in memory of that tranſaction. And we may farther obſerve, that though this part of *Judah* be called a deſert, or wilderneſs, it produces plenty of corn, wine, oil, *&c* (20).

Emmaus, in *Hebrew*, *Chammin*, from its hot and ſalutiferous waters, and famed for our Saviour's appearance to two of his diſciples, ſtood, as the evangeliſt there tells us, about ſixty furlongs, or eight miles, ſouth-weſt from *Jeruſalem* (21), and had a church, built on the ſpot where *Chriſt* manifeſted himſelf to the two diſconſolate travelers. *Joſephus* adds (22), that, after the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, *Titus Veſpaſian* left 800 of his ſoldiers in *Judea*, to whom he gave this town to dwell in; and agrees with St. *Luke* about the ſituation of the place. There was a ſecond city of the ſame name, and ſo called on account of its mineral hot waters, and ſince *Nicopolis*, which St. *Jerom* ſeems to have confounded with the former; tho' *Reland* hath fully proved them, from their different ſites and diſtances, to be two diſtinct towns, in the ſame tribe (23).

Tekoah, *Tecua*, ſituate on the ſide of an hill about nine miles from *Bethlehem*, between *Bethſora* and *Engaddi*. *Joſephus* ſays, it was not far from the caſtle of *Herodion*; and ſpeaks of the deſert lying between it and the *Dead Sea*, in which king *Jehoſhaphat* gave the *Moabites* a miraculous overthrow (24). Some modern travelers highly commend the noble proſpect of the town, both towards the *Dead Sea*, and the fertile plain and valleys about it; and, by the noble remains that are ſtill to be ſeen, conclude it to have been formerly a conſiderable city, tho' it now lies in confuſed ruinous heaps (25).

Engaddi, or *the fountain of the goat*, formerly *Hazazon Thamar*, or *city of palm-trees*, is ſituate on the top of an high and ſteep rock near the *Dead Sea*, ſurrounded with a territory much famed for the great quantities of palms, and other odoriferous trees that grow on it; though it be likewiſe often called a wilderneſs, on account of the mountains and woods

(18) *Acts* viii. 26, *& ſeqq. Vid. Jerom. Euſeb. in voc. & al. plur.* (19) *See Maundrel. ubi ſup. p.* 92. *Pocock. ubi ſup. p.* 45. (20) *Ibid.* (21) *Luke* xxiv. 13, *& ſeq.* (22) *De bell. l.* vii. *c.* 29. (23) *Ubi ſup. l.* ii. *c.* 6. *p.* 427, *& ſeqq.* (24) 2 *Chron.* xx. 20, *& ſeq. Joſeph. de bell. l.* v. *c.* 7. (25) *Nain. voyage de la terre ſainte, p.* 440. *Pocock. ubi ſup. p.* 41.

that

the whole, from the confines of *Phœnice*, on the north, to Philiſtine *cities.* thoſe of *Idumea* on the ſouth. The cities along this coaſt were

that ſurround the town. Both this of *Engaddi*, and that of *Tekoah*, laſt mentioned, are full of large caverns, ſome of which the reader may ſee deſcribed in the authors lately quoted; particularly, in the former, that to which *Lot* and his inceſtuous daughters retired, after the conflagration of *Sodom*; and that where *David* ſo generouſly ſpared the life of *Saul*, and only cut the ſkirt of his garment †. *Engaddi* ſtands about three or four miles eaſt of *Tekoah*, and a little farther off it ſtands a ſharp high hill, called, ſince, the mountain of the *Franks*, from its having been ſtoutly defended by a party of cruſadors, forty years after the loſs of *Jeruſalem*.

Ziph, from which the neighbouring deſert hath its name, ſtood on an high hill, about 8 miles eaſt of *Hebron*, according to St. *Jerom* (26), and was ſtill a conſiderable town in his time. *David* continued ſome time in the deſert of it, and it was from thence that he came into *Saul*'s tent in the night, and carried off his pitcher and lance (27). There was another town of the ſame name in this tribe, near *Maon* and mount *Carmel*, and mentioned by *Joſhua* in the ſame chapter with this (ver. 55.).

Maon, another ſtrong city, which gave name to the neighbouring wilderneſs, ſtood on a barren eminence, at a little diſtance to the ſouth-weſt of the *Dead Sea*. The hills about it were full of large caves and dens, in which *David* likewiſe harboured ſome time. About eight miles weſt of *Maon*, was the town of *Holon*, or *Olon*; and between thoſe two ſtood the hill *Carmel*, on which churliſh *Nabal* dwelt, and different from the other of that name formerly mentioned (28). It was on this mount that *Saul* ſet up a trophy; or, as ſome verſions render it, a triumphal arch, in memory of a ſignal victory over *Amalek* (29).

The laſt place worth notice, in this tribe, was, the famed fortreſs of *Maſſada*, built by *Judas Maccabeus*, and often mentioned by *Joſephus* as impregnable. It ſtood a few miles ſouth of *Engaddi*, and weſt of the *Dead Sea*, on an high craggy rock, inacceſſible on all ſides but one, and that very difficult and ſteep. We ſhall, in the ſequel, have occaſion to ſpeak of its famed ſiege by the *Romans*, which is, perhaps, one of the moſt remarkable in hiſtory. What was ſtill more worthy of notice in this place, was, that, notwithſtanding its dreadful ruggedneſs around, it was crowned with a fine ſpacious plain, fertile enough to ſupply the town with corn, fruit, &c. *Herod the Great*, obſerving its

† 1 *Sam.* xxiv. *paſſ.* (26) *Joſh.* xv. 24. *Vid. & Jerom, loc. Hebr. ſub voc.* (27) 1 *Sam.* xxiii. 14, *& ſeq.* xxvi. *paſſ.* (28) *Ibid.* xxv. 2, *& ſeq.* (29) *Ibid.* xv. 12.

ſtrength

were ſo ſtrong and populous, that the *Danites* could not preſently wreſt them from their brave inhabitants; but were forced to gain them by degrees, as they could, and at laſt to leave them in quiet poſſeſſion of ſix of the moſt conſiderable; *viz. Gath*, *Accaron*, *Aſhdod*, *Aſcalon*, *Gaza*, and *Majuma*; together with the territories belonging to them; whilſt they contented themſelves with thoſe which lay north of them, up to *Joppa*. And much the ſame were the *Simeonites* obliged to do in their lot, as we ſhall ſee under the next article; immediately after which, we ſhall give an account of the ſix *Philiſtine* cities above-mentioned, and thoſe two others that lay below them ſouthwards, on the ſame coaſt; *viz. Anthedon*, and *Rhinocolura*, &c [z].

Dan's boundaries.

THE lot of *Dan* was bounded on the north by *Ephraim*, on the weſt by the *Philiſtines* and the *Mediterranean*, on the ſouth by *Simeon*, and on the eaſt by *Judah* and *Benjamin*. Its greateſt length, from north to ſouth, did not exceed forty miles; and it was exceeding narrow on the north ſide, and not above twenty-five broad on the ſouth. But what it wanted in room, was, in a great meaſure, made up by the fertility of the ſoil, and the induſtry and bravery of its inhabitants; ſome of whom, rather than be confined within their narrow limits, ventured ſo far, as the city of *Laiſh*, in the utmoſt verge north of *Paleſtine*, after new ſettlements, as hath been lately hinted. As for the country, it abounded with corn, wine, oil, fruits, and all other neceſſaries. And here was the famed valley called *Nahal Eſcol*, or *of the grapes*; whence the ſpies, ſent by *Moſes*, brought ſuch noble ſpecimens of its fertility to the *Iſraelitiſh* camp [a]. *Dan* had, beſides, a good number of cities, within its ſmall extent; the chief of which were, *Joppa*, *Jamnia*, *Caſphin*, *Thimnah*, *Bethſhemeſh*, *Ajalon*, *Lachiſh*, *Modin*, *Eltek*, *Lebi*, *Gibbethon*, and *Zora* or *Sora* [b].

[z] Ibid. [a] Num. xiii. paſſ. [b] See RELAND, ubi ſup. p. 154, 371, & alib. JOSEPH. CELLAR. & al.

ſtrength and importance, greatly improved it with fortifications, and other edifices; particularly, with large ciſterns and reſervoirs, to receive the rain-water. He likewiſe ſtored it with all kinds of proviſions, in vaſt quantities, and built himſelf a ſtately palace in it, that, in caſe of any revolt, he might take refuge there. The walls were ſeven furlongs in compaſs, having corn, vines, and other fruits, growing both within and without them: and the hill, on which it ſtood, was called, by the *Romans*, *Collis Achillea* (30).

(30) *Joſeph. de bell. l.* vii. *c.* 28. 31, & *alib. paſſ.*

Of theſe, we ſhall deſcribe here only the two former, which were maritime ones, and refer the others to the margin (B).

JOPPA,

(B) *Caſphin* was a ſmall, but well-fortified town, ſeated on a ſmall lake about ſix miles eaſtward of *Jamnia*, and famed, in the time of the *Maccabitiſh* wars. About five or ſix miles ſouth of it, and weſt from *Dioſpolis*, on the road to *Eleutheropolis* (31), ſtood the *Levitical* city of *Gath-rimmon*, or *Gethrimmon*, given by the tribe of *Dan* to the family of *Coath* (32). Its name ſignifies the *preſs of pomgranates*, and it is likely they made ſome quantities of wine here from that noble fruit. *Bethſhemeſh*, another *Levitical* city, about ſix or ſeven miles ſouth of *Gath-rimmon*, and near the ſeacoaſt (33), is famed for being the place where the ark returned from the land of the *Philiſtines*; and much more for the dreadful puniſhment inflicted on its inhabitants for having dared to look into that ſacred ſymbol, and which we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew, in the ſequel, was nothing ſo great as ours, and other verſions, make it (34). There were ſeveral other cities of the ſame name, and no wonder; that word ſignifying *the houſe or temple of the ſun* every place that had ſuch a temple, affected to call it by that name, as the *Greeks* did by that of *Heliopolis*, which implies the ſame thing. *Ajalon* ſtood near the borders of *Judah*, and was given to the ſacerdotal family of *Coath* (35). There were four cities of that name; one in the tribe of *Benjamin*, about three miles eaſt from *Bethel* (36): a ſecond in that of *Ephraim*, two miles from *Shechem*, on the road to *Jeruſalem* (37): a third in the tribe of *Zebulun*, whoſe ſituation is uncertain; and the fourth in this of *Dan*, between *Timnah* and *Bethſhemeſh*, lately mentioned. This laſt is that of which *Joſhua* ſpake, when he bid the ſun ſtand ſtill in *Gibeon*, and the moon in the vale of *Ajalon* (38). *Lachiſh*, on the frontiers of *Judah*, and where *Sennacherib* laid ſiege when he ſent that haughty meſſage to *Hezekiah* (39), was ſtill a ſmall town, about ſeven miles ſouth from *Eleutheropolis*, in *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*'s time (40). *Modin*, famed for being the birth and burying-place of the *Maccabean* princes, was ſeated on an hill at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea. Their tombs, which were very magnificent, could be ſeen at ſuch a diſtance off at ſea, as to ſerve for a land-mark; and were ſtill ſtanding in St. *Jerom*'s time, not far from the city of *Dioſpolis*; but the town was dwindled into a village (41). *Lebi*, the place where *Samſon*

(31) *Jerom, loc. Hebr.* (32) *Joſh.* xxi. 23, & *ſeq.* (33) *Joſh.* xxi. 16. (34) 1 *Sam.* vi. 12. *Vid. Reland. ubi ſup. p.* 656. (35) *Joſh.* xix. 42. xxi. 24. (36) 2 *Chron.* xi. 10. (37) *Euſeb. loc. Hebr. ſub voc. Jerom ibid.* (38) *Joſh.* x. 12. (39) *Ibid.* xv. 39. 2 *Kings* xviii. 17. (40) *Loc. Hebr.* (41) *Vid.* 1 *Maccab.* ii. 15. ix. 19. xiii. 29. *Joſeph. Euſeb. Jerom, &c.*

JOPPA, *Japha*, now *Jaffa*, once a conſiderable ſeaport on the *Mediterranean*, and the only one which the *Jews* had on that ſea, was ſeated on an high ſpacious hill, which commanded a full proſpect of the ſea on one ſide, and of a delightful fertile country on the other. It had the town of *Jamnia* on the ſouth, *Cæſarea-Palæſtina* on the north, and *Rama* or *Ramula* on the eaſt; and is often mentioned, both in the Old and New Teſtament. But this fine city was ſo intirely ruined, during the holy war, that it had ſcarcely any buildings left ſtanding but the old caſtle, which is ſituate on an eminence above it, and another near the ſea-ſide. At preſent the town is rebuilt towards the ſea, with good ſtone houſes; and drives a conſiderable trade, particularly, in the *Rama* and *Jeruſalem* ſoap. There are likewiſe great quantities of rice, corn, and other commodities, brought thither from *Egypt*, and exported thence into other countries. The misfortune is, that the port hath been formerly ſo marred, that no ſhips of burden can come into it, but are obliged to ride on the road before it; which is, however, ſafe, and convenient enough. On the weſt ſide of the haven is a charming ſpring, which ſupplies the town, and refreſhes all the paſſengers that go and come by it. The reader may ſee a farther account of this town in Sir *Paul Lucas*, who was there; and in the authors quoted in the margin [c]. It is ſuppoſed to have been the ſcene of the famed adventure of *Perſeus* and *Andromeda* [d]; and St. *Jerom* tells us, there were ſtill to be ſeen, in his time, ſome of the links of the chain with which the latter was faſtened to the rock [e]:

Joppa. *Its traffic, port, &c.*

[c] Idem ibid. [d] STEPH. de urb. ſub Joppe. [e] In Jonæ i. & epitaph. Paul.

ſlew 1000 *Philiſtines* with the jaw-bone of an aſs, was near *Eltek*, or *Eltaka*, a ſacerdotal city, given to the ſons of *Coath* (42). *Gibbethon*, or *Gabbathon*, probably the ſame with *Gabbatha*, a *Levitical* city on the frontiers of *Judah*, twelve miles from *Eleutheropolis*, where they ſhewed the tomb of the prophet *Habakkuk* (43). Laſtly, the famed city of *Zorah*, or *Sorah*, the birth-place of *Samſon* (44), which ſtood on a ſpacious plain near the frontiers of *Dan* and *Judah*, ten miles from *Eleutheropolis*, on the road to *Nicopolis* (45); near which was the eunuchs fountain, and the valley of *Eſhcol*, lately mentioned.

(42) *Joſh.* xix. 44. xxi. 23. *Judg.* xv. 14, & *ſeq.* (43) *Euſeb. S. Jerom, ubi ſup. Joſh.* xix. 44. (44) *Judg.* xiii. 2, & *ſeq.* (45) *Euſeb. ſub voc.*

though it is more likely, that this fabulous ſtory took its riſe from the prophet *Jonah*'s imbarking at this place, and being ſwallowed up by a whale, or, as the *Hebrew* imports, a ſea-monſter, or monſtrous large fiſh [f].

Jamnia. JAMNIA, *Jamni*, *Jamnes*, *Jemne*, or *Jemmais*, ſituate on the ſame coaſt, between *Joppa* and *Azotus*, and in a pleaſant champaign country, is not mentioned by any of thoſe names in the *Hebrew* text; but we meet with that of *Jabne* among thoſe which king *Uzziah* took from the *Philiſtines* [g], which is, without doubt, the very ſame, it ſtanding on the ſame coaſt with the reſt. *Joſephus* tells us, it was given from the tribe of *Judah* to that of *Dan* [h]: and the ſecond book of *Maccabees*, which makes it a conſiderable town, places it about 240 furlongs weſt of *Jeruſalem* [i]. It was made an epiſcopal ſee under that of *Cæſarea*, in the early times of Chriſtianity [k], but at preſent hath nothing worth our farther notice: we ſhall therefore paſs into the next and laſt canton of *Paleſtine*; viz.

The tribe of Simeon.

Tribe of Simeon. THIS tribe was confined to a very ſmall lot on the moſt ſouthern corner of *Judea*; being bounded by *Dan* on the north; the little river *Sichor* on the ſouth, which parted it from *Idumea*; by *Judah* on the eaſt, and by a ſmall neck of land, towards the *Mediterranean*, on the weſt. The greateſt part of it was ſo mountainous, ſandy, and barren, eſpecially that which lay on the ſouth ſide of the river *Bezor*, which ran acroſs it, and on the north of which they had but a very narrow ſlip of fertile land; and was, moreover, ſo haraſſed by the *Philiſtines* on one ſide, and the *Idumeans* on the other; that, finding neither room and ſuſtenance ſufficient, nor any quietneſs in their inheritance, they were obliged to ſeek their fortune among other tribes; from the very beginning hiring themſelves out to aſſiſt their brethren in the conqueſt of their lots, for the ſake of having ſome ſmall ſhare allotted to them; whilſt others diſperſed themſelves among every tribe, where, it ſeems, they ſerved as ſcribes, notaries, ſchoolmaſters, *&c.* ſo truly was their father *Jacob*'s curſe verified on them, as well

Diſperſed out of their lot.

[f] JOSEPH. de bell. l. iii. c. 15. & al. mult. [g] 2 Chron. xxvi. 6. [h] Ant. l. v. c. 1. [i] Ch. xii. ver. 9. [k] Notit. patriarch. Hieroſol. & alib.

as.

as on the tribe of *Levi* (C), on account of their bloody maſſacre of the *Shechemites: Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their revenge, for it was inhuman: I will diſperſe them in* Jacob, *and ſcatter them in* Iſrael [l]. Their towns were few, and none of them very conſiderable, but rather anſwerable to the thinneſs and poverty of the inhabitants. The chief of them were, *Ziklag* or *Siceleg*, *Hain* or *Aen*, *Hormah*, *Debir*, antiently *Kirjath-ſepher*, *Gerar*, alias *Gezarah*, *Beerſheba*, *Anthedon*, and *Rhinocolura* [m]: the two laſt, which lay near the ſea-coaſts, were, indeed, the moſt conſiderable; but it is a queſtion, whether the *Simeonites* ever got poſſeſſion of either, if they were then in being. However that be, the reader may ſee the former ſeven deſcribed, with the reſt, in the following note (D). *Few towns.*

As

[l] Gen. xlix. 5, & ſeq. [m] Vid. RELAND. ubi ſup. p. 151, 609, & alib.

(C) As the *Simeonites* were forced to diſperſe themſelves among the other tribes, for want of room and ſuſtenance, ſo were the *Levites*; they being debarred from having any lot or inheritance among the reſt, and obliged to live on the tythes and offerings of the other tribes (46). They, however, got their ſentence, in ſome meaſure, mitigated, by the extraordinary zeal they ſhewed againſt the idolatrous rearers of the golden calf in *Horeb*; and had afterwards a number of cities and territories allotted to them (47), which were a kind of places of refuge, of which more hereafter. But, upon the whole, as they were appointed the keepers of the *Jewiſh* religion, and inſtructors of the people, providence (48) ſo ordered their lot, that their temporal welfare ſhould riſe or fall, according to the pains they took in keeping up the ſpirit of religion among the other tribes. And the *Jewiſh* hiſtory gives us many ſignal inſtances in which their ſhameful remiſſneſs, in this reſpect, hath been always attended with extreme want and poverty (49).

(D) *Ziklag*, by the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* called *Siceleg*, given by *Achiſh* to king *David*, during his abode among the *Philiſtines* (50), was made a ſtrong fortreſs by him, ſoon after he came to the crown. It fell, at firſt, to the lot of *Simeon* (51), and is, by *Euſebius*, placed in the moſt ſouthern frontier of the land of *Canaan* (52). *Hain*, *Ain*, *Aen*, was given by *Judah* to *Simeon*, who aſſiſted him in the conqueſt of his lot (53). There were

(46) *Num.* xviii. 24, *& ſeq. alib. paſſ.* (47) *Ibid.* ii. *paſſ. Malach.* ii. 7. *& alib. paſſ.* (48) *Num.* xxxv. 1, *& ſeq. Joſh.* xx. 7, *& ſeq.* xxi. 19, *& ſeq.* (49) 1 *Sam.* ii. 36. *Mic.* iii. 11, *& alib.* (50) 1 *Sam.* xvii. 6, *& ſeq.* (51) *Joſh.* xix. 5. (52) *Loc. Hebr. ſub Siceleg.* (53) *Conf. Joſh.* xv. 32. *Judg.* i. 3.

As for thoſe of *Antheàn* and *Rhinocolura*, they will better come, in order, after the ſix *Philiſtine* ones, which lay on the ſame coaſt: ſo that we have now finiſhed our courſe through all the twelve tribes, and have nothing left to ſpeak of but the five *Philiſtine* ſatrapies, and the two towns above-mentioned, before we come to the geography

many towns of that name, it ſignifying *a fountain*; on which account they were diſtinguiſhed by the addition of ſome other; as *Ain ſhemeſh*, *Ain-gannim*, &c. *Euſebius* calls this, we are ſpeaking of, *Beth-ain*, and *Beth anin*; and places it about 4 miles from *Hebron* (54). *Hormah*, a royal city, ſo called by *Joſhua*, who vowed it to deſtruction; but which was known before by the name of *Sephaat* (55), and ſtood in the kingdom of *Arad* (56), but fell to the tribe of *Simeon* on the diviſion of the land (57). *Debir*, *Dabir*, antiently *Kirjath-ſepher*, or *the city of books*, and thence ſuppoſed an univerſity, was inhabited by a gigantic race called *Anakim*, from *Anak*, their progenitor †. It ſtood at ſome ſmall diſtance from *Hebron*, and fell to the lot of *Judah* (58), who took it, and put its monarch to death, and gave it with his own daughter to the brave *Othniel*, who was one of the firſt that mounted the breach (59). *Gerar*, or *Gezarah*, the royal reſidence of the kings of that name, ſurnamed *Abimelech*, and famed for their juſtice, and generous hoſpitality to *Abraham* and *Iſaac* (60); at which time it was the boundary of the *Canaanites*; being ſituate on the river *Bezor*, about ſeven miles ſouth-weſt of *Debir*, and ſix eaſt of *Beerſheba* (61). This laſt, called alſo *Berſabe* and *Barſheba*, had its name from the well on which *Abraham* and *Iſaac* ratified their alliance, by an oath, with *Abimelech* above-named (62). The city was ſituate on the ſouthermoſt verge of all *Judea*, as *Dan* was on the moſt northern; from which came the proverb, *From* Dan *to* Beerſheba (63). St. *Jerom* and *Euſebius* tell us, that it had a *Roman* gariſon in their time. At preſent it is a poor village, beyond which lies a large, ſandy, and barren deſert, altogether uninhabited, except towards the ſea-coaſt; on which ſtand the two famed cities of *Antheàn* and *Rhinocolura*, above-mentioned. *Beerſheba* was given by *Judah* to the *Simeonites* (64), and ſtood about twenty miles ſouth of *Hebron*, and ſeven weſt of *Gerar*, and both of them about three days journey from *Jeruſalem* (65). Our modern maps now place them about 33 miles ſouth-weſt of that metropolis.

(54) *Ubi ſup. ſub Bethanim.* (55) *Judg.* i. 17. (56) *Num.* xxi. 1, & *ſeq.* (57) *Joſh.* xv. 30. † *Joſh.* xiv. 15. xv. 14, & *ſeq. Num.* xiii. 22. (58) *Joſh.* x. 38, & *ſeq.* xii. 13. (59) *Judg.* i. 1, & *ſeq.* (60) *Gen.* xx. *paſſ.* xxvi. *paſſ.* (61) *Jerom & Euſeb. loc. Hebr. ſub voc.* (62) *Gen. ubi ſup.* (63) 2 *Sam.* xvii. 11, & *ſeq.* (64) *Conf. Joſh.* xv. 28. & xix. 2. (65) *Tradit. in Geneſ.*

of

of thoſe nations that inhabited round the *Iſraelitiſh* provinces we have now deſcribed.

The five Philiſtine *ſatrapies deſcribed.*

THESE, we have already hinted, were ſituate along the *Mediterranean*-coaſt, between that and the tribes of *Simeon*, *Dan*, and part of *Benjamin*; and extending from the ſeaport of *Jamnia* to the mouth of the river *Bezor*. How far their territories extended towards the inland, is not eaſy to gueſs; but, upon the whole, it appears, they were confined within very narrow limits: for though they have been able to raiſe very conſiderable armies againſt the *Iſraelites*, yet the far greater part of them ſeem to have conſiſted of auxiliaries from *Edom*, or *Idumea*. We have given an account of thoſe brave people, in a former chapter; and ſhall refer our readers, for every particular relating to them, except the geography of their country, which was reſerved for this. Their names were as follow, as they lay from north to ſouth. *The five Philiſtine ſatrapies.*

1. GATH; 2. *Accaron*, or *Ecron*; 3. *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*; 4. *Aſcalon*; and 5. *Gaza*, with its ſeaport, called *Portus Gazæ*, and *Majuma*: of all which we can only ſay, in general, that they appear to have been ſtrong, rich, and populous; and to have had each of them ſome conſiderable towns and villages under them; all of them ſituate, as far as can be gathered from the ſacred records, in fertile territories, and well cultivated by the induſtrious inhabitants.

1. GATH, or *Geth*, the birth-place of the famed *Goliah* [n], was firſt conquered by *David* (E), fortified by his grandſon *Rehoboam* [o], and retaken by *Uzziah* and *Hezekiah* [p]. It ſtood about five or ſix miles ſouth of *Jamnia*, about fourteen ſouth of *Joppa*, and thirty-two weſt of *Je-* Gath.

[n] 1 Sam. vi. 17. xvii. 4, & ſeq. [o] 2 Sam. viii. 1, & ſeq. 2 Chron. xi. 8. [p] Ibid. xxvi. 6. Vid. & JOSEPH. antiq. l. ix. c. 11, & ſeq. Vid. & RELAND. l. iii. p. 789, & ſeq.

(E) The text there ſays only, that *David* took *Metheg* and *Ammah* out of the hands of the *Philiſtines*; and the margin, the bridle of *Ammah*: but the original imports, *Metheg* and her mother. And the book of *Chronicles* (66) ſufficiently explains the meaning, by ſaying, that he took *Gath* and her daughters; that is, the towns under it. So that *Gath* was the mother, or capital; and they the daughters, or ſubordinate.

(66) 1 *Chron.* xviii. 1.

ruſalem; under the 35th degree of eaſt longitude, and 31 degrees 56 minutes of north latitude (F). It recovered its liberty and luſtre in the time of the prophets *Amos* and *Micah*[q], but was afterwards demoliſhed by *Hazael* king of *Syria*; ſince which it became of but little conſideration, till the time of the holy war; when *Fulk*, king of *Jeruſalem*, built a caſtle on its ruins[r].

2. EKRON, or *Accaron*, ſituate about ten miles ſouth of *Gath* (G), fell, at firſt, to the lot of *Judah*, and was thence given

q Amos vi. 2. Mic. i. 10, & ſeq. and MAUNDRELL.

r See the holy war,

(F) Some authors have committed an egregious miſtake, in making *Gath* the moſt ſouthern, and *Accaron* the moſt northern of the *Philiſtine* cities (67), as if theſe two had been the two boundaries of their dominions; whereas theſe two cities are not above five miles aſunder, and *Gaza* is the laſt of the five ſatrapies ſouth. And *Joſephus* expreſſes himſelf plainly enough, when he ſays (68), that *Hezekiah* took all the *Philiſtine* cities from *Gaza* to *Gath*. St. *Jerom* ſeems to have placed it much farther ſouth, when he ſays, it ſtood on the road from *Gaza* to *Eleutheropolis*. Some miſtake muſt have therefore crept into his writings, or elſe he muſt mean another *Gath*; there being many more, as hath been ſhewn already, of that name, which ſignifies, in the *Hebrew*, a *wine-preſs*. We find the name of *Gittaim* in ſome other places (69), which is the dual number of *Gath*, or the plural, if we exclude the points, and read it *Gitthim*: but as there is nothing in the conteſt to lead us to think them the ſame with this, or any other, we ſhall ſay no more about them. Several more of the name of *Geth*, or *Gath*, are mentioned in *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*, whoſe ſituation, according to them, plainly ſhews them to have been different places from this, and from each other, beſides thoſe which had an adjunct to diſtinguiſh them; ſuch as *Gath-epher*, *Gath-rimmon*, &c (70). We read of one of them, in particular, againſt which the *Ephraimites*, whilſt yet in *Egypt*, made an incurſion, and were all cut off (71). From which we may ſuppoſe this *Gath* to have been much more ſouth from, and nearer to *Egypt* than this maritime one of the *Philiſtines*; and may, probably, be that which is mentioned above, as the ſouthern border of the *Philiſtines*.

(G) The reader may ſee, by what was ſaid in the laſt note, that ſome have placed this city north of *Gath*: and the author

(67) *Calmet in voc. Geth.* (68) *Antiq. l.* ix. *c.* 13. (69) 2 *Sam.* iv. 3. *Nehem.* xi. 33. (70) *Onomaſtic. in voc. Geth.* (71) 1 *Chron.* vii. 20, *& ſeq.*

of

given to the tribe of *Dan*[s]; and appears to have been a very ſtrong conſiderable city: and it is a queſtion, whether it ever was at all maſtered by either of thoſe two tribes. For we find, even as early as the time of *Samuel*, the ſatraps of *Ekron* were the firſt of the five who propoſed the ſending back the ark[t]. Some geographers have confounded this city with *Straton*'s tower, where *Herod* afterwards built *Cæſarea-Paleſtina*[u]; whereas this laſt ſtood above forty miles north of it; *viz.* in the half-tribe of *Manaſſeh*, where we have, accordingly, placed it. *Accaron*, according to our lateſt maps, ſtood in 31 deg. 55 min. lat. and 34 deg. 57 min. eaſt lon. and about 34 miles weſt from *Jeruſalem*.

3. AZOTH, *Aſhdod*, or *Azotus*, was ſituate about four- Azoth.
teen or fifteen miles ſouth of *Ekron*, between that and *Aſcalon*, and was a celebrated ſeaport on the *Mediterranean*. It fell, at firſt, to the lot of *Judah*[w], but continued a conſiderable time in the hands of its antient owners: and it was in this city that the idol *Dagon* fell in pieces before the ark[x]. And ſo ſtrong a place it was, if we may believe *Herodotus*[y], that it ſuſtained a ſiege of twenty-nine years, the longeſt that ever was heard of, under *Pſammitichus*, the then powerful king of *Egypt*. But they could not make

[s] Conf. Joſh. xv. 45. xix. 43. [t] 1 Sam. v. 10, & ſeq.
[u] JEROM. com. in Amos vi. 2, & alib. [w] Joſh. xv. 47.
[x] 1 Sam. v. 2, & ſeq. [y] L. ii. c. 157.

of the book of *Samuel* (72) ſeems to confirm it, who ſays, that the *Philiſtines* were forced to reſtore all the cities from *Ekron* unto *Gath*. But as we have there ſettled the latter from *Joſephus*, and other authorities, on the northern ſide of the former, it is not improbable, that ſome literal error hath crept into the text of *Samuel*; and that it ſhould be written from *Ekron* unto *Gaza*; which, as will be ſeen in the ſequel, was, indeed, the moſt ſouthern border: whereas we do not read of any cities between *Gath* and *Ekron*, but only of ſome towns and villages under their juriſdiction, which can hardly be the meaning of the text. *Reland*, the moſt accurate of all (73), as well as *Cellarius* (74), ſeem to leave it undetermined, which lay moſt to the north *Gath* or *Ekron*. Under ſuch uncertainty we have, with the generality of authors, followed the order in which St. *Jerom* hath placed them; *viz.* from ſouth to north, *Gaza*, *Aſcalon*, *Azoth*, *Accaron*, and *Gath* (75).

(72) *Ch.* vii. 14. (73) *Ubi ſup. l.* iii. *p.* 745, *& ſeq.* (74) *Geog. antiq. l.* iii. *c.* 13. *p.* 363, *& ſeq.* (75) *Com. in Amos* vi. 2. *& Obad. ver.* 19.

ſuch

ſuch a reſiſtance againſt the *Maccabees*, who took and burnt both city and temple, and with them about eight thouſand men [z].

Aſcalon. 4. ASCALON, another maritime town and ſatrapy, about eight or nine miles ſouth of *Aſhdod*, and between it and *Gaza*, was eſteemed the ſtrongeſt of all on the *Philiſtine* coaſt; notwithſtanding which, the tribe of *Judah*, to whoſe lot it fell, made themſelves maſters of it ſoon after the death of *Joſhua* [a]. *Joſephus* places it about 320 furlongs weſt of *Jeruſalem* [b]. We have had occaſion to ſpeak of it in the lot of *Judah*. It is ſtill in being, though dwindled into a village. *Origen* mentions, in his time, ſome famed wells near it, ſaid to have been dug by *Abraham* [c]; *Lake of* and ſome profane authors ſpeak of a ſmall lake full of fiſhes Derceto. conſecrated to the goddeſs *Derceto* [d]; on which account, the *Aſcalonians* forbore to eat them; as they did, alſo, pigeons, becauſe ſuppoſed to belong likewiſe to her. This city was made an epiſcopal ſee from the earlieſt ages of Chriſtianity, and, during the holy war, had been adorned with many ſtately edifices, all which have been ruined ſince, by the *Saracens* and *Turks* [e]. It was the native place of *Herod the Great*, who was thence ſurnamed *Aſcalonites* [f]; and ſtands in 31 deg. 16 min. lat. and 34 deg. 10 min. eaſt long.

Gaza. THE laſt ſatrapy was *Gaza*, about fifteen miles ſouth of *Aſcalon*, and about four or five north of the mouth of the river *Bezor*, and at a ſmall diſtance from the *Mediterranean*. It was ſituate on an eminence ſurrounded with the moſt beautiful and fertile valleys, watered by the abovementioned river, and a number of other ſprings; and, at a farther diſtance, incompaſſed on the inland ſide with hills, all planted with variety of fine fruit-trees. The city itſelf was ſtrong, both by its ſituation, and by the ſtout walls, and ſtately towers, that ſurrounded it, and built after the *Philiſtine* manner. It was, however, taken by *Caleb*, then chief of the tribe of *Judah* [g]; but ſoon after regained by the antient inhabitants, and held by them till *Samſon* carried off the gates of it, in the night [h]. It often ſhifted hands, and paſſed from the *Jews* to the *Chaldeans*, *Perſians*, and *Egyptians*, till it was deſtroyed by

[z] 1 Maccab. x. 83, & ſeq. [a] Judg. i. 18. [b] De bell. l. iii. c. 1. [c] Cont. Celſ. l. iii. Vid. & EUSEB. onomaſt. ſub voc. Φρέαρ. [d] DIOD. SIC. l. i. LUCIAN. de dea Syr. PHILO ap. Euſeb. de præpar. l. viii. & al. [e] Voy. de la terre ſaint. l. iv. c. 22. [f] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiv. c. 27. [g] Judg. i. 18. [h] Ibid. xvi. 3, & ſeqq.

Alexander

Alexander the Great [i], and a ſecond time by the brave *Maccabees* [k]; after which we hear no more of it till St. *Luke* ſpeaks of it as a ruinated place [l] (H). The diſtance of it from the ſea is variouſly ſettled by geographers, ſome makeing it a ſeaport city, miſtaking it for *New Gaza*, or *Majuma*; others placing it ſome miles from it. *Arrian* gives it only twenty furlongs, or two miles and an half, from it; and not twenty miles, as *Calmet* hath done, by miſtake. The former adds, that the acceſs to it was very difficult, by reaſon of the ſandy grounds about it on one ſide, and the wet and dirt on that next the ſea. In other reſpects he deſcribes it much after the ſame manner we have done above, both with reſpect to its ſtrength and ſituation. Farther particulars relating to its antient ſtate, and the difference between that and the *New*, the reader may ſee in the authors quoted in the margin [m].

As to its preſent ſtate, though it be far inferior, in all reſpects, to its antient; yet it retains ſo many monuments of its former grandeur, as may well be worth a curious reader's notice. It ſtands on the ſame ſpot with the *Old*, that is, between two and three miles from the ſea, but in a much ſmaller compaſs; and is almoſt full of the nobleſt pieces of antiquity, on all ſides: ſuch as ſome rows of the moſt ſtately marble columns, with all their ornaments, ſome noble burying-places, with all the tombs of the ſame ſtone, finely wrought. Among theſe, is one, in particular, ſurrounded with an high wall, and belonging now to ſome *Turkiſh* family, with many noble tombs, of large marble ſtones, taken, probably, from the ruins of other edifices, which, Mr. *Thevenot* tells us, are here in great number.

[i] Vid. PLUTARCH. in Alexand. JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiii. c. 21, & al. [k] 1 Maccab. xi. 61. xiii. 43. [l] Acts viii. 26. [m] De exped. Alexan. l. ii. p. 150. [n] Vid. RELAND. ubi ſup. l. ii. p. 436. 461. 509, & alib. CELLAR. ubi ſup. l. iii. c. 13, p. 368. CALMET, ſub voc. LA MARTINIERE, & al.

(H) We are, indeed, told by *Joſephus*, that it was rebuilt by *Gabinius*, during his wars with the *Maccabees* (76); and, if ſo, it muſt have been deſtroyed again. But it is more likely, that that which he there mentions, adding elſewhere that it was afterwards given by the emperor *Auguſtus* to *Herod the Great*, was not the *Old*, but *New Gaza*, or, as it was antiently called, *Majuma*; which made, then, a great figure; as will be ſeen under the next article.

(76) *Ant. l.* xv *c.* 11.

Near

Near the city ſtands a round caſtle, flanked with four ſquare towers, and in good repair: it takes in a ſmall circuit, but is fenced with two ſtout iron gates, and other works. Over-againſt it is the ſeraglio, where the baſhas wives, and their attendants, are kept; and a little above it are the remains of an old *Roman* caſtle, the materials of which are ſtill ſo firm, that the hammer can make no impreſſion on them. The *Greeks* have here an handſome church, the roof of which is large, and bold, ſupported by two rows of ſtately marble pillars, of the *Corinthian* order. That of the *Armenians* is little inferior to it; where they ſhew you the ſpot where ſtood the antient temple which *Samſon* pulled down over his head, and which is now reduced to an heap of rubbiſh. The caſtle is the reſidence of the ſangiac, or governor, who hath about three hundred towns, or villages, under him [o]. The territory about it is ſtill pleaſant and delightful; but beyond it, quite to the river of *Egypt*, the ground is more barren; and, inſtead of the tribes of *Simeon* and *Dan*, is inhabited by a breed of wild *Arabs*, who are under no regular government, and always wandering [p].

Majuma, or New Gaza.

MAJUMA, or *New Gaza*, was the antient ſeaport to the former, and a place of ſome note on that account, but much more ſo in the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, who gave it the name of *Conſtantia*, from his ſon *Conſtantius*, and endowed it with many ſingular privileges, of which it was afterwards ſtripped by *Julian* the apoſtate, out of hatred to that pious emperor (I). *Majuma* ſtood near the mouth of the river *Bezor*, about ten miles ſouth of *Aſca-*

[o] THEVENOT ubi ſup. part ii. c. 36. [p] See POCOCK. ubi ſup. vol. i. p. 18.

(I) We are told, that it was then not only the port and dock, but, likewiſe, the arſenal of *Old Gaza:* by which one may conclude, that the latter had been rebuilt ſince St. *Luke*'s time. And it was, it ſeems, ſo over-run with idolatry, that *Conſtantine*, who would not have his new *Conſtantia* to be dependent upon ſo heatheniſh a city, made it free and independent: and this proved the true and only motive for which that apoſtate ſucceſſor deprived it of its freedom, and ſubjected it again to *Old Gaza*, at leaſt ſo far as the temporal; for, as to its eccleſiaſtical ſtate it continued under its own biſhop and clergy, and kept its epiſcopal territory uninfringed, and diſtinct from that of the old city (77).

(77) *Fleury eccl. hiſt. ſub an.* 362.

lon,

lon, and about as many north-weſt of *Anthedon*; in 31 deg. 41 min. lat. and 34 deg. 50 min. eaſt longit. It hath ſtill ſome curious antiquities remaining; but it is not eaſy to ſay whether they belonged originally to *New* or *Old Gaza* [q].

Anthedon.

SOUTH of *Majuma* ſtood the two maritime cities lately mentioned, of *Anthedon* and *Rhinocolura*, the only two we have to ſpeak of under this article. The former was a ſmall ſeaport on the *Mediterranean*, but deſtroyed by *Alexander Janneus*, one of the *Maccabitiſh* monarchs, and ſince rebuilt by *Herod*, and called, by him, *Agrippias*, in honour of his ſtedfaſt friend *Agrippa*, a great favourite of *Auguſtus* [r]. It ſtood between *Gaza* on the north, and *Rhinocolura* on the ſouth; about fifteen miles from the former, and twenty from the latter [s].

Rhinocolura.

RHINOCOLURA, or, as others, though improperly, write it, *Rhinocorura*, was the laſt city on this coaſt, being ſeated on the northern ſide of the river of *Egypt*, which parted that kingdom from the tribe of *Simeon*. There are various ſentiments concerning its founders, and the occaſion of its name, which the reader may ſee in the margin (K).

It

[q] See LA MARTINIERE, ſub Gaza. [r] JOSEPH. antiq. l. xiii. c. 21. [s] Vid. RELAND. ubi ſup. l. ii. p. 439. 460, & alib. CELLAR. l. iii. c. 13.

(K) The *Greek* word properly ſignifies *ſlit noſtrils*: and the account that is given, both of the city, and name, is as follows: That a numerous gang of *banditti*, which had, for a long time, infeſted the *Perſian* dominions, were, at length, caught, and ſent, with their noſtrils ſlit, into this deſert place by one of its monarchs (ſuppoſed *Cambyſes*), where they built this city, which was, from them, ſtigmatized with that name (78). Another author (79) ſays, it was *Attiſarus*, king of *Ethiopia*, who made thoſe *banditti* undergo that puniſhment; but that account is generally ſuſpected as fabulous.

There has been, likewiſe, no ſmall diſpute about the river near which it is ſituate; ſome taking it to be that of *Bezor*, others the torrent of the wilderneſs mentioned in the ſacred books (80), and ſome the river of *Egypt*, mentioned by others (81). Dr. *Pococke*, who calls it a rivulet, ſeems confident, that it is that which is meant by the river and torrent of *Egypt* mentioned in thoſe inſpired writings (82); whereas Dr. *Shaw* ſeems to have fully confirmed the common opinion

(78) *Strab. l.* xvi *Seneca de gra. l.* iii. *c.* 20. (79) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. *c.* 6. (80) *Joſh.* xv. 4. 47. *Iſa.* xxviii. 12. (81) 1 *Sam.* xxx. 9, 10. 21. *Amos* vi. 14, *& alib. De his vid. Reland, Calmet, Cellar. & al.* (82) *Ubi ſup. vol.* i. *p.* 18.

of

It was likewiſe indifferently placed, by antient writers, in *Paleſtine*, *Syria*, or even in *Egypt*; having, at different times, belonged to them all[t]: but what name it was called by whilſt under the *Jews*, or, indeed, till the fabulous *Greeks* gave it the above-mentioned, is no-where to be found. It became a very early biſhopric under the metropolitan of *Peluſium* in *Egypt*, and, ſince then, a ſtrong fortreſs, during the holy war, though it changed its name into that of *Pharamica*, and was of ſingular uſe to prevent the *Turkiſh* auxiliaries from coming out of *Egypt* into *Paleſtine*. It is ſince gone to decay, and is now an inconſiderable place, and the territory about it a mere wilderneſs: and with that we now cloſe the geography of *Paleſtine* (L).

It

[t] Vid. HIERON. in Iſa. xix. & xxvii.

of the moderns, that, by the river of *Egypt*, is meant the *Nile* (83); which was far enough from this town: and furthermore, that there was no river running by it; which is, indeed, what Mr. *Reland* hath ſhewn before, from *Diodorus*, and other authorities (84). However, that there was a river called the river of *Egypt*, which divided *Paleſtine* from *Egypt*, and emptied itſelf into the *Mediterranean*, ſeems evident, from the places quoted above out of *Joſhua*, and other ſacred authors, whether *Rhinocolura* was ſeated near, or at a diſtance from it. There was an old tradition, on what foundation is hard to gueſs, that this was the place where *Noah* divided the world between his three ſons (85). And we read of the city of *Flaccidia*, in the neighbourhood of it, famed for the long retreat of St. *Hilarion*, a celebrated hermit (86).

(L) It will not be amiſs to mention here two cities more, placed, by geographers, along this coaſt; and, by ſome, between *Gaza* and *Rhinocolura*; and, by others, between this and *Egypt*; *viz.* *Laris* or *Lariſſa*, and *Raphia*. The former, if we may believe *Thevenot* and *Baudrand*, was a city of *Idumea*, ſo called from the mount of that name, and the ſame with the modern mount *Caſius*, and ſituate about twelve leagues ſouth from *Gaza*. Off this place *Pompey* received his death, and his ſepulchre in it; the former by the command of the treacherous king of *Egypt*, and the latter from a generous private ſoldier. Here the emperor *Adrian* afterwards erected a ſtately monument in memory of that brave and unfortunate general. *Baldwin*, the firſt king of *Jeruſalem*, likewiſe, died here, *Anno* 1187 (87). Mr. *Sandys*, who calls it *Ariſſæ*, places it near the frontiers of

(83) *Supplement to his travels*, *p.* 21. & 32, & *ſeq.* (84) *L.* iii. *p.* 970, & *ſeq.* (85) *Epiphan. anacrat. ceroxic. paſc. p.* 26. & *ſeq.* (86) *Hieron. in vit. Hilar.* (87) *Vid. La Roc. inter ſub Lariſſe.*

Judea,

It remains now, that we ſpeak of thoſe few nations that were ſeated round about it, and were, though moſt of them of the ſeed or kindred of *Abraham*, at perpetual war with the *Jews*: ſuch as were the *Iſhmaelites*, *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, *Amalekites*, &c. whoſe hiſtory we have given in ſome of the foregoing chapters, and in deſcribing whoſe ſeveral countries we ſhall not now rank them according to their dignity, with reſpect to elderſhip, or eminence, but take them as in courſe they lie in our way round thoſe of the *Iſraelites*; beginning with *Idumea*, as the neareſt to *Judah*, *Simeon*, and the *Philiſtines*, laſt deſcribed.

Edom, *or* Idumea.

Land of Edom, *or* Idumea.

THIS country lay ſouth of *Paleſtine*, and was part of *Arabia Petrea*; having *Judea* on the north; *Egypt*, and a branch of the *Red Sea*, on the weſt; the reſt of *Arabia Petrea* on the ſouth; and the deſert of *Arabia* on the eaſt. It lay moſtly under the 30th degree of latitude, and 34th

Judea, about two miles from the ſea, and three miles ſouth from *Gaza*; but it is now only a poor town, defended by an old caſtle, and a gariſon of about an hundred men. Dr. *Pococke* places a gulf of the ſame name near it, in his map of *Egypt*, and juſt above it the city of *Raphia*.

This laſt became a celebrated place in the times of the *Maccabees*, but is not mentioned by that name in the *Hebrew* books: whence a learned modern (88) ſuppoſes it to be the city of *Gath*, which belong'd to the *rephaim*, or *giants* (89); whence it might derive the name of *Rephia*, or *Raphia*. But, if that be the caſe, it muſt have been ſituate much farther north; whereas moſt authors place it ſouth of *Gaza*, and between that and *Egypt*. And *Joſephus* (90) and *Polybius* (91) mention it as the very firſt city of *Syria*, in coming from *Egypt*. However that be, the firſt time we read of *Raphia* in the *Jewiſh* books is, where that famed victory is mentioned which *Ptolemy Philopator* gained over *Antiochus the Great*, king of *Syria*, near it (91). The next we hear of it is its being taken by *Alexander Janneus*, and almoſt deſtroyed by the wars, till reſtored by *Gabinius* (92). Mr. *Reland*, who places it north of *Rhinocolura*, mentions ſeveral medals ſtruck at *Raphia*, as alſo ſome biſhops of that ſee that aſſiſted at the eaſtern councils (93).

(88) *Calmet ſub Raphia.* (89) 1 *Chron.* xx. *paſſ.* 2 *Sam* xxi. 18, & *ſeq.* (90) *Antiq. l.* v. *c.* 14. (91) *Hiſt. l.* v. *c.* 82. (92) 3 *Mac. ab.* i. 11. *Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 21. xiv. *c.* 10. (93) *L.* iii. *p.* 967, & *ſeq. Vid. & l.* i. *p.* 286. ii. 435. 439. *Cellar. l.* iii. *p.* 372.

of

of eaſt longitude. As to its extent, it hath ſo often changed, that there is no ſtating it, without having regard to the various periods of time through which it paſſed. At firſt, *Eſau*, or *Edom*, from whom it received its name [a], and his deſcendants, ſettled along the mountains of *Seir* on the eaſt, and ſouth of the *Dead Sea*, from whence they ſpread themſelves, by degrees, through the weſt part of *Arabia Petræa*, from that ſea quite to the *Mediterranean* [b]. In the times of *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, and even of the *Jewiſh* kings, they were hemmed in by the *Dead Sea* on one ſide, and the *Elanitic* gulph on the other; but, during the *Jewiſh* captivity at *Babylon*, they advanced farther north into *Judea*, and ſpread themſelves as far as *Hebron*, in the tribe of *Judah*. So that *Strabo*, and, after him, many modern geographers, have rightly enough divided it into *Eaſtern* and *Southern Idumea*, with regard to its ſituation from *Paleſtine*; the capital of the former of which was called *Bozrah*, and that of the latter *Petra*, or *Jectael*. *Joſephus*, with regard to its different extent at different periods, diſtinguiſhes it, when at the largeſt, by the epithet of *Great*, in oppoſition to its more narrow boundaries; and even places *Hebron* among the *Idumean* cities [d]. He ſeems, likewiſe, to make a kind of diſtinction between that which he calls the *Lower* and *Upper Idumea*; but, upon the whole, the country is, both in the ſacred books, and all other authors that have wrote of it, repreſented as hot, dry, mountainous, and, in ſome parts, barren and deſert; and the mountains full of dreadful rocks and caverns [e]; in which reſpect, it was not at all unlike the ſouthern part of *Judah*, which is called a deſert, and full of ſuch rocky receſſes and caverns, commonly afterwards the lurking-places of thieves and *banditti*; as will be ſeen more fully in the ſequel (A).

How divided.

Barren ſoil.

W E

[a] See before, p. 161, & ſeqq. [b] Vid. RELAND. ubi ſup. l. i. c. 12. CELLAR. l. iii. c. 14, & al. mult. [c] BROCARD, BONFRERIUS, TORNIEL, RELAND, CALMET, & al. [d] Bell. Jud. l. v. c. 7. [e] Idem ibid. & alib. paſſ. JEROM. in Obad. i. EUSEB. & al.

(A) This barren deſcription of *Edom*, or *Idumea*, is not eaſy to reconcile with the bleſſing which *Jacob* gave to his ſon *Eſau*; that *his dwelling ſhould be the fatneſs of the earth, and the dew of heaven from above* (1). Tho' the next part of it; *viz.* that he ſhould live by the ſword, and ſerve his

(1) *Gen.* xxvii. 39, *& ſeq.*

brother;

In the hiſtory of this country [f] we have given an account of the various changes it hath gone through, as far as we have been able to gather from thoſe authors that have written of it; but for many ages paſt little has been ſaid of it by geographers and travellers, except that it lies moſtly waſte and uncultivated; and is inhabited by wild *Arabs*, with whom our *Europeans* have little or no converſe: and if they had, they could learn but little of them; ſeeing they are ſhy, quite unpoliſhed, and have not, perhaps, the leaſt literature among them. All this hath been farther confirmed to us by a very learned traveller [g], who hath viſited moſt of theſe eaſtern parts, and hath favoured the world with ſuch curious obſervations geographical, hiſtorical, and philoſophical, as have juſtly intitled him to the thanks of all the learned. He traveled thro' this country in the months of *September* and *October*, and the account he gives of its preſent diſmal condition, is as follows: "If we leave *Egypt* on the right-hand, and purſue our obſervations directly forwards into the land of *Edom*, we ſhall be preſented with a variety of quite different proſpects from thoſe we have met with in the

D. Shaw's *late account of it.*

[f] See before, p. 174, & ſeq.

[g] Dr. Shaw's travels, ch. iv. p. 377, & ſeq.

brother; was exactly verified in his deſcendants. But it muſt be remembered, that the *Edomites* came into that country after the *Horreans*, who were the antient inhabitants; and ſeized on their lands, which we may ſuppoſe to have been very well cultivated; thoſe people, as well as the *Canaanites*, having the art of making even the high and rocky mountains, much more the valleys beneath, to bear corn, wine, and fruits, eſpecially palm-trees; which were here in great plenty: beſides which, we may obſerve, that that part of mount *Seir*, and all the territory along it, quite to the *Mediterranean*, was much more fertile and level than the reſt. And it is not improbable, that they ſettled there at firſt; ſince it was more eaſy to drive the antient natives out of theſe, than out of the more mountainous parts. Beſides, the ſame may be ſaid of this tract of ground, that we obſerved concerning *Paleſtine* in general; that though from its preſent deſolate appearance one might be apt to conclude it to have been moſtly a barren wilderneſs, yet we have not the leaſt reaſon to doubt of its having been formerly a very rich and fruitful country, whilſt rightly cultivated by its induſtrious inhabitants (2). What a different condition it is now in, will be ſeen in its proper place.

(2) *See before, p.* 391, *& ſeq.*

" land of *Canaan:* for we are not here to be entertained " with any *paſtures cloathed with flocks*, or *valleys ſtand-* " *ing thick with corn*; here are no *vineyards* or *olive-* " *yards*; but the whole is a loneſome deſolate wilderneſs, " no otherwiſe diverſified, than by plains covered with " ſand, and mountains that are made up of naked rocks " and precipices. Neither is this country ever, unleſs " ſometimes at the equinoxes, refreſhed with rain; but " the few hardy vegetables which it produces, are ſtunted " by a perpetual drought; and the nouriſhment which is " contributed to them by the dews in the night, is ſuffi- " ciently impaired by the powerful heat of the ſun in the " day. The intenſeneſs of the cold and heat, at theſe " reſpective times, very emphatically accounts for the pro- " viſion of providence in ſpreading out for the *Iſraelites* " *a cloud to be a covering by day, and fire to give light* " (and heat) *in the night-ſeaſon*, Pſal. cv. 39." We are forced to omit his other remarks, though equally learned and valuable, for fear of running beyond our limits. This country is now in the poſſeſſion of the *Turks*, though it doth not appear, that they keep any gariſons in it, except on the ſea-coaſt, for ſecuring the road between *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*, and where ſtand ſome caſtles mentioned by travellers; among which is that of *Lariſſa*, of which we have lately given an account; and to which we ſhall only add that of *Salha*, near the frontiers of *Egypt*, which is the reſidence of the baſha of this province [h]. The others, which are leſs conſiderable, the reader may ſee in the margin (B).

Preſent government.

Antient cities.

THE antient cities belonging to *Idumea*, and mentioned by the ſacred writers, are many; the moſt conſiderable of which were, *Dinhabah*, the ſeat of *Bela*, the ſon of *Beor*, one of the chief deſcendants of *Eſau*, or *Edom*, and prince

[h] THEVENOT, RICAUT, & al. See alſo this vol. p. 170, & ſeq.

(B) Other places where the *Turks* keep ſoldiers, are, *Tina*, a town on the ſea-ſhore; and *Catio*, a caſtle with a gariſon; where a *caphar*, or toll, is exacted from all merchants and paſſengers. This laſt is ſituate in a deſert, and is forced to ſend quite to the former for water, and other proviſions. *Tor*, a ſmall ſeaport and caſtle, near the ſtreights of *Suez*, where an *aga* commands the gariſon. Near this laſt is a fair ſpacious convent of *Greek* monks, who give an hoſpitable reception to all travellers (3).

(3) *Thevenot, ubi ſup. & al.*

of

of that territory [i]. *Bozrah*, *Bezer*, *Beſora*, and *Boſtra*, the capital of the *Eaſtern Idumea*, and royal reſidence of *Jobab*, the ſon of *Zerah*, duke of *Edom*: this city is commonly mentioned as ſituate in a wilderneſs, becauſe it ſtood on the confines of *Arabia Deſerta* (C), and was ſurrounded on all ſides with wild deſerts. It was, nevertheleſs, a conſiderable place; we find it made a *Levitical* city by *Joſhua* [k], and a city of refuge: it is likewiſe celebrated by antient writers and medals; and hath had ſeveral of its biſhops, who aſſiſted at ſome of the antient councils. The *Perſian* geographer gives this account of it in his time [l]: It ſtands four days journey diſtant from *Damaſcus*, hath a very ſtrong caſtle, a gate twenty cubits high, and one of the largeſt baſons, or reſervoirs, in all the *Levant*. *Pau*, or *Phau*, is mentioned, alſo, as another royal city, and the reſidence of *Adar*, the laſt *Edomitiſh* king mentioned by *Moſes*. *Aneth*, or *Anah*, the royal city of *Hadad*; and ſome others, not worth naming [m]. Beſides theſe, we find thoſe of *Caparoſu* and *Gamaris* mentioned by *Ptolemy* as chief cities of *Idumea*; but as there is nothing to be met with in hiſtory concerning them, we ſhall ſay no more of them (D): and thus much ſhall ſuffice for the kingdom of *Idumea*.

The

[i] Gen. xxxvi. 32. [k] Joſh. xx. 8. xxi. 36. [l] D'Herbelot. biblioth. orient. ſub Boſor. Calmet, ſub voc. [m] Gen. xxxvi. paſſ.

(C) *Euſebius* places it at about twenty-four miles diſtance from *Adra*, or *Edrai*: and as it was ſeated on the frontiers of *Reuben*, *Moab*, and *Edom*, it is indifferently placed in theſe three countries, according as the ſtrongeſt of them could make themſelves maſters of that important place. And this is, probably, the reaſon, why geographers have mentioned ſeveral cities of the ſame name, tho' without any foundation. We find this city dreadfully threatened by the prophets *Iſaiah* and *Jeremiah*; and, by the former, with no leſs than a total deſtruction (4); which was exactly verified afterwards, by *Judas Maccabeus*, who took it, and put it to fire and ſword (5).

(D) It will not be amiſs to obſerve here, that, in the later accounts of *Idumea*, they included all that part of the tribe of *Simeon* which lay ſouth of the river *Bezor*, and even *Gaza*, and all the other *Philiſtine* ſatrapies within its bounds: ſo that not only *Anthedon* and *Rhinocolura*, but even *Beerſheba*, the laſt city in *Simeon*, was reckon'd

(4) *Iſa.* xxxiv. 6. lxiii. 1. *Jerem.* xlviii. 24, & *ſeq.* xlix. 13, & 22.
(5) 1 *Macrab.* v. 26, & *ſeq.*

The land of Amalek.

The land of Amalek.

THIS nation, whose origin and history we have given in a former chapter [n], was seated in that part of *Arabia Petræa* which lay east of the *Edomites* last described; and had *Midian*, or *Madian*, on the north, with part of that of the *Ishmaelites*; *Arabia Petræa* on the south; the *Deserta* on the east; and reached almost as far north as the *Dead*, and southward as the *Red Sea*; or, as the sacred text words it, between *Havilah* and *Shur*, which is over-against *Egypt* [o]. But it is not to be supposed, that they had any constant dwelling, being mostly of the wandering kind, and living in booths and tents, like the *Arabs*, or even caverns, either in the rocks, or under-ground: insomuch that we do not find one single city they had, except that which *Saul* is said to have laid siege to, and which the text doth not so much as name [p]. And as they were divided into tribes, or hords, it is likely, that these places were no more than hamlets, of more or less extent; and that the country being wide enough, they shifted their abode from one canton to another, as their convenience or fancy led them. It were therefore in vain to attempt the setting any limits to them, who, besides the vast tract of ground they had to range in, might, moreover, live intermixed, on their outskirts, with their neighbours on each side: and, accordingly, we find them, in the times of the judges, joined with the *Midianites* and *Moabites* against *Israel* [q]; who were delivered from the former by *Ehud*, and from the latter by *Gideon* [r] (E). Mr. *Reland* seems to place them

No cities.

Wandering life.

[n] See before, p. 181. [o] 1 Sam. xv. 7. [p] Ibid. ver. 5. [q] Judg. iii. 13. vi. 3. [r] Ibid. 22, & seq. vii. pass.

as part of it, of which *Cluverius* makes *Gaza* to have been the capital (6).

(E) Concerning this hatred of the *Amalekites* to the *Jews*, we shall have a farther occasion to speak, in the history of the latter: and it will be sufficient here to observe, that the former made an ungenerous, if not inhuman assault upon them, soon after their coming out of *Egypt*; taking their fatigued rear at a disadvantage, and destroying a good part of it; for which they were, on the very next day, defeated by *Joshua*, and a perpetual war injoined, by God

(6) *See Reland, l.* ii. *p.* 462, *& alib. pass.*

against

them between the deſerts of *Cadeſh* and *Engadi*, though ſomewhat nearer to the *Mediterranean* [s]. But the truth is, their ſituation and neighbours are ſo differently aſſigned in the places of Scripture, where any mention is made of each, that they muſt have either ſpread themſelves very wide, or, as we hinted above, have changed their abode ſo often, that nothing can be fixed about them with any tolerable ſatisfaction; except, perhaps, what *Joſephus* has ſaid of them: that they extended from *Peluſium* to the *Red Sea* [t]; and, in another place, between *Gobolitis* and *Petra* [u]; and, as a learned traveller, often quoted [w], ſuppoſes, in the neighbourhood of that metropolis (F). *No proper limits.*

The land of Midian, *or* Midianitis.

THE *Midianites*, the deſcendants of *Abraham* by *Keturah* [x], were ſeated on the north of the *Amalekites*; having the *Dead Sea* on the weſt, the *Iſhmaelites* on the eaſt, and the *Moabites* and *Reubenites* on the north; the river *Arnon* parting them from this laſt tribe [y]. Their country was hot, ſandy, and, in many parts, quite deſert; yet abounded with cattle; particularly, ſheep, goats, and deer; *The land of* Midian.

[s] Palæſt. illuſt. l. i. p. 79, & ſeq. [t] Antiq. l. vi. c. 8.
[u] Ibid. l. iii. c. 2. [w] Dr. SHAW's geogr. obſerv. p. 354.
[x] Gen. xxv. See before, p. 150, & ſeq. [y] See RELAND, ubi ſup. l. i. p. 98, & ſeq. CALMET in Madian, JOSEPHUS, PHILO, &c.

againſt them, till their name was quite blotted out (7). *Joſephus* divides *Idumea* into *Amalekitiſh* and *Gobolitiſh* (8); from which one would be apt to infer, that the *Edomites* and *Amalekites* were quite intermixed on one ſide; but the contrary appears from other places (9), eſpecially from the different treatment each met with from *Moſes*, who quite deſtroyed the latter, and only begged a paſſage through their country from the former (10).

(F) *Petra* was the capital of *Arabia Petræa*, about 135 miles eaſt of *Gaza*, and four days journey to the ſouthward of *Jericho*; fifty miles eaſtward of *Kadeſh*, and, as our author infers, near the confines of the *Moabites* and *Midianites*. *Joſephus* calls that city *Arce* (11), which *Bochart* ſuppoſes a corruption of *Rekem*, the true and antient name of it, from its founder, one of the kings of *Midian* (12).

(7) *Exod.* xvii. 8, & *ſeq. See before*, p. 184. (8) *Antiq. l.* ii. *c.* 1. (9) 1 *Chron.* xviii. 11. (10) *Conf. Exod.* xvii. 13, & *ſeq.* & *Num.* xx. 17, & *ſeq.* (11) *Antiq. l.* iv. *c.* 4. (12) *Num.* xxxi. 8. *See Shaw's travels*, p. 354.

but,

but, more particularly, with camels [z]: a very uſeful beaſt of burden for their caravans, with which they uſed to trade into *Egypt*, ſo early as the time of the patriarch *Jacob* [a]. Their country we find, likewiſe, divided into a kind of pentarchy in the time of the *exodus*; ſo that the *Iſraelites*, in the war which they waged with them, are ſaid to have ſlain the five kings of it; *viz.* of *Evi*, *Rekem*, *Zur*, *Hur*, and *Reba* [b]; whoſe capitals are ſuppoſed to have been ſituate near the *Dead Sea*. But they had, beſides, a famed metropolis of their progenitor's name, often mentioned in the prophetic books, and other authors; particularly in *Joſephus*, who places one of that name near the *Red Sea* [c], not far from where *Ptolemy* places that of *Madiana* (G). To theſe cities already named we may add thoſe of *Dibon-gad*, which, *Euſebius* ſays, was a large town on the river *Arnon* above-named; and *Almon-diblathaim*, which could not be far from it, becauſe it was the next encampment of the *Iſraelites* from *Dibon-gad*: the city of *Beeroth*, ſo called, probably, from its many wells; and ſome others, which are commonly placed by geographers within the *Midianitiſh* territories. And no doubt but they had a great many ſuch, as well as caſtles, even in thoſe earlier times, as we may gueſs by the havock which *Moſes* tells us the *Iſraelites* made of them in the war above-mentioned; and the vaſt numbers of men, women, cattle, *&c.* they brought away with them [d].

Divided into five kingdoms.

Cities.

[z] Jerom comm. in Iſa. lx. & in Ezek. xxv. Euseb. onomaſt. in Madian. [a] Gen. xxxvii. 28. [b] Num. xxxi. 8. Joſh. xiii. 21. See alſo this vol. p. 157. [c] Antiq. l. ii. c. 5. [d] Num. xxxi. 10, & ſeq.

(G) This laſt ſeems, however, to be very different from the former, which we call the capital of the *Midianites*, though, probably, built and named by them, and the capital of a different canton of the land of *Midian*; *viz.* that to which *Moſes* retired from the reſentment of the king of *Egypt* (13), and which was different enough from the other. The former lay eaſt of the *Dead*, and this near the north-eaſt coaſt of the *Red Sea*: the capital of the one was ſituate on the river *Arnon*, the fartheſt boundary north (14); and that of the latter on the eaſt of the *Red Sea*, and ſo near it, that they were under the greateſt dread, when they heard, that the *Iſraelites* had paſſed it in ſo miraculous a manner (15). Of this latter, which *Abulfeda* places on the very border of that ſea, over-againſt *Tabuc*, and about ſix days journey from it, that author ſays, that it lay in ruins on that coaſt (16).

(13) *Exod.* ii. 15, *& ſeq. See Joſephus antiq. l.* ii. *c.* 11. (14) *Euſeb. Jerom loc. Hebr.* (15) *Habak.* iii. 7. (16) *Deſcr. Arab. p.* 3.

As

As to the city of *Midian*, it is more than probable, that they rebuilt it in time, ſince *Euſebius* and St. *Jerom*, who place it on the river *Arnon*, eaſtward of the *Dead Sea*, and ſouth of *Ar*, or *Areopolis*, tell us, there were ſtill ſome remains to be ſeen of it in their time [e].

The land of Moab, *or* Moabitis,

So called from *Moab*, one of the inceſtuous ſons of *Lot* [f], was ſituate, likewiſe, in *Arabia Petræa*, and on the north of *Midian* above-deſcribed; having the river *Arnon* on the weſt, which divided it all the way from the tribe of *Reuben* (H); the *Iſhmaelites* on the eaſt; and the land of *Gilead* on the north. Their land was at firſt inhabited by the gigantic *Emims*, whom they expelled in time, and made themſelves maſters of it [g], and of all the cities, which were in great number, and ſome of them very conſiderable. *Joſephus* hath given us an account of ſome of the moſt noted and opulent; among which he hath mentioned ſeveral of them [h], which, being on the other ſide the river *Arnon*, could not properly be ſaid to be in *Moabitis*, but rather in the land of the *Amorites*, or *Reubenites*; particularly, that of *Heſhbon*, but might have been, probably, inhabited by the *Moabites*. The reſt were, *Medaba*, *Lemba*, *Oronas*, *Thelitho*, *Zara*, with *Aulon*, *Pella*, and ſome others; all which were afterwards poſſeſſed by the *Jews*, in the reign of *Alexander Janneus*. The truth is, theſe limits were then in a conſtant fluctuation; and, accordingly, we read of the plains of *Moab*, which are alſo called by *Moſes* the land of *Moab* [i], but which had been taken by *Sihon*, quite as far as the river above-mentioned [k]. The very mount

Moabitis, or land of Moab.

Cities.

[e] Loc. Hebr. ſub Madian. [f] Gen. xix. 37. See before, p. 124, & ſeq. [g] Deut. ii. 9, & ſeq. [h] Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23. [i] Deut. xxix. 1. [k] Num. xxi. 26.

(H) *Joſephus*, who rightly deſcribes the courſe of that river from the mountains of *Arabia*, where it hath its courſe through this whole region, into the lake *Aſphaltites*, or *Dead Sea*, ſays, it divided the *Amorites* from the *Moabites* (17); which agrees with the account which *Moſes* gives us, that the kingdom of *Sihon*, king of the *Amorites*, was given to the *Reubenites*; as that of *Baſhan* was to *Gad*, and half *Manaſſeh*; of which tribes, and their lots, we have ſpoken in a former part of this ſection (18).

(17) *Antiq. l.* iv. *c.* 4, *&* 5.

(18) *See p.* 452—455.

Nebo is by *Moſes* placed in the land of *Moab* [l], though ſeated on the other ſide the *Arnon*, and, conſequently, in the kingdom of *Sihon*. From all which it is plain, theſe petty monarchs often infringed on each other's territories. However, that river ſeems to have been the moſt common, as well as moſt proper, northern boundary between thoſe two kingdoms, as well as this of *Moab* ſeems to have been the ſouthern one between *Arabia Petræa* and *Deſerta* [m] (I). Beſides the cities we have already mentioned out of *Joſephus*, in the times of the *Maccabitiſh* kings, we find the following mentioned in *Jeremiah*, as belonging to the kingdom of *Moab*; viz. *Nebo*, *Kirjathaim*, *Miſgab*, whence they expelled the *Emims*; *Heſhbon*, *Madman*, *Horonaim*, *Luhith*, *Dibon*, *Chemoſh*, *Aroer*, *Helon*, *Jahzah*, *Mephaath*, *Beth-diblathaim*, *Beth-gamul*, *Beth-meon*, *Kerioth*, *Bozrah*, *Kir-hereſh*, *Jaazer*, *Shibmah*, *Eleale*, *Zoar*, and *Me-nimrim* [n]; againſt all which the prophet denounces deſtruction and captivity; and which, it is probable, they underwent under *Nebuchadnezzar*.

[l] Deut. xxxii. 49. [m] JOSEPH. de bell. l. iii. c. 2. [n] Jer. xlviii. paſſ.

(I) There was the greater neceſſity to obſerve this variation of limits mentioned by *Moſes*; becauſe he expreſly ſays, that the *Iſraelites* did not poſſeſs any part of the *Moabitiſh* kingdom, nor even ſet foot into it, but fetched a compaſs round it, to enter into that of the *Amorites* (19): which could only be meant of that part of *Moabitis* properly ſo called, or on the ſouth ſide of *Arnon*. For as to thoſe which the *Moabites* might have conquered from king *Sihon* on the north ſide, as they did not properly belong to them, that is, had not been given to them by GOD, as the other was; they made no difficulty of entering, ſubduing, and keeping poſſeſſion of them (20), as we have already ſeen: ſo that, whatever part they are ſaid to have paſſed through, of the land of *Moab*, before they croſſed the *Jordan*, muſt be underſtood to have been out of the original boundaries of that kingdom. And this is farther confirmed, by the meſſage which *Jephthah*, judge of *Iſrael*, ſent to the king of *Ammon*, whoſe territory they were likewiſe forbid to meddle with; and which, accordingly, that judge tells him, they paſſed by untouched, as well as that of *Moab*; and only took thoſe countries which belonged to *Sihon* on the other ſide *Arnon* (21), which, he there expreſly tells him, was the boundary of *Moab* (22).

(19) *See Deut.* ii. 9, *& ſeq.* (20) *Conf. Num.* xxi. 26. xxxiii. 49, *& ſeq. & Deut.* ii. 9, *& ſeq.* (21) *Judg.* xi. 14, *& ſeq.* (22) *Ibid.* ver. 15. *See alſo*, 2 *Chron.* xx. 2.

The

The land of the Ammonites.

THESE, who were, likewiſe, the deſcendants of *Lot*, but by his youngeſt daughter [o], were ſeated in *Arabia Deſerta*, north-eaſt of the *Moabites*; having ſtill the ſame river *Arnon* on the weſt, which divided them from the land of *Gilead* and the tribe of *Gad*. They had on the ſouth the *Iſhmaelites*, on the eaſt the deſerts of *Arabia*, and on the north the hills of *Gilead* and *Baſhan* [p]. This land, which had been likewiſe given to them by providence, was to remain untouched by the *Iſraelites* [q]. It had been formerly inhabited by a gigantic nation, ſtiled, by *Moſes*, *Zamzummim*, who fell a prey to the *Ammonites*, together with their land, and ſtout and populous cities [r]; particularly that famed one called *Rabbah* of the ſons of *Ammon*, *Rabbat-ammana*, or, ſimply, *Ammana*, and ſince *Philadelphia* (K); in *Land of the* Ammonites.

[o] Gen. xix. ult. See before, p. 139. [p] Vid. RELAND. ubi ſup. l. i. p. 103. CELLAR. ubi ſup. l. iii. c. 14. JOSEPH. ant. l. v. c. 9. [q] Deut. ii. 19. [r] Ibid. ver. 20, & ſeq.

(K) *Euſebius* tells us, that this city was the metropolis of the *Ammonites*, and yet ſeized on by the tribe of *Gad* (23); which is expreſly contrary to the prohibition of GOD mentioned above; unleſs we will ſuppoſe it either to have been out of their own territories, aſſigned by GOD, and taken from ſome other neighbouring kingdom; or elſe, to have, in proceſs of time, began ſome hoſtilities againſt that tribe, which gave them a right to fight againſt it, and take it, as it is plain *David* did afterwards (24), in his war againſt the *Ammonites*, who were here the firſt aggreſſors: for *Joſephus* ſeems to intimate, that the *Iſraelites* had it in their power to have taken it, though they forbore doing it (25); probably, becauſe it was not one of their original cities, as we juſt now hinted. However, it is certain, that this prohibition of GOD extended no farther than the preſent time of the *Iſraelites* paſſing by their territories: for after they were ſettled in the land, and the *Moabites*, *Ammonites*, *Edomites*, &c. began to make ſuch united and fierce wars againſt *Iſrael*, it became lawful to theſe to make what inroads and conqueſts they could againſt them; yet with this proviſo, that they were not the firſt aggreſſors (26). At length theſe hoſtilities of the *Ammon-*

(23) *Onomaſt. in Ammon.* (24) 2 *Sam.* xi. & xii. *paſſ.* (25) *Antiq. l.* v. c. 9. (26) *Vid. Judg.* x. 9, & *ſeq.*

in which was ſeen the monſtrous iron bed of *Og*, the king of *Baſan* [s]. According to the ſacred hiſtorians, their territories ſeem antiently to have been confined by the rivers *Arnon* and *Jabbok* [t]; but this is now liable to ſuch difficulties from other places, as we ſhall not trouble our readers with; there being no other way to reconcile our finding them extended beyond thoſe bounds, but by what we have already obſerved, of their frequent conqueſts on their neighbours, which occaſioned their boundaries to be in a conſtant fluctuation [u]. And the ſame may be ſaid of their other cities, which, for that reaſon, we ſhall ſay no more of [w].

The land of the Iſhmaelites.

THESE were the deſcendents of *Iſhmael*, the ſon of *Abraham* by *Hagar*, his *Egyptian* bondmaid [x]; and were ſeated in *Arabia Deſerta*, eaſtward of the *Midianites* and *Moabites*; and bounded on the north by the *Ammonites*: but how far they extended ſouthward and eaſtward, eſpecially in thoſe early times, is not eaſy to gueſs. *Moſes* only tells us, that, in his time, they ſpread themſelves from *Havilah* unto *Shur* that is before *Egypt*, as thou goeſt into *Aſſyria* [y]. From which we may gueſs how far they extended then; ſince *Havilah*, according to the generality of writers, was ſituate near the confluence of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* (L), and *Shur* on the iſthmus which divides

[s] Deut. iii. 11, & ſeq. Vid. & JOSEPH. ant. l. iv. c. 5. [t] Deut. ii. 16. xix. 37. & Num. xxi. 24. Joſh. xii. 2. [u] Vid. RELAND. ubi ſup. p. 104. [w] De his. vid. CELLAR. ubi ſup. p. 412. [x] Gen. xvi. 15, & ſeq. [y] Gen. xxv. 18.

ites drew down the divine vengeance upon them, according to the prophet's prediction (27), that their remembrance ſhould be quite deſtroyed from the face of the earth; which was not ſo literally fulfilled, however, but *Juſtin Martyr* tells us, there were ſtill ſome of them in his time (28); though *Origen* tells us, that, in his days, both they, and the *Moabites*, &c. were all blended together, under the common name of *Arabs* (29).

(L) As *Moſes* ſeems expreſly to ſay, that they had ſpread themſelves ſo far when *Iſhmael* died, it can hardly be ſuppoſed that this *Havilah* was that mentioned by him; there being

(27) *Jer.* xlix. 1, *& ſeq. Ezek.* xxv. 4, *& ſeq.* (28) *Dial. con. Tryph. p.* 292. (29) *In Jeb* i.

above

divides *Arabia* from *Egypt*, now called the iſthmus of *Suez* [z]. From thence, we doubt not but they ſpread themſelves on thoſe two ſides ſo far, as to have poſſeſſed the greateſt part of *Arabia*; whence *Joſephus* makes no ſcruple to ſtile their progenitor the founder of the *Arabian* nation [a]. For this reaſon we ſhall ſay no more of them here, but refer all the reſt till we come to ſpeak of that large country. And we have only ſaid thus much of their antient ſite here, as we find them to have joined with the *Moabites*, *Amalekites*, &c. in their wars againſt the *Iſraelites* [b].

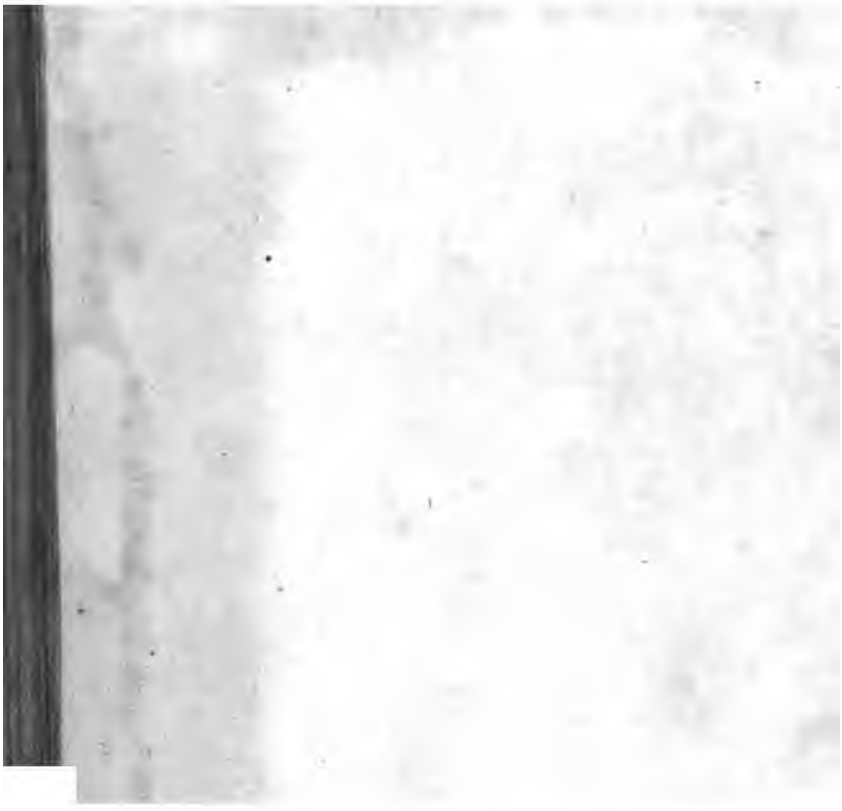
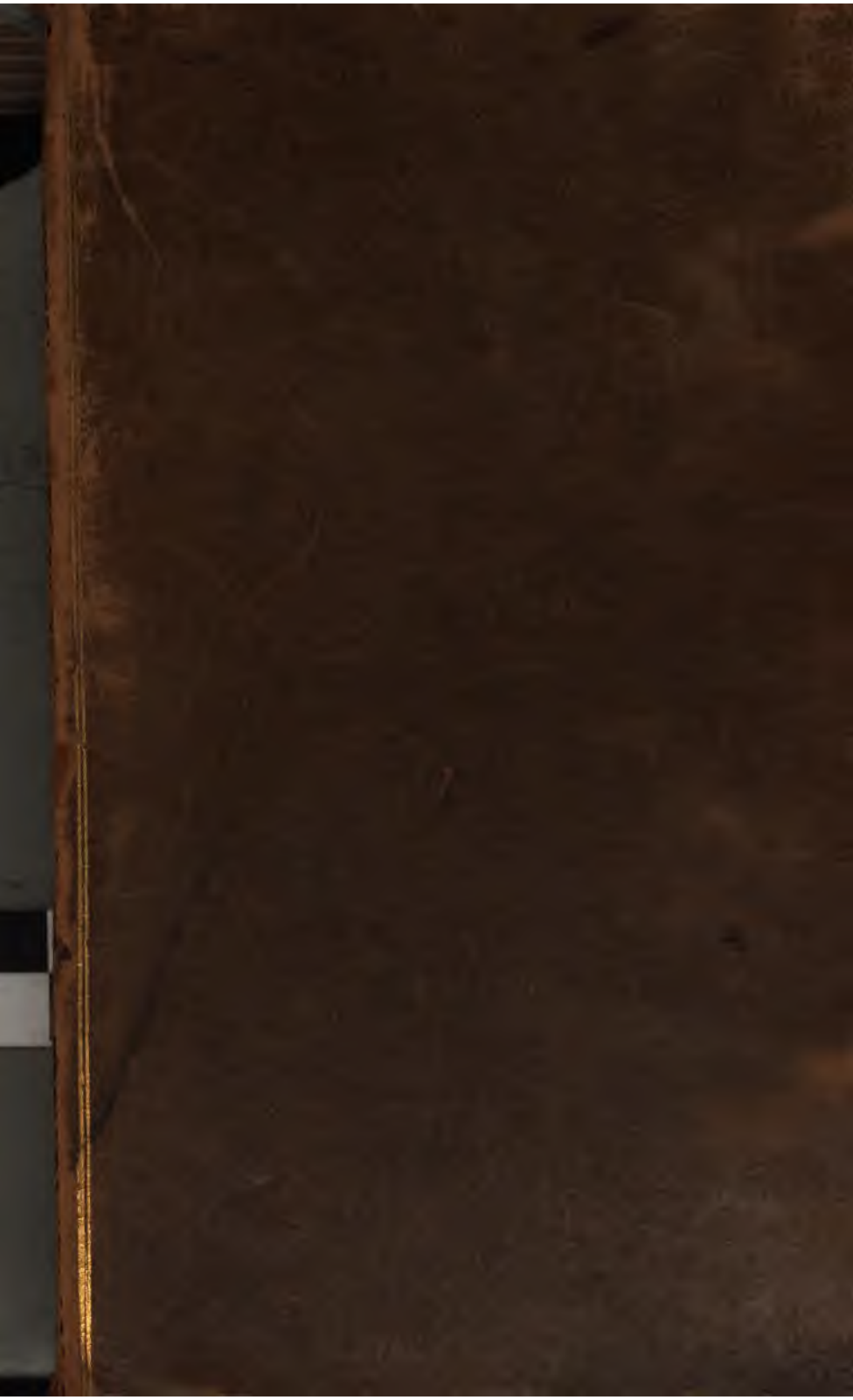
WE have, by this time, gone round the territories of the ſeveral antient nations with whom the *Iſraelites* were engaged in war, and who were deſcended from *Abraham* and *Lot*: as for the other kingdoms, ſuch as *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, &c. their geography hath been already given at the beginning of their hiſtory, to which we have nothing farther to add here. There are ſome others mentioned in Scripture; ſuch as that of *Soba*, *Zobah*, or *Aram-zobah*, of *Cuſhan-riſhathaim* [c], ſtiled king of *Aram*, or *Meſopo-*

[z] BOCHART, & al. [a] Antiq. l. i, c. 13. [b] Vid. int. al. Judg. vii. & viii. paſſ. Pſal. lxxxiii. 6. 1 Chron. v. 10. 19, 20. [c] Judg. iii. 10.

above 600 miles diſtance from that to *Shur*. But we read of another *Havilah* in the land of the *Amalekites*, where it is ſaid that *Saul* beat that enemy from thence to *Shur* (30), which is more likely to be it; *Amalek*, as we have ſhewn above, being ſeated ſouth-eaſt of *Paleſtine*, and of the *Red Sea*, and ſpreading themſelves, perhaps, weſtward, quite to the iſthmus of *Suez*, or boundary of *Egypt* (for both the places above quoted ſeem to intimate a town or city, and not the land of *Havilah*, as above-mentioned; which neither *Saul*, nor any of his ſucceſſors, appear to have ever come nigh to, whatever the wandering *Iſhmaelites* might do in proceſs of time). This, therefore, ſeems moſt probably to have been the original boundaries of *Iſhmael*, and his deſcendants, at the time of his death; and ſo far they may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have extended themſelves in that ſhort time, and from which they might be afterwards driven more eaſtward, by the *Amalekites*, who were hemmed in by them on that ſide, and by the *Edomites* on the other. The reader may ſee what we have ſaid heretofore of *Havilah* in general (31), which the learned *Huetius* tells us is the moſt difficult to fix of any (32); as well it may, when there were, perhaps, more than the two above-mentioned of that name.

(30) 1 *Sam.* xv. 3. (31) *Vol.* i. *p.* 384. (32) *De ſitu paradiſi terreſtr.* c. 8.

tanis, &c. of which Somcon we have so little certainty, that we shall willingly omit saying any thing further, than that the former was, most probably, one of the cities that gave name to one of the cantons of *Syria*: but as it either changed its name afterwards, or was destroyed, it is not easy to give where it was situate; though, from its being different from the *Aram* of *Damascus*, *Hamath*, *Zobah*, &c. we conjecture it to have been situated in the northern borders of *Canaan*. Our modern maps place it eastward of the half-tribe of *Manasseh*, beyond *Jordan*, between the hills of *Bashan* on the south, and the *Aram* of *Damascus* on the north[a].

[a] See the map of Palestine, in the new system of geography.

The END of the SECOND VOLUME.